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FOREWORD

ON BEHALF OF the Publication Committee of the *Comprehensive History of India* sponsored by the Indian History Congress, I have great pleasure in presenting Volume III, Part II, covering the period A.D. 300 to 985. It had been decided by the Publication Committee that on account of its bulk Volume III should be split up into two parts, Part I dealing with political history and organization and Part II with social, economic, religious and cultural conditions. Together, the two parts comprise almost 1600 pages. The volume owes much to Dr. R. C. Majumdar who had planned it and, despite his indifferent health, managed to edit it in his lifetime. Dr. R. C. Majumdar was ably assisted in this work by Dr. Kalyan Kumar Dasgupta who, in his capacity as Joint Editor of the volume, gave finishing touches to it. We take this opportunity to pay our respectful tribute of gratitude to the memory of Dr. R. C. Majumdar. We sincerely thank Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, but for whose help and devoted labour the volume could not have been published.

Although there has been a good deal of delay in the publication of the various projected volumes, we are heartened by the generous response of the academic community to the volumes published so far. In fact, several volumes have been out of print for some time. The Publication Committee plans to reprint them soon, after such revision as may be necessary. It is also hoped that in the light of the experience gained with the publication of the Volume III (Part I and Part II) in 1981-82, it would be possible to expedite the publication programme. The Publication Committee wishes to publish one volume a year so that the project may be completed within a time period.

I would like to extend heartfelt thanks to those scholars who have enabled this cooperative work to be brought to fruition. Our grateful thanks are due to Dr. K. M. Shrimali for reading the proofs and seeing the volume through the press at the final stage. We are further thankful to Shri V. K. Jain who has prepared a good portion of the index with great pains and integrated the entries made by others.

Shri R. K. Dutta Gupta, Shri Sovan Chatterjee and Mrs. Kumkum Singh of the Photo Section of the Archeological Survey of India have helped in procuring the photographs. Shri Pradeep Mandav, Mrs. Vijay Nath and a number of young scholars have rendered various kinds of assistance; they all deserve our thanks for their hard labour. Finally, I would like to acknowledge with thanks the keen interest and cooperation of the People's Publishing House and its staff for bringing this volume out in such a short time.

SATISH CHANDRA
Secretary, Editorial Board
A Comprehensive History of India

New Delhi,
17 December 1982

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ABORI. Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

AHD. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, by G. Jouveau Dubreuil.

AG. *Archaeology of Gujarat*, by H. D. Sankalia.

AGBG. *L'Art Gréco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra*, by A. Foucher.

AIA. *Art of Indian Asia*, by H. Zimmer.

AIG. *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, by R. D. Banerji.

AR. *Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, by A. S. Altekar.

ARB. *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, by K. C. Panigrahi.

ARE. or ARIE. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy.*

ASIAR. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.*

ASR or ASC. *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports* by A. Cunningham.

ASS. *Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series*, Poona.

ASSI. *Archaeological Survey of Southern India.*

ASWI. *Archaeological Survey of Western India.*

BBA. *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, by Alfred Foucher.

BDCRI. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona.

BEFEO. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme Orient*, Hanoi.

BG. *Bombay Gazetteer.*

Bh. List. *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, by D. R. Bhandarkar (Appendix to EI, XIX-XXIII).

BI. *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta.

BM. *Buddhist Monuments*, by Debala Mitra.

BMCAWK. *British Museum Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc., by E. J. Rapson.

BSOAS. *The Bulletin of School of Oriental and African Studies,* London.

BSS. *Bombay Sanskrit Series.*

BV. *Bhāratīya Vidyā,* Bombay.

CA. *The Classical Age,* see HCIP.

CAH. *Cambridge Ancient History.*

CAI. *Coins of Ancient India,* by Alexander Cunningham.

Cal. Rev. *Calcutta Review.*

CCBM (GSK). *The Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum,* by Percy Gardner.

CCIM. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum,* Calcutta.

CCPM. *Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore,* by R. B. Whitehead.

CGD. *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa* (in the British Museum), by John Allan

CHI. *Cambridge History of India.*

CII. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*

CMI. *Coins of Medieval India,* by A. Cunnningham.

CP. Copper-plate

CSI. *Coins of Southern India,* by W. Elliot.

DHI. *The Development of Hindu Iconography,* by J. N. Banerjea.

DHNI. *Dynastic History of Northern India,* by H. C. Ray.

DKA. *Dynasties of the Kali Age,* by F. E. Pargiter.

DKD. *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* by J. F. Fleet.

EC. *Epigraphia Carnatica.*

EDA. *Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa,* by B. V. Krishna Rao.

EHBP. *The Early History of Bengal* by P. L. Paul.

EHD. *Early History of the Dekkan,* by R. G. Bhandarkar.

EHI. *Early History of India,* by V. A. Smith; *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* by T. A. Gopinath Rao.

EI. *Epigrahia Indica.*

EISMS. *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture,* by R. D. Banerji.

ESB. *Early Sculpture of Bengal,* by S. K. Saraswati.

EZ. *Epigraphia Zeylanica.*

FAS. *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon,* by V. A. Smith

FTL. *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, Being an Account of the Chinese monk Fa-hien's Travels,* Translated by J. H. Legge.

GAP. *Gandharan Art in Pakistan,* by H. Ingholt.

GE. Gupta Era.

GOS. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda.

GSAI. *Giornale della Societa Asiatica Italiana.*

HABM. *History of Ancient Bengal,* by R. C. Majumdar.

HB or HBR. *History of Bengal,* Vol. I, edited by R. C. Majumdar.

HC. *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.

HCIP. *History and Culture of the Indian People,* Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.

HIEA. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* by J. Fergusson.

HIED. *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians,* edited by Elliot and Dowson.

HIIA. *History of Indian and Indonesian Architecture,* by A. K. Coomaraswamy.

HIL. *History of Indian Literature,* by M. Winternitz.

HISI. *Historical Inscriptions of South India,* by R. B. Sewell.

HNI. *History of North-Eastern India,* by R. G. Basak.

HOS. *Harvard Oriental Series.*

HRS. *Contributions to the History of the Hindu Revenue System,* by U. N. Ghoshal.

HTB. *Buddhist Records of the Western World, Translated from the Chinese of Huien Tsang,* by Samuel Beal.

HTW. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* by T. Watters.

IA. *Indian Antiquary,* Bombay.

IBBSDM. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum,* by N. K. Bhattasali.

IC. *Indian Culture,* Calcutta.

IHIJ. *Imperial History of India,* by K. P. Jayaswal.

IHQ. *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Calcutta.

IMP. *A Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency,* by V. Rangacharya.

Ind. Arch. *Indian Archaeology, A Review* (Archaeological Survey of India).

IRT. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago,* by I-tsing, translated by J. Takakusu.

ISGDP. *Īśānaśiva-guru-deva-paddhati* of Īśānaśiva-guru-deva Miśra.

JA. *Journal Asiatique,* Paris.

JAHC. *Journal of the Andhra History and Culture.*

JAHRS, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society,* Rajamundry.

JAIH. *Journal of Ancient Indian History,* Calcutta.

JARS. *Journal of the Assam Research Society.*

JAS. *Journal of the Asiatic Society,* Calcutta.

JBBRAS. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Bombay.

JBISM. *Journal of the Bharat Itihasa Sanshodak Mandal,* Poona.

JBORS. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* Patna.

JBRS. *Journal of the Bihar Research Society,* Patna.

JDL. *Journal of the Department of Letters,* Calcutta University.

JGIS. *Journal of the Greater India Society,* Calcutta.

JIH. *Journal of Indian History,* Madras.

JISOA. *Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art,* Calcutta.

JKHRS. *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Bolangir.

JMU. *Journal of Madras University.*

JNSI. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Bombay and Varanasi.

JOI. *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda.

JOR or JORM. *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.

JPASB. *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.

JPTS. *Journal of the Pali Text Society*. London.

JRAS. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.

JRASBL. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, Calcutta.

JTA. *Journal of the Telugu Academy.*

JUPHS. *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society.*

KHT. *Hindu Temple*, by Stella Kramrisch.

KS or Kss. *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī.*

Life. *The Life of Hiuen Tsang* by Saman Hwui Li, with an introduction, etc., by Samuel Beal.

MAR. *Mysore Archaeological Report.*

MASI. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.*

MBH. *Mahābhārata.*

MDJG. *Māṇikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā.*

MIC. *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, by John Marshall.

NC. *Numismatic Chronicle*, London.

NDI. *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, by Batterwarth and Vénugopālaachetty.

NHIP. *New History of the Indian People*, edited by R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar.

NIA. *New Indian Antiquary*, Bombay.

NPP. *Nāgari Prachāriṇī Patrikā* (in Hindi), Benaraṣ.

NS. New Series.

NSP. Nirnaya-Sagar Press, Bombay.

Num. Supple. Numismatic Supplement.

PAIOC or POC. *Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference.*

PHAI. *Political History of Ancient India,* by H. C. Raychaudhuri.

PIHC. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*

PrASB. *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Calcutta.

PRASI. *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Western Circle.

PTS. Pali Text Society, London.

QJMS. *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,* Bangalore.

Raj. *Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa.*

Ram. *Rāmāyaṇa.*

RLI. *Religious Literature of India,* by J. N. Farquhar.

SBE. *Sacred Books of the East,* Oxford, Delhi.

SBH. *Sacred Books of the Hindus,* Allahabad.

SE. *The Struggle for Empire,* see HCIP.

SI. *Select Inscriptions* (Vol. I), edited by D. C. Sircar.

SII. *South Indian Inscriptions.*

SJA. *Studies in Jain Art,* by U. P. Shah.

SR. *Śilparatna of Kumāra.*

Suc. Sat. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan,* by D. C. Sircar.

TAS. *Travancore Archaeological Series.*

THAI. *A Tribal History of Ancient India,* by K. K. Dasgupta.

THK or TK. *History of Kanauj,* by R. S. Tripathi.

Watters. see HTW.

ZDMG. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT (A)

VAISHṆAVISM, ŚAIVISM AND MINOR SECTS

I. INTRODUCTION

THE THEISTIC MOVEMENT which began long before the Christian era continued their progress unchecked in the centuries immediately following it. Theism, in the shape of worship of popular and personal gods like the Yakshas, Nāgas, Devatās and others, prevalent among the Indian masses from the remote past, was at the root of the growth and development of the *Bhakti* cults connected with Brāhmaṇical Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism. The religious outlook of the people changed a great deal in course of time, and the orthodox Vedism was very much modified by the systematisation of these cults. It was not only the indigenous people who took to one or other of them with earnestness and zeal; but the foreign immigrants were also much attracted by them. In fact, the alien domination over a greater part of northern India in the first two or three centuries A.D. was favourable to their spread. Members of the ruling race, including many of the kings, chiefs and potentates, were glad to adopt the culture of the conquered people, and come under the influence, direct and powerful, of the religious systems of the country. Orthodox Vedism could not have been easily accessible to them or appealed to their intellect and emotion. But they sought and found ready ingress into the folds of the *Bhakti* schools, like Buddhism, Jainism, Śaivism and Vaishṇavism. Some of the Kushāṇa emperors were Śaivas, others Buddhists. Many of the Satrapal rulers of northern and western India may also have belonged to different sects, and the names of several of them like Rudradāman, Rudrasiṁha and Rudrasena on the one hand, and Śivaghosha, and Śivadatta on the other, possibly denoted their sectarian affiliation. Nahapāna's son-in-law, the Śaka Ushavadāta (Sanskrit—Ṛishabhadatta), did many pious acts highly commended in the Purāṇas, and he probably belonged to one or other of these sects; but he was liberal in his benefactions, making endowments not only for the benefit of the Buddhist monks, but also in honour of the venerable gods and Brāhmaṇas (*bhagavatām devānām brāhmanānām cha*). In the Deccan, then mostly under the rule

of the Sātavāhanas and their feudatories, the more important of the Brahmanical religious systems appear to have existed side by side. The extant epigraphic data of the first three centuries of the Christian era from various parts of India, however, prove that these Brahmanical cults were not as potent as the Buddhist creed in its various aspects. Jainism was confined to a few localities. The Yakshas, Nāgas and such other folk-gods and goddesses, whose worship was prevalent side by side, were prone to be relegated to a subservient position, and some of them came soon to be described either as so many different aspects of the Brahmanical cult-deities, or as evil spirits vanquished by them.

Such was the religious background at the commencement of the fourth century A.D. The major part of the century witnessed the successful attempts of the first three Gupta Emperors to stabilize the political condition of Northern India and the fringes of the Northern Deccan. During the age that followed there was an all-round cultural development of the Indian people, and their literary and artistic genius manifested itself in all its splendour. It was during this period again that many of the sectarian religions were not only systematized but assumed a large variety of forms. Some of the early authoritative Purāṇas must have already gained almost their present form, and this literature was mainly utilized by the principal Brahmanical sectaries for the promulgation and exposition of their cult tenets. Other types of literature directly associated with the cults, viz., Saṁhitās, Āgamas and even a few Tantras, were also composed in the Gupta period, possibly mostly in its latter part. The sectaries again engaged the services of the best artists of the time—the sculptors, the bronze-casters, the painters and the architects,—who gave concrete shape to the ideologies expounded in the cult doctrines. These general trends in the religion and culture of the Indians were continued in the post-Gupta age till the end of the tenth century. As regards the Brahmanical sects in particular, it may be said that they mostly attained their highest developments by the end of this period, and any major changes in them in later period generally followed the earlier trends.

II BHĀGAVATA-PĀÑCHARĀTRA-VAIŚHṆAVA CULT

1. *Early Gupta Period*

The Bhāgavata cult seems to have got a new impetus under the direct patronage of some of the Imperial Gupta rulers. The religious creed of the first two Gupta Emperors is not explicitly known, though it is probable that they were Bhāgavata by faith. The Chandra-gupta-

Kumāradevī gold coins do not bear the Bhāgavata emblem, the *Garuḍa-dhvaja*, which is, however, very often present on Samudra-gupta's coins. That this great Gupta monarch had it for his signet is proved by the Allahabad Pillar inscription, and this possibly shows that he was a Bhāgavata.[1]

But Samudra-gupta, like the king Sarvatāta of the first century B.C., also performed the Vedic Aśvamedha sacrifice, though both of them were probably Bhāgavatas by faith. There cannot be any doubt, however, with regard to the creed of the third Gupta emperor, Chandra-gupta II, who is described in some of his gold and many of his silver coins as *parama-bhāgavata*. On a unique and interesting gold coin discovered at Bayana (Bharatpur, Rajasthan) bearing his name, he is given the characteristic epithet *chakra-vikramaḥ*, '(one who is) powerful (due to his possession of the) discus' on its reverse; the obverse side of this specie carries the figure of the two-armed Chakrapurusha or Vishṇu granting the discus to the king facing him.[2] The epithet *parama-bhāgavata* is also attributed to him in his own coins and inscriptions as well as epigraphs of his successors. Kumāra-gupta I is called *parama-bhāgavata* or simply *bhāgavata* in most of his silver coins and the Garuḍa emblem is very often found on his gold, silver as well as copper coins. Thus he was Bhāgavata by faith. But other data, both epigraphic and numismatic, seem to prove that he was also a devotee of the god Kārttikeya. None of his gold coins bear the aforesaid epithets, and the elaborate iconic device occurring on the reverse of his 'peacock type' gold coins shows Kārttikeya's figure, probably a replica of the very image of Kumāra-gupta I's favourite deity enshrined in a temple built by him in the capital.[3] He is described as *parama-daivata* in many of his inscriptions, several of which also bear the Bhāgavata epithets. We cannot be sure of the creeds of many of the subsequent Gupta monarchs, though some of them, like Skanda-gupta, were Bhāgavatas. The *Garuḍa-dhvaja* on

1 The word *paramabhāgavata* applied to Samudra-gupta in the Nālandā and Gayā plates issued in his name is not of much use in determining this point, for these two plates have almost unanimously been regarded by scholars as spurious and comparatively early forgeries; (cf. Fleet. *CII*, III, pp. 254 ff; Sircar, *SI*, I, pp. 262-66; *IC*, XI, p. 225). The Garudadhvaja emblem afterwards became a convention with the Gupta rulers, and at least in one case it did not indicate the user's creed (Cf. the case of Vainyagupta as noted above).

2 A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 145-50, pl. IX, figs. 8-9. The *Chakra* emblem occur on the top left corner of the obverse of several 'Arher' type gold coins of this monarch. Kācha (Samudra-gupta ?) bears almost invariably the *Chakra*-standard in his left hand (*CGD*, pp. 31-2, pl. VII, figs. 15-17; pl. II, figs. 10-13).

3 J. Allan, CGD, pp. 84-5, pl. XV, 5-11. J. N. Banerjea, *DHI*, pp. 158-59.

their coins alone would not always indicate their sectarian affiliation, for this is found also on the coins of Vainya-gupta Dvādaśāditya who, as we know from his Gunaighar plate, was a devotee of Śiva

The Gupta inscriptions prove that the Bhāgavata creed flourished in different parts of the Gupta Empire, though there were other cults flourishing side by side. Many of them record the erection of temples in honour of Vishṇu under various names such as Chakrabhṛit, Janārddana, Śārṅgin, Muradvish, and others. An inscription of the fourth century A.D., engraved on a steep isolated hill near Tusam (Hissar district, Haryana), records the construction of two reservoirs and a temple for *Bhagavān* (god) Vishṇu by the *Āchārya* Somatrāta, son of *Āchārya* Vasudatta, grandson of *Āchārya* Vishṇutrāta and great-grandson of *Ārya-sātvata-yogāchārya* Yaśastrāta, and the younger brother of the *Āchārya* and *Upādhyāya* Yaśastrāta (II). The inscription is very important and interesting, for it refers to several venerable teachers and expounders, presumably of the Sātvata-(i.e., Bhāgavata or Pāñcharātra) *yoga*, in succession, the first being described as 'the successor of many men of preceding generations' (*anekapurushābhyāgata*). The last epithet seems to show that many [illegible] decessors of the first Yaśastrāta were also Bhāgavatas, thus incide[illegible] ally showing the very long continuance of the creed in the region. Vishṇu, the god invoked here is described as 'the mighty bee on th water-lily which is the face of Jāmbavatī', and it shows that he is [illegible], the same as Vāsudeva; this fact, as well as the attribute *ārya* give [illegible] the Sātvatayoga, proves that the creed, though described in s[illegible] he early as well as late texts as un-vedic, had long been admitted [illegible] the orthodox fold by many. It may also 'point to the close connection between *Yoga* and *Bhakti* dedicated to the Bhagavat of the Sātvatas, which is one of the most noticeable features of the *Gītā*.'[4] A Brāhmī inscription, engraved in a cave of the Susunia Hill (near Bankura, West Bengal) of about the fourth century A.D., records that the cave with the discus mark was dedicated by one Chandravarman, the king of Pushkarana and the son of king Siṁhavarman; the dedicator describes himself as the foremost slave of Chakrasvāmin, evidently a name of Vishṇu. The rock-cut cave shrine at Udayagiri near Sāñchī in Bhopal appears to have been a Bhāgavata one, for the inscription dated G.E. 82 (A.D. 402), recording the pious gift of one Sanakānika ....dhala, a feudatory of Chandra-gupta II, is engraved over two relievo-sculptures—one of the four-armed god Vāsudeva-Vishṇu, a

4 H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*, 2nd Edition, p. 16[illegible].

the other of a twelve-armed goddess.[5] On a part of the facade of this cave shrine is carved a huge figure of the Varāha *avatāra* which 'so indicates its Bhāgavata affiliation. The Meharauli iron pillar in- .. iption (near Kutab Minar, Delhi) records that the *dhvaja* (flag-staff —the pillar itself) was set up by one king Chandra, 'having fixed his mind upon Vishṇu on a hill called Vishṇupāda'. The Chandra of this record has justifiably been identified by many scholars with Chandra-gupta II. The fragmentary Mandasor inscription of one *Mahārāja* Naravarman, most probably a feudatory of Chandra-gupta II, belonging to the Kṛita-Mālava year 461 (A.D. 404), was evidently a Bhāgavata record, though the portion containing its purport is lost. It begins with an invocation to the 'Purusha with thousand heads and immeasurable soul who sleeps on the waters of the four oceans as on a couch'. It praises one Satya who took refuge in Vāsudeva, 'the grantor of protection (*śaraṇya*), the abode of the world (*jagadvāsa*), the immeasurable (*aprameya*), the unborn (*aja*) and all-pervading (*vibhu*). This concept of Purusha-Vāsudeva is identical with that of Purusha Nārāyaṇa, one of the constituent elements of the cult-deity traceable in the late Vedic texts (cf. Vol. II, Chapter XIII). During the ...tory rule of Narvarman's son Viśvavarman, under the suzerainty ..Kumāra-gupta I, one Mayūrākshaka, minister of the former, and his two sons Vishṇubhaṭa and Haribhaṭa caused to be constructed a lofty ... beautiful temple of Vishṇu on the bank of the Garggarā (former ... vad State, Rajasthan) in the (Mālava) year 480 (A.D. 424), bea..ākshaka was a Bhāgavata showing extreme devotion towards on ...arer of the discus and the club (*parāñcha bhaktim vikhyāpay- ...ri chakkragadādharasya*)[6]. A red sandstone pillar found at Bhitari (Ghazipur district, U.P.) bears an undated inscription of the time of Skanda-gupta recording the dedication of an image of the same god under the name of Śārṅgin (wielder of the Śārṅga bow) by the king himself to the memory of his father Kumāra-gupta I. The copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 128 (A.D. 488), found at Baigram (Bogra district, Bangladesh), records a land-grant by two persons, Bhovila and Bhāskara by name, for daily worship in, and occasional repairs to, the temple of Govindasvāmin founded originally

5. J. F. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 22. The goddess has been correctly described by Cunningham as Durgā Mahishamardinī (*ASR* X, pp. 49 ff. pls. XVI, XVII; the buffalo-demon being killed by the goddess is clearly depicted in the relief. Fleet, and after him Raychaudhuri, have wrongly described it as Lakshmī.- Durgā Mahishāsuramar- ..as also Vishṇuite association.

6 The Gangdhar Stone inscription of Viśvavarman, *CII* III, pp. 75-6. The ins- cription also records the building of a temple of the 'Divine Mothers' by the same .. It is thus an evidence against sectarian exclusiveness.

by their father Śivanandin; the name of the founder of the Vaishṇava shrine should be noted. The Junāgaḍh (Kāthiāwār) inscription records the erection of a temple of Vishṇu under the name of Chakrabhṛit by one Chakrapālita, a devoted worshipper of Govinda and the governor of Surāshṭra-*vishaya* under Skanda-gupta, in the Gupta year 138 (A.D. 458). A stone inscription found at Gādhwā (Allahabad district, U.P.) bearing the Gupta date 148 (A.D. 468) refers to the installation of an image of Anantasvāmin and some grant to the same god under another name, Chitrakūṭasvāmin; it is needless to point out that both the designations stand for Vāsudeva-Vishṇu. In the time of Budhagupta also Bhāgavatism flourished in eastern and central India. The Damodarpur copper-plate inscription as well as the Eran stone pillar inscription bear testimony to this fact. Two sectarian deities, viz., Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin, for whose images two temples were built according to the former, were connected with the Bhāgavata cult.[7] The latter opens with an invocation of the all-pervading 'four-armed god whose couch is the broad waters of the four oceans, who is the cause of the continuance, the production, and the destruction of the universe and whose ensign is Garuḍa.' It records that *Mahārāja* Mātrivishṇu. who is described as excessively devoted to the Divine One (*atyantabhagavadbhakta*), with his obedient brother Dhanyavishṇu, had caused to be set up the flag-staff of the god Janārddana, the troubler of the demons. Even when shortly afterwards Eran was temporarily conquered by the Hūṇa chief Toramāṇa, Bhāgavatism flourished there, for the inscription on the chest of a colossal red sandstone image of a Boar (representing Vishṇu in his Varāha incarnation), found there, records the construction of the stone temple of the Lord Nārāyaṇa in this form by Dhanyavishṇu.

2. *Late Gupta and the post-Gupta age*

The gradual disintegration of the Gupta Empire did not witness the decline of Bhāgavatism, for during the succeeding age the creed flourished in different parts in India. The Maukhari king Anantavarman caused to be installed a beautiful image of the god Kṛishṇa in the cave shrine at Barābar (old Pravaragiri) near Gayā.[8] The kings of Uchchhakalpa, like Jayanātha, Śarvanātha and others were patrons of the creed, for some copper-plate inscriptions (A.D. 494-513) found at Khoh (Bhagelkhand district, M.P.) refer to several Bhāgavata en-

7 *HBR*, I, p. 400, n. 9.
8 *CII*, III, pp. 221-28.

dowments by them. The shrine of the goddess Pishṭapurī (or Pishṭapurikā), the local form of Lakshmī, at Manpur finds mention in some inscriptions. Grant to a temple of the same goddess by the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Saṁkshobha (A.D. 529) is recorded in another inscription found at Khoh; it begins with the twelve-syllabled Bhāgavata *mantra—Oṁ Na-mo Bha-ga-va-te- Vā-su-de-vā-ya* ('Om! reverence to the worshipful Vāsudeva'). It is interesting to note that here is one of the earliest references to the holiest litany of the creed. The vitality of the cult in this period is revealed by the fact that *Mahārāja* Dhruvasena I of Valabhī, most kings of whose line were devout worshippers of Shiva (*parama-Māheśvara*), was a convert to it, for he is described in the Maliya copper-plate (A.D. 572) of *Mahārāja* Dharasena II, one of his successors, as a *parama-bhāgavata.* The very fragmentary stone record of one Prakaṭāditya (*c.* seventh century A.D.) found at Sārnāth (Benares, U. P.) records the building of a temple of the god Vishṇu, under the name of Muradvish.

The flourishing state of Bhāgavatism in the Gupta and the early post-Gupta periods is also proved by a number of monumental and glyptic data. Many of the terracotta seal impressions unearthed in the course of excavations in the old sites of Bhita (near Allahabad) and Basarh (ancient Vaiśālī, Muzaffarpur district, Bihar) contain Vishṇuite emblems and inscriptions. Symbols such as the Kaustubhamaṇi or Śrīvatsa mark, shown on the breast of Vishṇu images, the attributes of Vishṇu like Śamkha, Chakra and Gadā; the figures of Varāha and Narasiṁha *avatāras* are found on many of them. Some again bear such Vaishṇavite legends as *Śrī-Vishṇupādasvāmi-Nārāyaṇa, Jayatyananto bhagavān Sāmbaḥ, Jitaṁ bhagavatonanatasya nandeśvarīvarasvāminaḥ* and *namo bhagavate Vāsudevāya,* etc. Bloch remarks about the seal with the first legend that 'this looks as if the seal came from the authorities of a temple of Vishṇupāda, perhaps, the famous shrine at Gayā'; in that case the seal would prove the existence of this temple in the fourth century A.D. The last of the legends is nothing but the holy Bhāgavata *mantra,* already referred to, without the *praṇava* (*Oṁ*). The goddess Lakshmī also appears on many sealings found at Bhita, Basarh and Rajghat (Benares).[9] Ruins of various temples as well as sculptures and reliefs found in places situated in such widely distant parts of India as Bhitargaon (Kanpur, U. P.), Gadhwa (Allahabad, U. P.), Deogarh (Jhansi district, U. P.), Mathurā (U.P.), Pathari (M.P.), Tigawa (M.P.) etc. would show how popular Bhāgavatism was in these regions.

9 Banerjea, *DHI,* pp. 209-14.

Evidence is not also wanting as regards the prevalence of Bhāgavatism in South India at the time. The various local dynasties ruling over different parts of the Deccan after the fall of the Śātavāhanas, such as the early Pallavas, the Kadambas, the Vishṇukuṇḍins, the Sālaṅkāyanas, the Vākāṭakas and others, and after them the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the later Pallavas, the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas included many active patrons of the Vaishṇava faith. They erected numerous shrines dedicated to it, the remains of some of which are extant even now. The name of Vishṇugopa, the Pallava king of Kāñchī, and a contemporary of Samudragupta seems to show that he had Vaishṇava affiliation; the name of the Vishṇukuṇḍin dynasty may also indicate the same. The Guṇapadeya copper-plate inscription of the time of the early Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman (fourth century A.D.) refers to a grant of some land by one Chārudevī, the queen of the *Yuvamahārāja* Vijaya-Buddhavarman (above, p. 316), to the god Nārāyaṇa enshrined in the temple erected by the local elder named Kuli (*Kulimahattaraka-devakulassa bhagavān-Nārāyaṇassa*). A verse occurs at the beginning of an early Kadamba grant, which means 'conquest is made by the lord Vishṇu on whose breast Śrī herself shines, and on the lotus-issuing from whose navel (shines) god Brahmā (*pitāmaha*)'. The Poona copper-plate inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā (P. 136), the queen of the Vākāṭaka King Rudrasena II, and the daughter of the Gupta emperor Chandragupta II, as well as many South Indian inscriptions of this period begin with the invocation *jitam bhagavatā*. It will be presently shown that the Vākāṭakas were great devotees of Śiva; but Rudrasena II, was a Vaishṇava.[10] Many of the early Chālukya kings had Bhāgavata inclination though, like the Kadambas, they lived under the guardianship of the Saptamātṛikās and had Kārttikeya as their favourite deity. This is proved by the Bādāmi cave shrine inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman I (*c.* 566-67) referred to above (p. 416). Maṅgaleśa undoubtedly professed the Vaishṇava faith, for he is described as a *paramabhāgavata;* it is also recorded in the inscription that he built a *Mahā-Vishṇugriha*.[11] The Bādāmi cave shrine contains interesting varieties of Vaishṇava images and series of reliefs carved on its walls, which elaborately illustrate the Krishṇāyana scenes. The Durgā temple at Aihole of a somewhat later date, having in the subsidiary niches image-groups showing an admixture of Vaishṇava, Śaiva and Śākta subjects, was probably originally asso-

10 Chammak *CII*, III, p. 236. Presumably he was converted to the new faith after his marriage.

11 *IA*, X, p. 59.

ciated with Vaishṇava worship. The mixing up of different sectarian elements in the Chālukyan shrines has been explained by some scholars as due to the liberal religious outlook of the early kings. But it might also reflect the Smārta attitude to these sectarian deities; they were to be venerated by an orthodox Smārta according to his scriptural injunctions. The rock-cut temples at Ellora, mostly constructed during the time of the powerful Rāshṭrakūṭa rulers, also include among them several Vaishṇava shrines. The Bhāgavata creed of some of the later Pallavas of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. is proved by epigraphic as well as monumental data. The Narasaraopet (Omgodu) copper-plate inscription of the 4th regnal year of Siṁhavarman describes the king as 'meditating on the feet of the Bhagavat' (*bhagāvatpādānudhyata*) and as a *parama-bhāgavata;* another passage in it appears to describe him as 'the husband of *Śrī* and *Pṛithivī* (*Śrī-Pṛithivī-vallabha*), an epithet found in the inscriptions of the Chālukyas and Rāshṭrakūṭas'. It probably refers to the claims of these kings to have been incarnations of Vishṇu.[12] Vaishṇava shrines of the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. still extant in eastern and western Deccan, show the popularity of the creed among the subjects of the early Chālukyas and the later Pallavas. Temples at Bādāmi, Paṭṭadakal, Gadag, Lakkuṇḍi etc. on the one hand, and Kāñchī, Mahābalipuram etc. on the other, testify to the wide prevalence of the cult in South India in the late Gupta and early post-Gupta periods.

3. *Some Traits of Gupta and Early Post-Gupta Vaishṇavism*

Before the history of Bhāgavatism, now to be described as Vaishṇavism, is traced further, it is necessary to take note of some of the special features of the creed from the fourth century onwards. The name 'Bhāgavata' was more common in the Gupta period, though the term 'Vaishṇava' had come to be used some time before the middle of the fifth century A.D. The coins of the Traikūṭaka kings Dahrasena and his son Vyāghrasena, who flourished in the latter half of the fifth century A.D., invariably describe them as *parama-vaishṇava,* an epithet also attributed to Devaśakti, one of the early Gurjara-Pratihāra kings whose date falls near about the middle of the eight century A.D. But there is no doubt that Vishṇu was now more popular as the name of the cult-god than Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa. The developed mythology of the creed at this period distinctly shows that all these three elements,—Nārāyaṇa, Vishṇu, and Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa—had together built up this concept. The association of the creed with Yoga philosophy and sun worship, which was long ago enunciated in the

12 D. C. Sircar, *SI*, I, 447, f.n. 2.

Bhagavadgītā and the Nārāyaṇīya section of the *Mahābhārata*, was much developed in the period. The theory of incarnation (*avatāra*), which was first systematically expounded in the *Bhagavadgītā*, found prominence in the Gupta age, and Kṛishṇa was regarded as the most perfect *avatāra* of Vishṇu. This shows that Pāñcharātra-Bhāgavata creed had come to be accepted as a part of orthodox Vedism. The names *Bhāgavata* and *Pañcharātra* were, however, very much current even in the sixth century A.D. and afterwards, for Varāhamihira, while speaking about installation of images (*pratishṭhāvidhi*) says that a Vishṇu image should be installed by a Bhāgavata; Utpala in his commentary on this passage remarks that such an installation should be done according to the Pāñcharātra rites.[13] In the gradual transformation of Bhāgavatism into Vaishṇavism, the *avatāra* doctrine played a prominent part, and this is the principal reason why the worship of the *avatāras* became a notable feature of Gupta Vaishṇavism. Incarnations of Vishṇu-Nārāyaṇa like Varāha, Narasiṁha, Vāmana etc. are mentioned in some of the Gupta inscriptions, but the Puranic and other literature of this period, as well as many sculptures hailing from such widely distant regions of India as Udayagiri (M. P.), Mahābalipuram (Tamilnadu), Bādāmī (Karṇāṭaka), Gādhwā (U.P.) etc., distinctly prove that the concept of the Daśāvatāras was already on the way of being stereotyped. Buddha and Ṛishabha seem to have been regarded by now as the incarnatory forms of Vishṇu, as is proved by the list of 39 incarnations given in the *Sātvata Saṁhitā*.[14] As regards the two Rāmas (Bhārgava or Paraśu-Rāma and Rāghava or Dāśarathi Rāma) and Kalki, it may be observed that the early mediaeval Daśāvatāra slabs found in some parts of India prove that their worship already formed a part of the creed. Images of Rāma Dāśarathi are described by Varāhamihira (*Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, Ch. 57) and Kālidāsa refers to this Rāma as the same as Hari (*Rāmābhidhāno Hari, Raghuvaṁśa*, XIII, I). It has been suggested by some scholars that the almost total absence of any reference to the *vyūhas*, viz., Samkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha, in the inscriptions of the Gupta age indicates the disappearance of their independent worship, and 'the ousting of the *vyūhas* by the *avatāras* was one of the characteristic signs of the transformation of Bhāgavatism into Vishṇuism'.[15] But it can be proved with the help of literary

13 J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, pp. 249-50 n. 1.

14 *JISOA*. XII, pp. 114-15.

15 H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, 2nd Edition, pp. 175-76. Raychaudhuri says that the *Mahābhāshya*, the Ghosundi and Nanaghast inscriptions refer to the Vyūha cult; but it has been shown that the two inscriptions certainly, if not the *Mahābhāshya*, refer to the Vīra cult and not the Vyūhavāda (cf. above, Vol. II, Ch. XIII).

as well as archaeological data that the worship of the *vyūhas* was certainly not discarded from the Bhāgavata-Vaishṇava creed in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. The composition of some of the early authoritative Pāñcharātra texts, dealing exhaustively with the *vyūhavāda*, is to be ascribed to the Gupta age, and there can be no doubt that this peculiar tenet was systematised and developed during this period and afterwards. That it remained a potent force in the re-oriented creed can be clearly demonstrated. The four-faced images of Vishṇu-Chaturmūrti of the mediaeval and even earlier period, from Kashmir, Mathurā, Benares and other places, fully prove that the *vyūha* element was one of the strong and living features of the Gupta and the post-Gupta Vaishṇavism. The *Vishṇudharmottaram* (of the late Gupta period) explains the symbolism underlying this peculiar Vishṇu icon with the faces of a man (central one), a boar (left), a lion (right) and a demon (back), with the help of the self-same doctrine of the *vyūhas;* not only that, the very name *Vishṇu-Chaturmūrti* shows that it embodied in one concrete form all the four primary *vyūhas*, the central human face standing for Vāsudeva, and the lion, boar and demon faces symbolising respectively in an esoteric manner the three other *vyūhas*, Samkarshana, Pradyumna and Aniruddha.[16] Śrī-Vaishṇavism of later times, which owed much to the earlier Pāñcharātra theology, reserves an honoured place for this tenet. It was in the early mediaeval times that the number of the four *vyūhas* was increased to as many as twenty-four, and separate images of many of them have been discovered in different parts of India.[17] It should be noted that in the developed philosophy of the Pāñcharātrins, as expounded in the *Nārāyaṇīya* and other later texts, the four original *vyūhas* are identified in the following manner: Vāsudeva is the supreme reality, Saṁkarshaṇa, the primeval matter (*prakṛiti*), Pradyumna, cosmic mind (*manas*), and Aniruddha, cosmic self-consciousness (*ahaṁkāra*).

The worship of the goddess Lakshmī, the principal consort of Vishṇu-Vāsudeva, was another important trait of the Vaishṇavism of the time. Homage was being paid to her by Indians from a very early period, but in the early phase of her worship she had no clear association with Vāsudeva and Vishṇu. She was the goddess of beauty, luck and prosperity, and as such was revered by the rival sectaries of the Buddhists, Jains and the Bhāgavatas. But in the Gupta period

16 *JISOA*. XIII, pp. 86-89.

17 *MASI*, no. 2; T. A. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, I, pp. 227-44 and plates.

and afterwards she seems to have been specially appropriated by the Bhāgavata creed, and some inscriptions of the period describe Vāsudeva-Vishṇu as 'the perpetual abode of Lakshmī whose dwelling is the water-lily' (*Kamalanilayanāyāḥ śāsvatam dhāma Lakshmyāḥ*). But her old association with good fortune, wealth and prosperity was not only fully maintained, but more valued by the general mass of the people. This is proved by the Gupta seals unearthed at Bhita, Basarh and other places, many of which show her attended by pot-bellied Yakshas, mythical custodians of treasures (*nidhis*), doling out wealth from treasure-chests. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* says that Lakshmī is the presiding deity of Padminī Vidyā whose containers (*ādhāras*) are the eight *nidhis* (the kings of the Takshas). The seal-legends show that many of the owners of these seals were traders and merchants (belonging to the order of the *śreshṭhi-sārthavāha-kulika-nigama*), and the association of the goddess with commerce is characteristically emphasised by one interesting Basarh seal-impression which shows her standing inside a barge.[18] But her connection with Vishṇu is clearly shown by the presence of many Vishṇuite emblems on these impressions. Another consort of Vishṇu, Bhūdevī (the Earth-goddess) is also an object of much reverence to the sectaries. Some inscriptions belonging to Eastern M. P. contain a formula in which the goddess Bhū is described as Vaishṇavī (*Bhūr-Vaishṇavī*). Many sculptures of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, hailing from all parts of India, illustrate the story of the Boar incarnation in which the rescue of the Earth-goddess from deluge is the principal theme. In South Indian images of the post-Gupta and later period Srī and Bhū are shown as the two principal consorts of Vishṇu. In their North Indian counterparts Śrī and Pushṭi occupy this honoured place, and the latter, carrying a lyre, reminds us of goddess Sarasvatī. The goddess Pishṭapurikā, reference to whose shrine at Manpur has already been made, may be mythologically allied either to one or both of the goddesses.

The foundation of religious establishments (*maṭhas*) associated with Vaishṇavism is also proved by epigraphic data. The Aphsad stone inscription of Ādityasena not only records the erection by him of a big temple in honour of Vishṇu, but also the establishment of a religious college by his mother, the Mahādevī Śrīmatī, which resembled 'a house in the world of gods, (and) had been given by herself in person to religious people'.[19]

18 Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 211.
19 Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 204.

4. *The Ālvārs*

The Vaishṇava creed was popularised in South India by a body of saints, mostly Tamils, who by their ardent devotion to Lord Vishṇu and by their simple emotional way of expressing it through the medium of beautiful songs composed in their mother-tongue, appealed to the hearts of the people. They were known by the name of the 'Ālvārs', a Tamil word meaning those who were immersed' (in their devotion to the Lord). Such was the fame achieved by these South-Indian *bhaktas*, that tradition, recorded at least in one of the Purāṇas, says that, 'in the Kali age there will be found men here and there devoted to Nārāyaṇa, but in large numbers in the Draviḍa country, where flow the rivers Tāmraparṇī, Kṛitamālā, Kāverī and Pavasvinī, and that those who drink the water of these rivers will mostly be pure-hearted devotees of Vāsudeva'.[20] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, from which this passage is quoted, seems to have been composed some time about A.D. 900, if not earlier, and it thus appears that most of these devotional Vaishnava saints of South India, if not all, flourished before that date.[21] A detailed account of these Ālvārs will be given in Chapter XXX. It will suffice here to state that they played an important part in the moulding and dissemination of the creed throughout Southern India. The songs composed by them are known as *Divya Prabandhas* or *Nālāyira Prabandhas* which illustrate in all their genuine and simple emotion the different ways of approach to the Lord,—through *bhakti* (loving adoration) and *prapatti* (self-surrender)—, in which the personal bond between the worshipped and the worshipper is conceived and described in various ways. It is true that they were great devotees of Vāsudeva-Vishnu-Nārāyaṇa, but in their creed there was no narrow sectarianism, and sometimes they regarded Śiva as equal to the god of their choice; reference to many Bhāgavata shrines of the South where Vishṇu and Śiva were equally adored are to be found in many of their hymns. But as regards the attitude of some of them to Buddhism and Jainism, it must be said that it fell in line with that of their Śaiva counterparts, the Nāyanmārs or the Nāyanārs. The hostility of these devotees of Vishṇu and Śiva was one of the principal causes of the gradual disappearance of the heterodox creeds from South India. There was again no caste-rigour in their creed; out-castes and women were never disallowed from their fold; some of them were out-castes themselves, and one,

20 *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, XI, 5, vv. 38-40.

21 For the views of different scholars regarding the chronology of the Ālvārs, cf. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *op. cit.*, pp. 185-88, J. N. Farquhar, *RLI*, pp. 187-88; R. G Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

at least, a woman. They were held in great veneration by the South Indian Vaishṇavas, and the founders of the Srīyaishṇava creed though they were strong advocates of caste, were not loath to express their indebtedness to them. Not only were the songs of the Ālvārs sung in the Vaishṇava temples, but their images also were assigned an honoured place there.

5. *The Literary Background of Vaishṇavism*

An extensive literature grew round traditional history, theology and metaphysics of the Vaishṇava creed. The *Mahābhārata,* which gives an interesting history of this theistic school in its Nārāyaṇīya section (included in the Sāntiparvam), seems to have attained very nearly its present shape before A.D. 300. Both the epics contain many sectarian elements among which the Vaishṇava ones were the most important. *Harivaṁsa,* a supplement to the Great Epic, composed before A.D. 400, was a Vaishṇava work. It deals with the life of Kṛishṇa, and specially the legends of his youth which had a great popular appeal. Only a few of the earliest Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās were probably written before the fourth century, but many of the early authoritative texts of this character were written later in the extreme north of India, probably Kashmir. They expatiated on the tenets of the school, the most important of which was the doctrine of the *vyūhas, a* succinct account of which has already been given (Vol. II, Ch. XIII). It was further developed in our period and the number of the emanatory forms of Lord Vāsudeva was raised from four to twenty-four. These Saṁhitās, Āgamas and Tantras were collectively the main sources utilised by the Śrī-Vaishnava Achāryas like Yāmunāchārya and Rāmānuja in giving shape to their doctrines. A full and elaborate Pāñcharātra text is supposed to deal with four topics, viz., *charyā, kriyā, jñāna,* and *yoga,* though in most of them the first two, dealing with the rules of conduct and pious actions recommended for a devout Pāñcharātrin, were described at much greater length than the others.[22] Another body of literature which had a great hand in the dissemination of the Vaishṇava doctrines was the Purāṇas, some of which were Vaishṇava in character. As Farquhar says, 'The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* is the best representative of the whole class of sectarian Purāṇas, since it is purely Vaishṇava in its teaching from the beginning to the end, and yet retains with considerable faithfulness the character of the old unsectarian Purāṇas'.

22 Schräder has analysed the contents of the *Pādma Tantra,* a Pāñcharātra text, in this way, *Introduction to the Pāñcharātra Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā,* p. 22.

The theology, as expounded in the *Bhagavadgītā* and other Vaishṇava sections of the Great Epic, is mainly followed in this work. The other Vaishṇava Purāṇa was the *Bhāgavata* which was later than the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. It gave a new and dynamic shape to Vishṇu-*bhakti*, which in all its passionate self-abandon was regarded as the principal source of release from the physical bonds and elevation to the highest goal of a Vaishṇava. The so-called erotic element in Vaishṇavism, which centred round the extra-marital love of the Gopīs (cowherdesses) for Kṛishṇa, was first systematically expounded in this Purāṇa. It was further emphasised afterwards in the concept of the self-abandoning love of Rādhā, the chief of the Gopīs, in such late works as the *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa*. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* became the most venerated text of the Vaishṇavas, and inspired a large number of early and late mediaeval Vaishṇava theologians who became the founders of various sub-sects. Several other Purāṇas were also retouched and added to by theologians of this sect, who popularised their doctrines in this way. Another class of literature written by them for this purpose was the Vaishṇava *Upanishads* like the *Mahā-Nārāyana*, *Nṛisiṁha-pūrva-tāpanīya*, *Nṛisiṁha-uttara-tāpanīya*, *Rāma-pūrva-tāpanīya*, *Rāma-uttara-tāpanīya*, which were held in great veneration by the sectaries. Farquhar makes a plausible suggestion that the last four were the text-books of the Narasiṁha and Rāma sects, which must have come into existence in the Gupta period. A Basarh seal of the fifth century A.D. definitely proves the existence of the Man-lion incarnation as a cult-god, and literary and archaeological data prove that the Rāmaite sect was not as late as is believed by some scholars. But there can be little doubt that these flourished as so many sub-sects under the great *Bhakti* school of Vaishṇavism.[23]

III. SAIVISM

1. *General Popularity*

Though Śaivism was not the creed of the early Gupta emperors, it was well patronised by their subjects, as well as by the Indian people outside their Empire. Vīrasena Śāba, a courtier of Chandragupta II, caused one of the cave shrines at Udayagiri to be made in honour of the god Śaṁbhu (Śiva) out of his great veneration to Him. It is here, as we have shown before, that another courtier or officer of the same Emperor made some Vaishṇava endowment in the year

23 For Farquhar's view about the origin of the Narasiṁha and Rāma Sects, cf *RLI*, pp. 188-90; for the Basarh sealing, cf. *ASIAR*, 1913-14, seal no. 191.

82 (A.D. 401-02), and the existence of a Vaishṇava and a Śaiva shrine side by side in the same place is worth noting. We shall show presently that a Śākta shrine also was there. A stone Śiva-liṅga, excavated from an ancient site near the village of Karamdāṇḍā (Faizabad district, U. P.), contains an interesting inscription at its base which throws some light on Śiva-worship in this region during the time of Kumāra-gupta I. It records a gift made by one Prithivīsheṇa, a minister of Kumāra-gupta, for the worship of the Mahādeva known as Prithivīśvara with proper pious offerings to certain Brāhmanas from Ayodhyā, who were living in the vicinity of the Lord Śaileśara-śvāmī Mahādeva, and who were 'proficient in observances, in sacred study, in the *mantras*, the *sūtras*, *bhāshyas* and *pravachanas*'.[24] It seems that these Ayodhyā Brāhmaṇas were Śaiva clericals, well-versed in the sectarian rites and theological lore, residing in the vicinity of the older shrine of Lord Śaileśvara-śvāmī Mahādeva (another earlier Śiva-liṅga). Mahādeva Prithivīśvara, evidently the inscribed *liṅga* in question, seems to have been set up by Prithivīsheṇa himself, and was thus another *nāma-liṅga* or *svanāmaliṅga* (cf. the expression *svākhya-liṅga* in the Malkapur stone inscription). The invocation in the first line of the inscription, *namo-Mahādevāya* (Obiesance to Mahādeva' i.e., the great god), is a seven-syllabled (*saptākshara*) mantra, which should be compared with the usual *pañchākshara mantra*, *namaḥ Śivāya* of a later date. Another point, worth noting about the Karamdāṇḍā *liṅga*, is that it had certainly shed some of its realism of the earlier period, though it had not fully attained the conventional shape of the Śiva-*liṅga* of the mediaeval and modern periods. *Mahārāja* Vainya-gupta was a devotee of Lord Śiva, for in his Gunaighar (Comilla district, Bangladesh) copper-plate inscription he is described as *bhagavān-Mahādeva-pādānudhyāta*, 'favoured by the Lord Mahādeva'. The Janendra ('tribal lord') Yaśodharmān, who flourished in the Mandasor region, Madhya Pradesh, in the first half of the sixth century A.D., and is described in his inscriptions as the vanquisher of the Hūṇa chief Mihirakula, was a devout Śaiva, as is manifest from his invoking the favour of the god Śūlapāṇi (trident-bearer) in all his inscriptions. The Hūṇa chief Mihirakula, was also an exclusive worshipper of Śiva; this is proved not only by his own coins bearing the figure of the bull Nandin (Śiva in his theriomorphic form) with the legend *jayatu vṛishaḥ* on the reverse, but also by an inscription of his rival Yaśodharman.

Continued patronage of the creed by various Indian chiefs in different parts of India in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods can be sub-

24 *EI*, X, pp. 70-72.

stantiated with the help of epigraphic data. Thus one *Mahārāja* Śrī Bhīmavarman, ruling in the Kosam region in the year A.D. 458, installed an image of Hara-Pārvatī. The Vākāṭaka rulers, with the exception of Rudrasena II, were all sectarian Śaivas, for they are described in some of their inscriptions as *atyanta-svāmimahābhairava-bhakta* ('ardent devotee of the Lord Mahābhairava), *atyanta Māheśvara* (an intense 'Māheśvara' or 'Pāśupata') etc. Again the Bhāraśiva dynasty of *Mahārāja* Bhavanāga, the maternal grandfather of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I, 'owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Śiva (caused) by their carrying a *liṅga* of Śiva placed as a load upon (their) shoulders.' Most of the Maitraka rulers of Valabhī, beginning from Bhaṭāraka, the founder, were *parama-māhesvaras* as their inscriptions testify. Two at least of the later Guptas of Magadha, Devagupta and his son Vishṇugupta, were the most devout worshippers of Maheśvara as we know from the Deo-Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta. Śarvavarman is described in the royal seals as *parama-māheśvara*. Another earlier Maukhari chief, Anantavarman by name, however, seems to have been devoted to all the three principal creeds Vaishṇava, Śaiva, and Śākta, as his Nāgārjunī hill cave inscriptions show. The Nirmaṇḍ (Kangra district) copper-plate inscription of *Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta* Samudrasena (*c.* seventh century A.D.) also gives us an interesting glimpse into the religious mentality of a section of the people in the region. It records the allotment of the village of Sūlisagrāma by Samudrasena to a body of Brāhmanas who studied the *Atharvaveda* at the *agrahāra* of Nirmmaṇḍa, for the purposes of the god Tripurāntaka or Śiva, who, under the name of Mihireśvara, had been installed by his mother Mihiralakshmī at a previously established temple of the same god under the name of Kapāleśvara.[25] Fleet thinks that the name Mihireśvara here may signify a combination of Saura and Śaiva worship. It will be shown afterwards that such composite cult-icons like Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava or Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa were worshipped in different parts of India. But Mihireśvara in this context may denote another specimen at svākhyaliṅga already referred to. The temple of Kapāleśvara was originally erected by one *Mahārāja* Śarvavarman according to the Nirmaṇḍ plate, and there is very little doubt that he was the same as the Maukhari king *parama-māheśvara Mahārāja* Śarvavarman. The Hāḍahā plate informs us that his brother Sūryavarman repaired and reconstructed a dilapidated shrine of Śiva (*Andhakabhida*), and it is presumable that when Śarvavarman was out on an expedition against the Hūṇas in the Kangra region far to the north of his kingdom, he erected a temple in honour of the god of his

25 Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 288.

choice.[26] The name Kapāleśvara of the earlier Śiva-*liṅga* is interesting, for it may incidentally show that the sect of the Kāpālikas, the worshippers of Śiva, the Kapāli or Kapālīśvara, had long been in existence before the time of Śarvavarman. The body of the Atharvaṇa Brāhmaṇas settled in the *agrahāra* of Nirmmaṇḍa, the recipients of Samudrasena's donation, were evidently Saiva clericals, possibly the Kāpālikas themselves, who were in charge of the Śaiva shrines of the much earlier Kapāleśvara and Mihireśvara of later date.[27]

2. *Pāśupata Sect*

The Śaiva clericals referred to in the Karamdāṇḍā and Nirmaṇḍ records were preceded by those who are mentioned in earlier inscriptions and literature as Pāśupatas or Māheśvaras. One of the earliest references to the Lakulīśa-Pāśupatas is to be found in an inscription of the G. E. 61 (A.D. 380-81) in the reign of Chandra-gupta II at Mathurā and it has already been shown that their precursors were the Śiva-bhāgavatas of Patañjali and probably a section of the Ājīvikas (Vol. II, Ch. XIII). The Purāṇic as well as the inscriptional data show that Lakulīśa flourished some time about the beginning of the second century A.D. He reorganised the theistic school of Śaivism and was succeeded by four disciples, Kuśika, Mitra, Gargya and Kaurushyā, who were the founders of four lines amongst the Pāśupatas. The Mathurā inscription, referred to above (p. 52), records that one Ārya Uditāchārya, tenth in apostolic succession from Kuśika, evidently the first immediate disciple of Lakulīśa, caused to be installed in the Teachers' Shrine (*gurvvāyatana*), (the *liṅgas*) Upamiteśvara and Kapileśvara (comprising the figures of) his teacher and his teacher's teacher, Upamita and Kapila, for the commemoration of the preceptors (*gurūnām cha kirtyartham*). The donor of the record also mentions the name of one Parāśara who was the immediate apostolic predecessor of Kapila. All the four past *gurus*, Kuśika, Parāśara, Kapila and Upamita, are honoured with the supreme designation of *bhagavat*, usually associated with persons attaining to the rank of the divinity. Uditāchārya, the living Pāśupata-teacher, is called *Ārya* which may

26 R. S. Tripathi's suggestion that this Śarvavarman was a local chief and not the Maukhari Śarvavarman (*THK*, p. 54) does not bear scrutiny. The Maukhari king could have erected a Śiva-temple far outside his own dominion in that of a friendly neighbour (probably the Vardhanas of Thāneśvara) That he is given the humbler title of *mahārāja* in the Nirmaṇḍ plate may be due to the fact that the reference is not contained in an inscription of his own dynasty or of his subjects.

27 Fleet points out that the meaning of the passage (lines 8-9 of the copper plate) referring the grant and its purpose is not quite clear; it may contain some incidental reference to Kāpālika-vidhi.

mean, according to D.R. Bhandarkar, 'a master, an owner, here the owner of the two memorial structures raised by him in the "teachers' shrine"'. But the epithet may also be understood in the same sense in which it is used in the Tusham stone inscription referred to above (p. 782). The Māheśvaras and the Achāryas, for whose acceptance the structures were raised, were evidently Pāśupatas and Pāsupatāchāryas belonging to Kuśika's line who were flourishing in the Mathurā region in the early Gupta period. We find evidence of the presense of another branch of the Pāśupatas at Somanātha in Kāthiāwar at a much later date (thirteenth century A.D.) in an inscription usually known as the Cintra praśasti (originally it was in a temple at Somanātha and later it found its way to the Quinta of Don Juan de Castro at Cintra in Portugal). These were the Pāśupata teachers who belonged to the line of Gargya.[28]

The wide prevalence of the Pāśupatas in different parts of India in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. and afterwards is fully established by literary data also. Varāhamihira enjoins in his *Bṛihatsamhitā* (Ch. 59, v. 19) that an image of Sambhu (probably a Siva-*liṅga*) is to be installed after due consecration by the ash-besmeared twice-born (*sabhasmadvija*). Utpala says that they were none other than the Pāśupatas, who followed in this installation ceremony a code laid down in the *Vātula-tantra* (lit. 'the sacred lore of the lunatics').[28a] The fourth *tattva* (*vidhi*, i.e., the means by which a Pāśupata would attain his goal which is *duḥkhānta*, the cessation of misery), as summarised by Mādhava in his *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, consists of such rites and practices which appeared as insane acts to one uninitiated in the sectarian mysteries. Bhāradvāja, who wrote a commentary (*Uddyota*) on Vāstyāyana's *Nyāyabhāshya*, is described as a Pāśupatāchārya. But the most interesting evidence about the numerical strength of the Pāśupatas scattered throughout India is supplied by the Chinese Pilgrim Hiuan Tsang. He refers to them in his *Si-yu-ki* as many as twelve times, and some of these references are noteworthy. Thus the ten thousand Maheśvara-worshipping sectaries, whom he saw at Benares, besmeared their bodies with ashes, went naked and bound their hair in knots; these were evidently the Pāśupata clericals. In the far south of India (Mo-lo-ku-ta-Malayakūṭa, the Malayalam-speaking tract), there were temples and worshippers of

28 For the Mathurā stone inscription, cf. *EI*, XXI, pp. 1-9; for the Cintra Praśasti, cf. *EI*, I, pp. 271 ff.

28a K. K. Dasgupta has shown that these Pāśupata Śaivism of the *Vātula-tantra* type (cf. the *Sūtras* of one Vātulanātha, edited by M. Kaul in the Kashmir Sanskrit Series) contributed towards the growth of the Baul cult, a syncretic folk religious order of Bengal. *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, Calcutta, 1959, pp. 339-52.

Maheśvara belonging to this sect. In the Mālava region of Central India there were several temples which were associated with the Pāśupatas. In the far western and north-western corners of India, in the regions of Kach, Baluchistan and Bannu, there were numerous Deva-temples of which several were associated with the Pāśupata creed. In the capital city of Lang-ka-lo (somewhere in the modern Makran region in Baluchistan) was 'a large temple to Maheśvara, very handsome, and held in great reverence by the Pāśupatas'.[29]

3. *The Offshoots of the Pāśupata School: Kāpālika and Kālāmukha*

The Pāśupata was thus the principal Śaiva sect in the Gupta period, and some of the other Śaiva creeds that were evolved at that time or shortly afterwards appear to have originated from it.[29a] It has just been shown that the four immediate disciples of Lakulīśa were the founders of four different lines of teachers, and it is possible that the tenets preached by the respective groups, though taking their inspiration from the same fountain-head, were characterised by individual traits of their own. There can be no doubt about the Kāpālikas and Kālāmukhas being the extreme offshoots of the Pāśupata order, and the antiquity of the first of the two at least goes back to the seventh century A.D. or even earlier. The wide prevalence of this sub-sect in the period is proved by the worship of Śiva as Kapāleśvara in far distant corners of India (*supra*, p. 795). The copper-plate inscription of Pulakeśin II's nephew Nāgavardhana (seventh century A.D.) records the grant of a village near Igatpuri in the Nasik district, Maharashtra State, 'for the worship of the god Kapāleśvara, and for the maintenance of the Mahāvratins residing in the temple'. R. G. Bhandarkar has shown that the name Mahāvratin, or 'observer of the great vow' designated the Kāpālikas or the Kālāmukhas. The *vrata* (vows) of a Pāśupata consisted of such practices as besmearing the body with ashes, lying down in ashes, muttering the Pāśupata *mantra*, circumambulating the divine image, laughing, singing, dancing, and *huḍuk-kāra* (making a sound resembling that of an ox). The 'great vow' of a Kāpālika or a Kālāmukha even far exceeded the above acts in their extreme form. Again, the fifth topic of a Pāśupata is *duḥkhānta*, the total destruction of misery. The above-noted Nirmaṇḍ plate (p. 795) describes the god Mihireśvara, as 'compassionate to those who worship him and the destroyer of all sorrows'

29 *HTW*, I, pp. 296, 331; II, pp. 229, 242.

29a For an account of these offshoots, cf, V. S. Pathak, *History of Śaiva Cults in Northern India*, Varanasi, 1960 pp. 19 ff (KKDG).

(*praṇat-ānukampinas-sarva-duḥkha-kshaya-karasya*). Bāṇa describes the Pāśupatas as dressed in red garments, and the description of the Kāpālikas to be found in such works as Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* bears a great similarity to that of Pāśupatas. Śaṅkarāchārya refers to the view of the Māheśvaras that Paśupati was the revealer of the five topics, the *pañcha tattvas* or the *pañcha arthas* of the Nakulīśa Pāśupata sect, and Rāmānuja and Keśava Kashmirin also refer to the Śaiva systems as revealed by Paśupati. The Mysore inscriptions of the tenth century A.D. and later periods go one step further and aver that the original teacher was Lakulīśa from whose teachings were developed those of other Śaiva teachers. The Kālāmukhas, in one inscription, are specifically called Lākulas, and a member of the Śaiva school is described in another as being also a Lākula or Pāśupata. The facts mentioned above leave little doubt that the principal Śaiva system, which was founded by Lakulīśa on the basis of older Śaiva orders in the first or second century A.D., became the fountain-head of the later Śaiva sects such as the Śaiva, the Kāpālika and the Kālāmukha, the last being probably described by some authors as Kārukasiddhāntin and by others as Kārunikasiddhāntin. R. G. Bhandarkar suggests that either the word Kāruka is a corruption of Kaurushya, one of the four immediate disciples of Lakulīśa, or Kaurushya may be the Sanskritised form of the original Kāruka. The four schools noted above, Nakulīśa-Pāśupata, Śaiva, Kāpālika and Kālāmukha, are mentioned in the *Vāyavīyasaṁhitā* of the *Śiva Purāṇa* (II. 24. 177) with this difference that the second is called *Siddhāntamārga* and the Kālāmukhas designated as *Mahāvratadharas*.[30]

4. *The Tenets of the Śaiva Schools*

Of the four Śaiva schools just mentioned, the first two, Pāśupata and Śaiva, appear to have had more advocates than the other two. The Pāśupata creed, as systematised by Lakulīśa, deals with five topics which are (1) *kārya,* (2) *kāraṇa,* (3) *yoga,* (4) *vidhi,* and (5) *duḥkhānta.* The first two topics consist of the Paśu (the individual soul), with its properties and associates, and the Pati (the Lord) in his character of the creator, the sustainer and the destroyer. The next two denote action or cessation from action, and operational measures which either bring forth union of the Paśu, the individual soul, with Pati, the supreme soul, or which, producing righteousness in the individual, prepare him for his ultimate release from misery. The last is the final deliverance which does not only indicate destruction of

30 R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 118-21.

misery for the individual soul, but also the attainment of certain supernatural powers by it (*paramaiśvaryaprāpti*). The *kārya* or the effect, which is eternal according to this system, is the Paśu, with cognition (*vidyā*) as its property, and organs (*kalā*) which are dependent on the cognitive individual. Cognition not only includes the conceptual operation (*chitta*) on the part of the individual through his instruments of knowledge, but also his internal perception of the nature of virtue or vice which determines and regulates his actions. There are two kinds of organs, the causal organs and the effected ones. The former are thirteen in number, the five *jñānendriyas*, the five *karmendriyas*, intelligence (*buddhi*), sense of ego (*ahamjñāna*), and mind (*manas*); the effected ones are ten in number, viz., the five gross (*kshiti, ap, teja, marut, vyoma*) and the five subtle (*śabda, sparśa, rūpa, rasa, gandha*) elements. Paśu or the individual, in relation to whom the *vidyā* and *kalā* principally exist, is of two kinds, impure and pure; the impure individual is that which has not yet severed its connection with the body and the organs, while the pure one has done so. The *kāraṇa*, i.e. the supreme cause is the eternal ruler Śiva who, 'on account of his various properties and functions, has many forms, such as lord (*Pati*), naturally powerful (*Sādya*) etc.' The word *Sādya* emphasises his supreme sovereignty, which is his innate property not being dependent on any other factors or incidents. Yoga, by means of certain processes, both active such as the muttering of *bījas* and *mantras*, meditation etc., and passive such as *samvid* (mere feeling), forms a link between the Paśu and the Pati. The most interesting topic in the Pāśupata creed is the *vidhi* or the operational process. In its primary aspect it is conduct (*charyā*) which is of two kinds: vows and means or doors (*vratam dvārāṇi cheti*). Some of the details about the first have already been mentioned (p. 798). The specific acts which constitute the second include the following: *krāthana* (feigning sleep when really awake), *spandana* (shaking the limbs as if afflicted by paralytic rheumatism), *maṇḍana* (walking in a way as if one's legs and other limbs are disabled), *śṛiṅgaraṇa* (stimulating erotic emotion at the sight of a young and beautiful woman), *avitatkaraṇa* (doing acts censured by people, as if one is devoid of the sense of what is right and what is wrong), and *avitadbhāshaṇa* (saying words having no sense and apparently absurd). *Vidhi*, in its secondary aspect helping *charyā*, consists of such acts as bathing in the ashes (*anusnānam*) after worship, removing any sense of impropriety connected with begging, and eating the food left by others. Now these measures and acts, as productive of *dharma* (righteousness) and *artha* (nearness to the Lord Śiva who is also *dharma*), would

certainly appear as outlandish and insane to anybody who is not initiated into the sectarian mysteries, and Mādhavāchārya is constrained to admit that as they would appear such to ordinary people, these should be practised in secrecy (*yatra laukikā bhavanti tatraitatsarvaṁ gūḍhaṁ prayoktavyam*). The end attained after the faithful performance by Pāśupata devotee of the measures summarised above is not only the destruction of all his misery (*duḥkhānta*), but also the acquisition of supreme powers of knowing and acting. The powers of knowing consist of vision (*darśana*), audition (*śravaṇa*), cogitation (*manana*), discrimination (*vijñāna*) and omniscience (*sarvajñatva*), all of a supernatural order, while the powers of acting are described as the possession of the swiftness of thought (*manojavitva*), the assumption of different forms at will (*kāmarūpitva*) and the faculty of expatiation, i.e., 'the possession of transcendent supremacy even when such organs are not employed (*vikramaṇadharmitva*).'[31]

The Śaiva system, which seems to have been an offshoot of the Pāśupata, was somewhat moderate in its approach to the higher ends in life. According to it there are three eternal categories, viz., Pati, Paśu, and Pāśa (*tripadārtha*), and four feet, viz., knowledge, action, meditation, and conduct (*vidyākriyāyoga-charyākhyaś-chatvāraḥ pādāḥ*).[32] The creative power of Pati, the Lord Śiva, is dependent on the deeds of the Paśu, for, according to the Śaivas, if this be not so, as the main body of the Pāśupatas maintain, he would suffer from the faults of partiality and cruelty. He has no body like that of the Paśu, but his body consists of five *mantras* (Īśāna—head, Tatpurusha—face, Aghora—heart, Vāmadeva—private parts and Sadyojāta—feet) and five *kṛityas* (creation, preservation, destruction, grace and obscuration). The *mantras*, their lord (Mantreśvara) Maheśvara (the laukika god, not the philosophical deity), and the individual souls that have been delivered (*muktas*) partake of the nature of Pati, the supreme Lord. The position of the individual soul (*Paśu*) is very important in this system; being freed of the shackles (*Pāśa*), i.e., delivered, he becomes Śiva for all practical purposes, with this difference that he is independent on Pati and does not possess the latter's power of creation etc. Different categories of individual souls, such as *vijñānakalā*, *pralayakalā* and *sakalā*, with their respective subgroups are described here. They indicate principally the various stages which the different types of Paśus have reached in their progress

31 For the full details about these powers and the general features of the Pāśupataśātra, see Cowell's English translation of the *Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha*, pp. 103-11.

32 This reminds us of the four parts of the Pāñcharātra system, such as *charyā*, *kriyā*, *yoga* and *jñāna*.

towards deliverance. Four varieties of Pāśa, viz., taint (*mala*), impression of deeds (*karman*), material cause (*māyā*) and obstructive power (*rodhaśakti*) bind a *sakalā* type of soul from which he frees himself by stages. A clear idea about the three eternal categories is incorporated under the Vidyāpāda or Jñānapāda, the other three *pādas* dealing with different topics associated with various measures enjoined in the Āgamas for the gradual liberation of the fettered soul, and specific details connected with *yoga* and *charyā*. A careful consideration of these would show that the Śaivas were far more moderate in their beliefs and practices. It seems that in course of time a section of the Māheśvaras mellowed to a great extent the original teachings of the Pāśupatas, and these modified teachings were incorporated in their religious works, the Āgamas and the Siddhāntas. But in one principal point the Śaivas do not differ from the latter; both these schools 'are dualistic or pluralistic and maintain that the supreme and individual souls are distinct entities, and the *pradhāna*, the constituent cause of the material world.'[33]

5. *Saumya Schools of Śaivism*

The Pāśupata system with such sub-orders as the Kāpālika and the Kālāmukha has been described by some as *atimārgika* or straying far from the path of social order and stability. They collectively illustrate the *ghora-raudra* (extremely terrific) aspect of the dual-natured god Rudra-Śiva—the fierce and awe-inspiring and at the same time the benign and tranquil. Other schools, illustrating the latter (*saumya*) aspect of the Lord, were not long in making their appearance, and the beginning of one which took shape in Kashmir, can be traced to the end of our period. The two principal and early works of the Kashmir school of Śaivism are the *Śivasūtra* and the *Spandakārikā*. Vasugupta, to whom the *Śivasūtra* (said to have been composed by the Lord Śiva himself) was traditionally revealed, and his pupil Kallaṭa, the author of the *Spandakārikā*, flourished in the ninth century A.D. Another great Śaiva theologian of Kashmir, who also flourished about the same time, was the great Somānanda, probably a second pupil of Vasugupta. He was the author of *Śivadṛishṭi* and himself wrote a commentary on it. These two great theologians, Kallaṭa and Somānanda, between themselves, laid the foundations of the two main branches of the Kashmir school, viz., the Spanda and Pratyabhijñā. Somānanda's pupil Udayakara, better known as Utpala

33 R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

or Utpalāchārya, who flourished in the tenth century A.D., was the next great expounder of the Pratyabhijñā branch and wrote several treatises, the chief of which was the *Pratyabhijñākārikā*, known also under the simpler name of the *Sūtras*. There were other great thinkers who expounded the religio-philosophical tenets of this school of Śaivism in both its branches, but they mostly flourished after the tenth century A.D. The Kashmir Śaivas are monistic in their doctrine, maintaining the ultimate oneness of the supreme soul and the individual soul, the apparent difference between them being due to the ignorance of the latter. Again, the universe is not treated as a mere illusion in this system; it is through the process, technically known as shining out (*ābhāsana ābhāsa*) of the experience of the Parama Śiva, the highest reality, that it becomes manifest. This manifestation does not depend on any prompting cause, like the *karman* of the individual soul or on any material cause like the *pradhāna*. It is ushered into existence by the sweet will of the Lord Śiva, the Great Magician, who creates everything out of his own experience which was in a potential state (*pralaya*) in himself. This system thus deals with three categories, the Trika,—the Pati, the Paśu, and the Pāśa, or in other words Śiva, Śakti, and Aṇu, and its philosophy is known by the name of the Trika system; but Paśu and Pāśa, according to it, are mere adjuncts to Pati, the first being really identical with the Lord, and the second owing its manifested state to His sweet will, having no material cause at its root. The Spanda school of the Kashmir Śaivas maintain that all this true knowledge only appears to the devotee in a sudden vision which is given the name of Bhairava, after he has prepared himself for it thoroughly with the aid of his spiritual preceptor, and engaged in deep meditation. The Pratyabhijñā or the recognitive branch also holds that the identity of the individual soul with the supreme soul is lost due to the *māyā* or *rodhaśakti* of the Lord, but the way of final realisation of this identity is recognition. An Upanishad verse saying that 'everything shines when He shines, His light illumines everything' (*tameva bhāntamanubhāti sarvaṁ tasya bhāsā sarvamidaṁ vibhāti; KU*, 5, 15; *SU*, 6. 14; *MU*, 2. 2. 10) is quoted as an authority in support of the view that the knowing power of the individual is co-extensive with that of God, for it is His illumining power that makes everything fully cognisable to the former. It thus partakes of the nature of Śiva, but its conditioned existence deprives it of the joy and elevation which are God's own and which would be its own when it is made to recognise the oneness of itself and Parama Śiva. The theologians of this school illustrate this by a very apt simile.

A maiden falls in love with a person unseen and unknown by her on hearing about his beauty and qualifications from others; when he appears before her, she remains indifferent at first, being unaware that he is no other than the object of her best love. But when she is made to recognise that he whom she loves with her heart and soul is by her side, her joy knows no bounds. The individual soul does not know, conditioned as it is, that the supreme soul is nowhere outside it, but lies actually within it; when this truth is recognised it feels 'the serene bliss of godly nature'. The nature of the doctrines of these Kashmir schools of Śaivism shows that they belong to a class quite apart from the extreme forms of the sect like the Kāpālika and Kālāmukha. Thus they do never come under the Lākula or Pāśupata group, much older in point of date. It is probably for this reason that 'a fresh revelation was claimed for Vasugupta, though some of the doctrines of the more sober Śaiva school were preserved in the Spanda system'.[34]

6. *The Matta-mayūras, a Class of Śaiva Ascetics in Central India*

Some inscriptions of the Chedi country refer to a large number of Śaiva ascetics, belonging to the clan of Mattamayūra, the earliest of whom was Rudraśambhu, also named in the inscriptions as Kadamba-guhādhivāsin. Ninth in spiritual succession from him were Prabodha-śiva and Vyomaśiva who flourished in the eleventh century. These Śaiva clericals, many of whom were the spiritual preceptors of some of the Haihaya kings of Tripurī, were granted large estates by their royal and other disciples, and they founded monastic establishments through which their particular form of Śaiva faith was propagated.[35]

7. *Śaivism in South India*

R. G. Bhandarkar has suggested that 'both Śaivism and Vaishṇavism penetrated to the extreme south of India after the revival of Brāhmaṇism in the North during the fourth and fifth centuries'.[36] But it is much more probable that these cults were present there long before the period, though concrete evidences regarding this are few and far between. Several archaeological data in support of the earl existence of the Vaishṇava and Śaiva faith in the Tamil and other

34 R. G. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 131; see also J. C. Chatterji's *Kashmir Śaivism*, for the tenets of the Kashmir school of Śaivism.

35 R. D. Banerji, *The Haihayas of Tripuri*, *MASI*, no. 23, pp. 110-15.

36 *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

regions of the South have already been discussed in Vol. II, Ch. XIII. But, as in the North, so in the South, the sects were much developed and systematised in the Gupta period and afterwards. Śaivism was popularised in the Tamil land by a band of religious devotees who are usually known in Tamil language as Nāyanmārs or Nāyanārs, meaning Śivabhaktas, to whom detailed reference will be made in Chapter XXX. Their traditional number is sixty-three and several amongst them are well-known and distinguished personalities. They were recruited from all orders of society, viz., Brāhmaṇas, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. Some were crowned monarchs, others ruling chiefs, many were Vellālas and a few were cowherds, potters, fishermen, hunters, toddy-drawers, weavers, washermen, oilmen and pariahs. This fact shows the liberalistic outlook of South Indian Śaivism. As the Alvars represented the emotional side of Vaishṇavism in South India, these ardent devotees of Śiva emphasised the lyrical side of Śiva-*bhakti,* composing beautiful songs in their mother-tongue. Much of the extensive Tamil literature on Śaivism of the early period consists of these songs or hymns, the first seven collections of which came to be known as *Devāram* and compared in sanctity to the Brāhmaṇic Veda. R. G. Bhandarkar is of opinion that Śaivism, prevalent in the Tamil land during the time of these Nāyanārs, was generally of a simple devotional character, as seen from their hymns. But there must have been deep trends of philosophical thought underlying some early phases of Tamil Śaivism, as he himself has shown by referring to Rājasiṁha Atyantakāma's inscription in the Rājasiṁheśvara temple at Kāñchīpuram. It describes the illustrious Atyantakāma, irresistible among the Pallava kings, as 'rid of all impurity by his being well-versed in many principles incorporated in the system of the Śaivasiddhānta.'[37] In another inscription of the same temple, which contains as many as 237 *birudas* of this great Pallava king, he is endowed with such names as *matta-pramattah, mattavikārah, māyāchārah* and *āgamānusārī.* These epithets, specially the last one (meaning 'the follower of the Śaiva Āgamas'), leave little doubt that the tenets of the Pāśupata and the Śaiva systems were well known in the Tamil country in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., if not earlier. The Siddhāntaśāstras, a class of literature said to have been composed by the group of Śaiva theologians known as Santāna-Āchāryas, were philosophical works on Śaivism, and they might have been developed out of the Siddhānta system mentioned in the early Pallava inscriptions.

37 Hultzsch, *SII,* I, pp. 12 ff.

IV. ŚĀKTISM

Śāktism in the Early Gupta Period—its Various Constituent Elements

It has been shown in chapter XIII of Vol. II that the origin of the worship of the female principle can be traced to a period long before the beginning of the Christian era. But there is little doubt that its development took place in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. The epic literature contains clear indications regarding the upsurge of the cult in the early centuries of the Christian era, and it must have been systematised to some extent by the beginning of the Gupta period. The two Durgāstotras, one put into Yudhishṭhira's mouth in the Virāṭaparva and the other uttered by Arjuna in the Bhīshmaparva, show that the goddess Durgā-Pārvatī, with her various names and aspects, had become one of the most important objects of worship. The hymn addressed to Yoga-nidrā, one of her aspects, which appears in the *Harivaṁśa,* (III, *Āryāstāva*) also establishes this fact. A comparison of these adulatory hymns shows that the 'Bhīshmaparva' and the *Harivaṁśa stotras* are the originals from which the 'Virāṭaparva' one seems to have been derived. The Devīmāhātmya section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* one of the most ancient and important of all the extant Purāṇas, also contains some characteristic references to the worship of the goddess Durgā-Mahishāsuramardinī. The Epic and Purāṇic passages, when carefully read between the lines, give us some idea of the various constituent elements which were instrumental in developing the cult into one of the important Brāhmaṇical religious systems of India. First and foremost among them were the concepts of goddesses like Ambikā, Umā, Haimavatī, and Durgā (Kālī, Karālī and Bhadra-Kālī) mentioned in such Vedic texts as the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,* the *Kena* and the *Muṇḍaka* Upanishads, and the *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛihyasūtra.* These elements cannot necessarily be described as Aryan in character, for they might have come into the Vedic fold after the immigrant Aryans had considerably mixed with the original settlers of India. The non-Aryan element is clearly indicated and emphasised by such names of the Devī as the Vindhyavāsinī, Aparṇā (unclad or uncovered with leaf garments), Nagna-Śavarī (a naked Śavara woman) etc; the *Harivaṁśā* passage clearly says that the goddess was very much worshipped by the Śavaras, the Barbaras and the Pulindas (*Śavarair-Barbaraiś-chaiva Pulindaiś-cha supūjitā*). The Mahāyāna goddess Parṇa-Śavarī (leaf-clad Śavara woman) is undoubtedly the developed Buddhist adaptation of this original non-Aryan goddess through the Brāhmaṇi-

cal medium. Her fiercer aspects go under the names of Kālī, Karālī (same as two of the seven tongues of Agni identical with Rudra), Chaṇḍī, Chāmuṇḍī, and the Nava-Durgās (Ugra-Chaṇḍā, Prachaṇḍā, Chaṇḍogrā, Chaṇḍanāyikā, Chaṇḍā, Chaṇḍavatī, Chaṇḍarūpā, Atichaṇḍikā and Rudra-Chaṇḍā) and others. Her placid form is characteristically illustrated by the mother-concept of the divinity present among a large section of the early Indians, one of its aspects in a developed form being that of Śākambharī, i.e., 'producing or nourishing vegetables' (the food for living beings). In this latter aspect, she also symbolises the vegetation spirit, so well-emphasised in the *nava-patrikā-praveśa* ceremony in the autumnal worship of the goddess Durgā in Bengal. Another resultant aspect from the motherhood of the goddess was that of Śakti or energic principle potent behind such principal gods as Brahmā, Maheśvara, Vishṇu, Indra and others. Their Śaktis were the so-called Divine Mothers or Mātṛikās, whose names were early stereotyped into seven, viz. Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī, Kaumārī and Chāmuṇḍī. The worship of the Divine Mothers was also very intimately associated with the Tāntric aspect of the Śākta cult. This Tāntric phase is regarded by some scholars as comparatively late in its development, but there can be no doubt that it was also largely systematised in the early Gupta period. In fact, the Tāntric approach to religious concepts and experiences had much to contribute towards the development of such major rival Brāhmaṇical cults as Vaishṇavism and Śaivism.

That the principal cult-icon of the Śāktas, Durgā-Mahishāsuramardinī (the slayer of the Buffalo-demon), had already been evolved in the early Gupta period is characteristically demonstrated by the twelve-armed figure of the goddess killing the buffalo-demon, carved by the side of the four-armed Vishṇu on the facade of the inscribed cave at Udayagiri constructed in A.D. 401 during the reign of Chandragupta II.[38] The mythological association of Vishṇu and Durgā, so well-emphasised in the Durgā-*stotras* of the epic literature and some of the Purāṇas, is suggested by the juxtaposition of the images of Vishṇu and Durgā on the cave facade. This is further established by the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (ch. 57, vv. 37-39) which says that the image of Ekānaṁśā, another aspect of Durgā, should be placed between Kṛishṇa and Baladeva, and the goddess, when two-armed, should have a lotus in her right hand, the left one resting on her hip (*kaṭi-saṁsthita-vāmakarā sarojamitareṇa chodvahati*). The reverse device of Chandra-

38 Cunningham, *ASR*, X, p. 50. (The image-type evolved in the Kushan period *Infra*, section on 'Iconography' KKDG).

gupta-Kumāradevī coins and of the lion-slayer type coins of Chandragupta II shows the goddess-on-lion holding a lotus flower in her right hand, and it may be presumed that she represents one type of the Ekānaṁśā aspect of Durgā. The stone inscription, dated in the year A.D. 423-24 found at Gangdhar in Western Malwa, interestingly alludes to the prevalence of the cult in this part of India. The inscription records that one Mayūrākshaka caused to be set up not only a temple of Vishṇu by his sons Vishṇubhaṭa and Haribhaṭa, but he himself also 'caused to be built, for the sake of his religious merit, this very terrible abode,... full of female ghouls, of the Divine Mothers, who utter loud and tremendous shouts in joy, (and) who stir up the (very) oceans with the mighty wind rising from the magic rites of their religion.[39] Some interesting facts connected with the cult can be deduced from it; partly proving the association of one phase of Sakti-worship with Vishṇu-worship, it seems to indicate that Mayūrākshaka himself had Śākta leanings; it also definitely shows that Tāntric ritualism had become well-known at the time, and the worship of the Divine Mothers with their companions, the Ḍākinīs, formed one of the principal parts of the cult. An inscription of about the sixth century A.D., found at Deogarh (Jhansi district, U.P.) records the construction of a temple of the Divine Mothers, the mothers of the Universe (*mātṛīnām lokamātṛīnām*), and invokes their blessings.[40] Varāhamihira also emphasises the existence of Śākta ritualism with the Divine Mothers as the cult-icons, when he incidentally refers to the cult.[41] The seven mothers of the universe (*saptaloka-mātaraḥ*), along with Svāmī-Mahāsena (Kārttikeya), became the special objects of worship and tutelary divinities of the early Kadambas and the early Chālukyas, as their inscriptions prove.[42] The association of the Divine Mothers with Skanda-Mahāsena is also shown by a fragmentary Bihar stone pillar inscription.[43] Some other phases of the Śākta cult are also emphasised by the archaeological and literary data of our period. The Bihar stone pillar inscription refers to Bhadrāryā

39 Fleet, *CII*, III p. 78. One of the earliest uses of the word *tantra* is found here in the compound *tantrodbhūta* translated by Fleet as 'rising from the magic rites of their religion'.

40 *EI*, XVIII, pp. 125-27. The inscription is engraved over a panel containing a row of nine seated figures—those of the seven mothers and their guardian angels, Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa.

41 *Bṛithatsaṁhitā*, Dvivedi's Edition, ch. 59, v. 19; only the Śāktas, described here as *maṇḍalakramavida*, are entitled to install the images of the Mātṛikās.

42 *IA*, VI, pp. 27, 74; VII, p. 162; XIII, p. 137. The early Chālukyas also describe themselves as the kindred of Mānavya, the descendants of Hāritī, having acquired their sign, the Boar, through the favour of the holy Nārāyaṇa.

43 Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-49: (*Skanda-pradhānair-bhuvi mātṛibhiścha*).

and her shrine, and this must have been another designation of the cult-deity. It has already been shown that the Maukhari king Anantavarman, somewhat eclectic in spirit, caused to be built cave shrines in the Barābar and Nāgārjunī hills near Gayā, where images of Krishṇa, Ardhanārīśvara Śiva and Kātyāyanī were enshrined. In one of the Nāgārjunī hill cave inscriptions,[44] the goddess is described both as Kātyāyanī and Bhavānī, and the latter has distinct Vedic association (Bhavānī, the Śakti of Bhava, one of the eight names of Rudra mentioned in the *Atharva Veda* and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*). While the name *Kātyāyanī,* shows that she was the tutelary divinity of the Brāhmaṇic family of the Kātyas, Kauśikī, another of her names, indicates that she was the goddess of the Kauśikas. But there can be no doubt that Kātyāyanī was the same as Mahishāsuramardinī, as is proved by the iconographic texts as well as the first line of the inscription, which is nothing but a partial description of the enshrined image of the Devī.

The Śākta cult became fairly widespread in India in the post-Gupta period, but it was specially prevalent in particular regions. Kashmir, where the Śāradā monastery was situated, Bengal, Mithilā, Kāmarūpa, south-western Rajasthan, Kāthiāwār peninsula etc. were the regions where the cult had numerous adherents. The other two major creeds in some of these regions, particularly eastern India, were influenced by it to some extent. Their sculptural and other remains testify to this fact in a very interesting manner. The Mātṛikā images of Jajpur (Orissa), where Virajākshetra was situated, the Umā-Maheśvara images of Bengal and Bihar (which in a very interesting manner symbolise the Tāntric concept of the Devī seated on the lap of her consort, Śiva, in the Mahāpadmavana), and many other typical Śakti icons, the reference to the goddess Stambheśvarī as the patron-deity of some of the Bhañja and Śulki kings of Orissa, and many other data help us to note the flourishing state of Śaktism in this part of India. That Śākta ritualism was also known among the Tamil and Kanarese-speaking people of the South is substantiated by archaeological evidence. Sculptures of different aspects of the Devī in the early temples of Bādāmi, Mahābalipuram, Ellorā and other places indirectly support the conclusion. One particular relief in one of the Rathas of Mahābalipuram, showing a person about to cut off his own head as an offering to the goddess Pārvatī, reminds us of one of the rituals prescribed in the *Śiraśchchheda Tantra.*[45] That royal personages in

44 Fleet, *CII*, III pp. 227-28.

45 *BSOAS*, VI, pp. 539-43, and plates. Somewhat similar motifs are found in a few Paharpur and Mathurā terra-cotta plaques. See *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 489-96.

some parts of India also became adherents of the Śākta creed is clearly proved by some inscriptions. The copper-plate grant of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Vināyakapāladeva, dated A.D. 931, counts as many as three Śāktas among his predecessors. These were *Parama-bhagavatībhaktas* Nāgabhaṭa, Bhojadeva, and Mahendrapāladeva. It would be of interest to note that some of his predecessors were Parama-vaishṇavas, one at least Parama-Māheśvara, and he himself and one at least of his predecessors (Rāmabhadradeva) were Sauras (*Paramādityabhakta*). It shows that individuals were quite free to choose each his own creed according to his own religious bent of mind.

V. DEVELOPMENT OF TĀNTRIC RITUALISM

That Tāntric ritualism, as a part of the worship of the Mother-goddess, developed to a great extent some time before the sixth or seventh century A.D., is proved by certain early literary data. The worship of the Śākta pīṭhas might have been one of its later phases, but its beginnings go back to the early centuries of the Christian era. The 'Tīrthayātrā' section of the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva) mentions three *Śākta pīṭhas* connected with the *yoni* (*pudendum muliebre*) and *stana* (breasts) of the goddess. These are the two Yoni-kuṇḍas, one situated at Bhīmāsthana beyond Pañchanada (Panjab) and the other on the hill called Udyataparvata (probably in the Gayā region), and one Stanakuṇḍa on a peak known as Gaurīśikhara (possibly in the Gauhati region).[46] The evidence of the epic passages, probably earlier than the rise of the Guptas, is partly corroborated by Hiuan Tsang who refers to at least one of these holy places. The pilgrim records that there was a great mountain peak in ancient Gandhāra (modern Peshawar district in Pakistan), which possessed 'a likeness (or image) of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmādevī of dark-blue stone. According to local accounts this was a natural image of the goddess; it was a great resort of devotees from all parts of India. At the foot of the mountain was a temple to Maheśvaradeva in which the ash-smearing Tīrthikas performed much worship'.[47] The existence of a very sacred shrine of all-India fame with 'the natural image' of the goddess (probably an aniconic stone) and the temple of Śiva nearby reminds us of the developed *pīṭha* conception of the Śāktas, in which the worship of a particular aspect of the Śakti and its variety

46 *Mbh*, II, 82, 83-5; III. 84, 93-95; 151-53 (cf. D. C. Sircar, 'Śākta Pīṭhas'; *JRASB*.

47 *HTW*, I, pp. 221-22. Bhīmādevī-parvata and the site of Maheśvaradeva's temple below have been identified by Foucher with the hill known at present as Mt. Karamar and the modern village of Shewa; cf. *Notes on the Geography of Ancient Gandhara*.

of Bhairava (Śiva), her guardian angel, is closely associated. The *Mahāmāyūri*, also a Sanskrit Buddhist text composed in the early centuries of the Christian era, probably refers to the shrine of Bhīmā, when it lays down that Śivabhadra was the tutelary deity of Bhīshaṇā (*Śivabhadraś-cha Bhīshaṇe*).[48] The interesting account of the Chinese pilgrim about the prevalence of Śakti worship in Gandhāra is further supplemented by his account of the popularity of Tāntric practices in the Uḍḍiyāna region. He writes: 'The people... were fond of learning but not as a study, and they made the acquisition of magical formulae their occupation.[48a] The *Hevajra Tantra* (c. eighth century A.D.) enumerates the following four holy regions as pīṭhas: (1) Jālandhara, (2) Oḍiyāna (Uḍḍiyāna in the Swat valley), (3) Pūrṇagiri and (4) Kāmarūpa'.[49] Thus there is little doubt that in the early post-Gupta period Tantrism and Śakti worship were fully developed in various parts of India, specially in the north-west and east. The history of the Pālas of Gauḍa-Vaṅga and Magadha contains many allusions to the spread of Tāntric lore in eastern India. It is true that much of it was intimately associated with such forms of Buddhism as Mantrayāna and its other developments, but it must have contained among its various strands much that was originally Brāhmaṇical in character. Many of these Brāhmaṇical elements again were derived from non-Aryan beliefs and practices which found a ready shelter in the Śakti cult.

VI. THE SAURAS

Evolution of the Solar Cult

It has already been shown (Vol. II, Ch. XIII,) that the sun-god was held in great veneration by the people of India from a very early time. Sūrya and his various aspects were worshipped throughout the early and late Vedic age. The Gṛihya-sūtras frequently testify to the great veneration in which he was held. The importance of the *gāyatrī*, a Vedic solar prayer in that metre, in the life of a twice-born proves the sun-god's prominent position in Indo-Aryan religious beliefs. The two epics are replete with allusions to Sūrya and various myths connected with him, and he is sometimes described as 'Deveśvara' ('Lord of gods', *Mbh*, II. 50, 16: *bhāsi divi deveśvaro yathā*). Yudhishṭhira's hymn to the Sun-god (*Mbh*, III. 3, 36-69) shows that he

48 For detailed discussions about Bhīmā-Bhīshaṇa, cf. the writer's article in *IHQ*, XIV, 1938, pp. 751-53.

48a *HTW*, I, p. 225.

49 D. C. Sircar, 'Śākta Pīthas', *op. cit.*, p. 12.

was specially invoked by people for food, health, freedom from diseases, and long life. The Great Epic (VI. 82, 14-16) tells us about Yudhishṭhira's encounter with one thousand Brāhmaṇa sun-worshippers who had a large number of followers. The *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* extols Sūrya in various ways and describes how the prominent gods of the Brāhmaṇical pantheon were indebted to him for many of their characteristic attributes or emblems.[50] Mayūra, a courtier of Harsha, sang the praise of the god in one hundred stanzas (*Mayūraśataka*) for cure from the cruel disease of white leprosy from which he suffered. Many other Sanskrit works of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods contain evidence of this nature, and it is natural to conclude that there was a sect which had the sun-god as its exclusive object of worship. A brief account of this Saura sect is given in the *Śaṅkaradigvijaya kāvya* of Ānandagiri. The Sauras believed that the Sun, the principal object of their worship, was the supreme soul, the creator of the universe; they referred to the Śrutis as well as to the Smṛitis in support of their belief. The Rigvedic verse (I. 115, 1) says that the 'sun is the soul of moveable and immoveable things' (*Sūrya ātmā jagatastasthushaścha*). Ānandagiri describes six classes of Sauras all of whom bore *nāmam* (caste-mark) made of red sandal paste, wore garlands of red flowers and repeated the Sūrya *gāyatrī* of eight syllables. The difference between these sub-sects lay in the mode of their concepts about their principal deity and their ritualistic methods. It is probable that the evolution of this type of the Saura cult proceeded systematically along its own lines.

A type of Sun-cult, alien in nature, however, entered into India at a very early period. Literary and archaeological data prove that it came from eastern Iran in the early centuries of the Christian era, and captured the imagination of a large number of people of the North and West. It is almost certain that during the Śaka-Pahlava and the Kushāṇa occupation of Northern India, large bands of worshippers of Fire and Sun (Mithra-Mihira) came to, and settled in, the northern and western regions of India. Gradually they spread over the whole of eastern India also, and the cult which they brought with them seems to have influenced the older indigenous sun-worship of India. Some passages in the Epics and the *Bhavishya, Sāmba, Varāha* and other Purāṇas allude to the story of the introduction of this type of sun-worship from Śakadvīpa through the agency of Sāmba, a son of Kṛishṇa by Jāmbavatī. It narrates how Sāmba was cursed, for some alleged misconduct on his part, by his father to be afflicted with leprosy, how he was advised to get himself cured of

50 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Ch. 78.

this fell disease by worshipping the solar deity in the Magian way and not in the Indian manner, how he went to Śakadvīpa (Seistan-Sakastāna, eastern Iran), and prevailed upon some Magi priests of Mithra-Mihira to come with him to India. Sāmba had a temple of the god built in Mūlasthānapura (modern Multan) on the bank of the Chandrabhāgā (Chenab) in the Panjab, and had the image of Sūrya installed by the Magi (Magas). After worshipping the god there in the Magian way, he became once again hale and hearty. His name is associated in the Purāṇas with some other Sun-temples of northern and western India The account which is given in the *Bhavishya Purāṇa* about the origin of the Magas, and their very name indicate their Iranian origin. Then name of the characteristic waist-girdle worn by them is *avyaṅga,* which is nothing but the Sanskritised form of *aiwiyonghen,* the sacred girdle Iranians. Varāhamihira describes an image of the sun in his *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* in a manner which leaves little doubt about the origin of the cult-picture. According to him, Sūrya should have the dress of a northerner (*udīchyavesha*) and his body from the feet to the top of his breasts should be covered; he should wear a *viyaṅga* (*avyaṅga*) etc. (ch. 57, vv. 46-48). In chapter 59 of the same work, it is expressly laid down that it was the Maga Brāhmaṇas alone who were entitled to install the images of the sun god. The extant Sūrya figures of Northern India from the early Gupta period onwards distinctly show these alien features; they were gradually eliminated, and the cult-picture Indianised to great extent, though the boots on the legs of the god and his attendants, both male and female, were persistently shown up to quite a late period. That the comparatively small number of the extant Sun icons of the post-Gupta period in southern India do not show these features clearly proves that the local Sun-cult, whatever position it might have enjoyed there, was not influenced by the Iranian Mithra-worship. Sun-temples are very rare in south India, and the image enshrined in one of them, called Sūryanārkovil, in the Tanjore district, is absolutely free from any alien elements.[51]

The comparative frequency of the images and temples of the sun in the North, specially in its eastern and western zones, definitely proves that the descendants of the Maga Brāhmaṇas settled in large numbers in these tracts. A class of Brāhmaṇas, named Bhojakas, are referred to in the Deo-Baraṅārk (Shahabad district, Bihar) inscription; they were supposed to have been descended from the sun-worshipping Magas by intermarriage with the women of the Bhoja

51 T.A.G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* I, p. 300.

race. The Purāṇic account of the Bhojakas also establishes their foreign association. The Brahmin-group known as Āchāryas in some part of eastern India, who took to the profession of astrology and sooth-saying and thus were often described as Daivajñas, can be connected with the ancient Magas. The sun-temples for the use of their remote ancestors in the extreme north of India are mentioned both in indigenous and foreign texts. One of the earliest sun temples is said to have stood in the city of Takshaśilā, when Apollonius visited it during the reign of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. Mathurā and its adjoining regions in the Śaka-Kushāṇa period were very intimately associated with the reorientated Sun-cult. Many images of the Sun-god peculiar to this region and belonging to the second and third centuries of the Christian era have been found. Central, western and eastern India also abounded in solar shrines that were erected in the Gupta and post-Gupta period. The Mandasor stone inscription of the time of Kumāra-gupta I refers to the erection of a magnificent sun temple, 'which touches the sky, as it were, with its charming spires', in A.D. 437-38, by a band of silk-weavers who were immigrants from the Lāṭa-*vishaya* (central and southern Gujarat) into the city of Daśapura (modern Dasor or Mandasor in western Malwa). The same guild was also responsible for its restoration about 36 years later, when part of it fell into disrepair. It is of interest to note that some members of the guild were masters in the science of astrology, and it is presumable that they were the descendants of some of the early Iranian settlers in India. The Indor (Bulandshahr district, U.P.) copper-plate inscription of the time of Skanda-gupta records a perpetual endowment by a Brahmin for the purpose of maintaining a lamp in the temple of Sun at Indrapura. The Gwalior stone inscription of the time of Mihirakula records the building of a temple of the Sun by a person named Mātricheṭa. The Deo-Baranārk inscription mentioned above records the continuance of the grant of a village to the Sun (evidently an image installed in a shrine) characteristically named here as Varuṇavāsin (probably meaning 'a dweller of the sky-ocean'). Burgess refers to the discovery of many old sun-temples (from the Gupta to the late mediaeval period) from Multan down to Cutch.[52] The widespread prevalence of the Sun-cult all over Gujarat and an extensive area of Rajasthan from the late Gupta period onwards is substantiated by a number of inscriptions, and the distribution of monumental remains of the cult at Moḍherā, Thānā and Prabhāsa in Gujarat and Dholpur, Osia, Sirohi and Bharatpur in Rajasthan, and also by of numerous stone sculptures

52 *ASWI*, New Imperial Series, IX, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujrat.*

of the solar pantheon.[53] The remains of the Mārtāṇḍa temple, most probably built by King Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa in the middle of the eighth century A.D., testify to the presence of this cult in Kashmir in the early mediaeval period; the same king also built a temple of Āditya at Latapur. Hiuan Tsang refers to a Sun temple at Kanauj; he says that besides many sacred Buddhist buildings near the city, there were splendid temples of the Sun-god and Maheśvara. The mediaeval Sun temple at Konarak, Orissa, designed in the shape of a huge chariot on wheels, is an unambiguous evidence of the prevalence of the cult in this region. Tradition associates different parts of Orissa with some of the principal Brāhmaṇical cults; the Ekāmrakshetra at Bhuvaneśvara was specially associated with Śaivism, the Śrī-kshetra at Purī with Vaishṇavism, the Virajākshetra at Jajpur with Śāktism, and the Arka-kshetra at Konarak with solar worship where the great Orissan king Lāṅgulīya Narasiṁhavarman of the Kesarī dynasty erected the magnificent shrine of Sūrya.

The archaeological data collected above establish the wide prevalence of the Sun-cult in north India, and there is little doubt that much of it was due to its reorientation in the early centuries of the Christian era.

Some distinguished kings of the early mediaeval times were exclusive worshippers of the Sun-god. *Mahārāja* Dharapaṭṭa, one of the Maitraka kings of Valabhī, is described in the Maliya copper-plate inscription of his grandson *Mahārāja* Dharasena II, as *Paramādityabhakta*. So were *Mahārājādhirāja* Prabhākara-vardhana of the Pushyabhūti dynasty and his father and grandfather (above, p. 242). One at least of the Gurjara-Pratihāra kings of Kanauj, *Mahārājādhirāja* Vināyakapāladeva, was also a great devotee of the solar deity (*paramādityabhakta*).

VII. WORSHIPPERS OF KĀRTTIKEYA AND GAṆAPATI

1. *Skanda or Kārttikeya*

It has been shown in Vol. II, Ch. XIII, that there were exclusive worshippers of the war-god Kārttikeya who, in the Paurāṇic mythology, was the son of Śiva. The Yaudheyas were great devotees of this god, and their State was a theocratic State, their suzerain being the Lord Svāmi Brahmaṇya-deva Kumāra.[54] They were conquered

53 H. D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujrat*, pp. 212-14. Many Chauhan rulers of Rajasthan like Indrarāja Chāhamāna were patrons of the Sun-Cult. See Dasarath Sarma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 235.

54 For details, see Dasgupta, K.K., *THAI*, pp. 202 ff, 219 ff. RCM.

by Samudra-gupta and it is presumable that they continued the worship of the god after their defeat. The Yaudheyas or a particular section of the tribe were known also as the Mattamayūras which came to designate a particular branch of Śaiva ascetics as noted above (p. 804). References to permanent shrines of the god Kārttikeya in the period are not wanting. Thus a *Kumārasthāna* or shrine of Kumāra-Kārttikeya is mentioned in the Abbotabad inscription of about the third century A.D.[55] The Bilsaḍ (Etah district, U.P.) stone pillar inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I (96 G.E. = A.D. 415-16) records the construction of a *pratolī* ('a gateway with a flight of steps'), the erection of the column with the inscription on it before a temple of Svāmī-Mahāsena, and the establishment of a *dharmasattra* by one Dhruvaśarman. Kumāragupta I seems to have been an ardent worshipper of the god, for on some of his coins we find a replica of the image of his favourite deity,[56] Kārttikeya, perhaps the very image enshrined in a temple built probably before his reign in the royal capital.[57] The king was no doubt a *paramabhāgavata*, as we know from some of his inscriptions and coins, but he is also called in many of the former as *paramadaivata*, and it is likely that the 'Devatā Karttikeya' was also his special object of worship. Skandagupta, his son and successor, was also his devotee and some of his silver coins bearing the figure of a fan-tailed peacock (the *vāhana* of the deity) bears testimony to the fact. Mention may also be made of the Uchchakalpa king Sarvanātha of the sixth century A.D., who is known to have built a temple of the god and granted a village for its maintenance.[58] A few more records may be cited as attesting to the popularity of Kārttikeya in our period, though there is no reference to the separate existence of a cult centering round him. Presumably the Purāṇic mythology about his origin was principally responsible (in the seventh-century Aphsad inscription of Ādityasena, for example, he is called Śiva's son) for his merger in the Śaiva cult. The *Skandotpatti-parvādhyāya* in the *Mahābhārata* (III, Ch. 224), however, seems to contain earlier traditions about the origin of this god or a group of kindred gods later amalgamated,

55 *EI*, XXX, pp. 59 ff.

56 Mention may be made in this context of the Apratighā coins of the King. K. K. Dasgupta has shown that these coins originated from the coin-type of the Kushāṇa King Huvishka representing Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena, and has drawn attention to the fact "that the names Skanda-Kumāra of the coin-type of Huvishka were identical with those of the Gupta crown-prince and the emperor respectively". *IHQ* XXXV, no 3, pp. 265-70.

57 *CII*. III, pp. 42 ff

58 *EI* XIX, pp. 127-31.

which had rare association with Śiva. Subrahmaṇya, another name of Kārttikeya, came to be recognised as a highly popular object of worship in Southern India in the mediaeval times, and comparatively late images and shrines of him are found there in large numbers. Beautiful loving songs in the name of Murugan, the Tamil name of the pet child of Śiva and Pārvatī, were composed in the Tamil language, but it must be observed that the veneration paid to him was a part of the homage paid to Śiva.

2 *Gaṇapati*

The worship of the elephant-headed and pot-bellied divinity Gaṇapati, however, came to enjoy a position of its own in the later Gupta period. There is a reference to the existence of a separate band of people who exclusively worshipped the different aspects of Gaṇeśa in the times of Śaṅkarāchārya. The *Śaṅkara-digvijaya-kāvya* mentions the encounter of this great advocate of monism with the chiefs of the six different groups of the Gāṇapatyas, the exclusive worshippers of Mahā, Haridrā, Svarṇa, Santāna, Navanīta and Unmatta-Uchchhishṭa forms of Ganapati. This information recorded by Śaṅkara's admirer, if it is authentic, would prove that the original cult must have come into existence at least a couple of centuries, if not more, before the eighth century A.D., for by that time it had as many as six subdivisions within its fold. R. G. Bhandarkar has suggested that as none of the Gupta inscriptions contains the faintest allusion to the sect or the cult image, the one was post-Gupta in its origin. He supports this suggestion by pointing out that the epic allusion to Gaṇeśvara is really to Śiva, and the story of Gaṇapati's serving as an amanuensis or Vyāsa, while the latter composed the *Mahābhārata*, was a late interpolation in the Great Epic. But the non-mention of a religious custom in a particular group of records, whether literary or archaeological, does not necessarily prove that the custom was non-existent at the period. Extant images of Gaṇapati of the early Gupta period show that he was then worshipped in some form or other; but it is still possible that a regular cult centering around him was systematised only at a somewhat later age. The four Brāhmaṇical cults that are mentioned by Varāhamihira[59] are Vaishṇava, Saura, Śaiva and Śākta, and it is presumable that the Gāṇapatya cult had not come to enjoy any importance in his time; it is also to be noted that his description of an image of Gaṇapati is found only in one or two of the manuscripts of the

59 *Brihatsaṁhitā*, Ch. 59, V. 19.

Bṛihatsaṁhitā, and Kern adjudged it an interpolation. The earliest cult-image of this god so far known is found in a niche of the Bhumārā Śiva temple dated in the sixth century A.D., and it is presumable that by that time the cult had been systematised to some extent. A large number of images of the God and his various aspects from the early post-Gupta period onwards testify to the growth and development of this cult. The discovery of a marble image of Gaṇapati (called 'Mahā-Vināyaka' in the inscription on its pedestal) at Gardez, about 70 miles to the south of Kabul, of about the seventh century, and a few images of the god in Java and Cambodia, proves that the cult had already migrated to the distant lands in the west and the east.

CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT (B)

JAINISM

I. DECCAN

REFERENCE HAS BEEN MADE in the preceding volume to the gradual spread of Jainism all over India. During the period under review, Jainism flourished highly in the Deccan and enjoyed a good deal of royal patronage. This was mainly due to two reasons. In the first place, the rigorous, ascetic and pious life of the Jaina monks attracted the attention of the kings, queens, royal officers and wealthy merchants who either embraced Jainism or developed strong leanings to the Jaina way of life. Secondly, the leaders of the Jaina church were not averse to active interference in politics when they found any opportunity to turn it to their own advantage. Thus the monk Siṁhanandi, according to later inscriptions, played a prominent part in founding the Gaṅga dynasty, and consequently the Gaṅga rulers were great supporters of Jainism all along. Some of the later Gaṅga princes like Śivamāra, were partial to Jainism; and Mārasiṁha III was a fervent Jaina in whose memory some temples and other monuments stand to-day. Pulakeṣin II of the Chālukya dynasty bestowed the highest favour on the learned poet Ravikīrti (A.D. 634) who constructed the Meguti temple at Aihóle. By the time the Gaṅga power began to decline, Jainism came under the aegis of two royal families, Rāshṭrakūṭas and Kadambas; and many princes were quite partial to Jainism as seen from their grants Some of the Kadamba rulers have made liberal grants to Jaina temples and for the benefit of Jaina monks: Kūrchakas, Nirgranthas, Yāpanīyas and Śvetapaṭas. The Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch Amoghavarsha I was not only a great devotee of the Jaina poet Jinasena, but he himself became a convert to Jainism, possibly at the close of his life, and died like a pious Jaina. To him are attributed the *Kavirājamārga*, a Kannaḍa work on poetics and the *Praśnottararatnamālā* in Sanskrit. It was in his reign and in that of subsequent rulers that Jaina authors like Jinasena, Pālyakīrti, Mahāvīrāchārya, Indranandi, Somadeva, and Pushpadanta flourished. Some of the important officers of the State like the minister Bharata, at whose request Pushpadanta renewed his literary activities in Apabhraṁśa, were Jainas. Indra IV died like a devoted Jaina observing *sallekhanā*.

Jaina authors received patronage from Western Chālukyas, and it was Tailapadeva that honoured the Kannaḍa poet Ranna (A.D. 993) with the title Kavi Chakravartī. Some of the feudatories of Gaṅgas and Rāshṭrakūṭas and provincial heads from the families of the Sāntaras, Koṅgālvas, Cheṅgālvas etc., were quite partial to Jainism. Even when the central governments became weak, there was no appreciable effect on the fortunes of Jainism because of the patronage of provincial heads.

The popularity of Jainism among the masses is also partly due to the fact that it succeeded in harmonising religious doctrines with the normal secular activities of an ordinary man. The scheme of Guṇasthānas and Pratimās preached by Jainism clearly shows that a layman, in view of his circumstances, has a set of ethical rules prescribed to him and is not to be expected to follow the rules prescribed for a monk. Some scholars acquainted only with the rules of Jaina monks often misunderstand Jainism and its doctrine of *Ahiṁsā*, as practised by a layman. In the history of Deccan of this period there have been many Jaina generals fighting bloody wars and at the same time being pious Jainas. As remarked by a historian; 'The greatest claim of Jainism at the hands of posterity is that it gave to India men who turned it into a philosophy of action, and clearly showed the importance of the fact that *Ahimsā*, which was the keynote of their great faith, instead of being an obstacle in the path of their country's liberation was really an adjunct without which no freedom could be effected either in the field of religion or in that of politics.'[1] Chāmuṇḍarāya served under two Gaṅga rulers, Mārasiṁha and his son Rājamalla IV, at a time when the Gaṅga kingdom was threatened by aggression on various fronts. He was a great general, a brave soldier, a devout, noble and liberal Jaina, and a man of letters—a unique personality in the history of Karṇāṭaka. During subsequent centuries many Jaina generals have left their stamp on the battlefields of the Deccan.

The inscriptions from Karṇāṭaka and neighbouring regions describe many eminent women from royal and noble families who by their piety and benevolence were great supporters of the Jaina faith. Kandāchchi (A.D. 776) of the well connected Nirgund family built a temple for which the Gāṅga king made a grant. Jakkiyabbe, the wife of Nāgārjuna Nālgāvuṇḍa, was an able ruler and a devoted *śrāvikā* who died by observing *sallekhanā*. In Attimabbe, the daughter of general Mallappa (under Chālukya Tailapa A.D. 973-997), there is an ideal of devotion to learning and piety. She got prepared one

1 B. A. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p. 101.

thousand copies of Ponna's *Śāntipurāṇa* and many an image of gold and silver. There have been other outstanding pious ladies of royal connection such as Jakkisundarī and Pāmabbe who were highly religious, receiving instruction and inspiration from eminent Jaina monks and nuns. With generous royal patronage and such eminent monks and nuns of high intellectual and religious attainments in its fold, it is put natural that Jainism came to have a good hold on the commercial classes and masses too. It has been surmised that at least one-third of the total population of the Deccan of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period was following the gospel of Mahāvīra.[2] It must be noted, however, that the fortunes of Jainism were not so bright in the eastern coast-land or Andhra country. Traces of the residence of Jaina monks are found here and there; and some of the earlier Eastern Chālukya kings like Amma II (A.D. 945-70) have made grants to Jaina temples. But while eminent Jaina poets from the Veṅgī-Maṇḍala, like Pampa and Pónna, sought the patronage of Karṇāṭaka princes and enriched Kannaḍa language, the Jainas have not left behind any significant composition in Telugu. Perhaps the Telugu area was not congenial to their literary experiments; or if they wrote any poems, the ravages of time have not allowed their works to survive. It is alleged that pre-Nannaya (A.D. 1020) Telugu literature, probably Jaina in authorship, was destroyed by sectarian hatred. 'The only fugitive glimpses preserved for us of the Jaina culture are Atharvaṇa's *Bhārata* (said to have been burnt by Nannaya), the name of Padmakavi, and *Kavi Janāśrayam*, a treatise on poetics.'[3]

II. SOUTH INDIA

Jainism had, however, a more chequered career in South India. The relics at Kāñchī, the traditional association of eminent authors like Samantabhadra with that place, and the fact that Sarvanandi is said to have composed his original *Lokavibhāga* in A.D. 458 at the time of Siṁhavarman of Kāñchī go to suggest that in the early centuries of the Christian era Kāñchī was an important centre of Jaina culture, and perhaps the early Pallavas were partial to Jainism. It is said that Mahendravarman was a Jaina before he was converted to Śaivism. Besides the Mūlasaṅgha, which appears to have been the designation of the original migrating group of Jaina monks in the South (Vol. II, Ch XIII), there is also often mentioned a Drāviḍa-saṅgha (with its Nandi-gaṇa) which indicates the Jaina ascetic con

2 A. S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 313.
3 P. Chenchiah and R. M. Bhujanga Rao, *Telugu Literature*, p. 21.

gregation of the Tamil country. According to Devasena, Vajranandi,[4] the pupil of Pūjyapāda, started the Drāviḍa Saṁgha at southern Mathurā in A.D. 470. Jaina monks, whose names are found in inscriptions of different ages, lived in caves; and the Jaina settlements with their temples were called *palli.* Making reasonable concessions for sectarian distortions, we get a good picture of Jainas and Jainism in early Tamil literature from works like the *Maṇimekalai.* The description in *Devāram* hymns that the Jaina monks went about nude, without bath, and now and then pulling out their hair etc., shows that the Jaina monks in this part were mainly of the Digambara faith; and this is further confirmed by Jaina contributions to Tamil literature. For nearly one thousand years the Jaina faith was deep rooted in the Tamil country and influential in society; the contributions of Jaina teachers and authors to Tamil language and literature were all-sided and substantial; 'it is easy to detect', as observed by a Tamil historian, 'the continuity of Jaina elements in the Śaiva hagiology, of Jaina ideas of conduct in the life of the upper classes of the population, and of Jaina monasticism in our *mutt* organisation.[5]

The Kalabhras, who occupied a dominant position in the Tamil land for some time (pp 320-21), are said to have come to Madurai and extended their patronage to Jainism. During the period that followed, sectarian animosity in the Tamil country seems to have become acute. The rise of Śaṅkara probably created a thrill in the intellectual circles. The king Kūn Pāṇḍya or Neḍumāṛan was converted from Jainism to Śaivism by Tirujñānasaṁbandar, a Śaiva saint. About the same time, there flourished another Śaiva saint, Appar, once a Jaina, who proved a repressive force against Jainism in the Pallava territory. In their hymns the two saints paint Jainas in dark colour, thereby rousing popular prejudice against them. The Śaiva Cholas were not favourable to Jainism: it is stated that they destroyed the Jaina temple at Puligere. The hymns of Appar and others are full of references to the persecution of Jainas who appear to have suffered in large numbers in Pallava and Pāṇḍya territory. The Vaishṇava Ālvārs too, followed in the footsteps of Śaiva saints. Though there are different opinions on the dates of these saints, these events may be placed towards the close of our period. As to the career of Jainism, a historian remarks as follows: 'The vast Jaina remains in South India of mutilated statues, deserted caves and ruined temples at once recall to our mind the greatness of the religion in days gone by and the theological rancour of the Brahmins who wiped it out of all active

4 *Darśanasāra,* pp. 24 ff.
5 C. S. Srinivāsachari, *Some Vestiges of Jainism among the Ancient Tamils,* p. 113.

existence. The Jains have been forgotten; their traditions have been ignored; but, the memory of that bitter struggle between Jainism and Hinduism, characterised by bloody episodes in the South, is constantly kept alive in the series of frescoes on the wall of the *maṇṭapam* of the Golden Lily Tank of the famous Mīnākshī Temple at Madura. These paintings illustrate the persecution and impaling or the Jains at the instance of Tirujñānasaṁbandar, the arch-enemy of Jainism. As though this were not sufficient to humiliate that unfortunate race, the whole tragedy is gone through at five of the twelve annual festivals at the Madura temple. It is, indeed, sad to reflect that beyond the lingering legends in secluded spots and the way-side statues of her saints and martyrs, Jainism in the South has left little to testify to the high purposes, the comprehensive proselytising zeal, and the political influence which she inspired in her fiery votaries of old'.[6]

III. NORTH INDIA

Although Jainism gradually entrenched itself in Western India, especially Gujarat, Rajputana and Malwa, it had no stronghold in North India at the beginning of the period under review. In this earlier period the active monastic organisation of the Jainas received more patronage from mighty merchant princes than from royalty. The Gupta period has so far yielded only a few epigraphic records connected with Jainism, and these belong to distant localities like Paharpur in Bangladesh, Udayagiri in Malwa, Mathurā and Kahaum: a couple of them refer to the setting up of images of Pārśva and others by pious devotees. It may be noted in this context, on the authority of *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana (A.D. 779), that an Āchārya Harigupta, of the Gupta family (*vaṁśa*), who stayed at the metropolis Pavvaīyā (in the Panjab), was the preceptor of king Toramāṇa. Although the identity of this Harigupta cannot be definitely established (above, p. 228), the fact that a Jaina monk was accepted as a *guru* by Toramāṇa must have been a great encouragement for Jainism in Western India. Girnār had been a sacred place to the Jainas since remote times, and Jaina monks stayed in the caves there. Then Valabhī must have grown into an important centre of canonical study, for the redaction of the canon took place there in A.D. 453 under the presidentship of Devarddhi; and it is there that Jinabhadra finished his *Viśeshāvaśyaka-bhāshya* in A.D. 609, when Śīlāditya was on the throne. The rich merchants who amassed wealth by overseas trade were great patrons of the Jaina *Saṅgha* in Gujarat, and often built temples and made religious endowments.

6 M. S. R. Ayyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, pp. 79 ff.

Uddyotana gives some more details about the successors of Harigupta and other monks, active in Rajasthan. Harigupta had a pupil Devagupta, who was a great poet and perhaps belonged to a royal family. His pupil was Śivachandra Mahattara who started from Pavvaīyā on pilgrimage and settled in Bhinnamāla. His pupil Yakshadatta, had many a gifted and glorious pupil who decked Gurjaradeśa by erecting temples everywhere. One of these, Vaṭeśvara, got erected a magnificent Jaina temple at Ākāśavapra. His pupil was Uddyotana, the author of *Kuvalayamālā* (A.D. 779), who originally belonged to a Kshatriya family and received lessons in Siddhānta from Vīrabhadra and in logic from Haribhadra. He finished this work at Jāvālipura (i.e., Jalor in the old 'Jodhpur State') which was rich with Śrāvakas and Jaina temples, and where Vīrabhadra had got erected a temple of Ṛishabhadeva. Such glimpses of the activities of Jaina monks and their association with towns like Girinagara, Valabhī, Bhinnamāla, and Jalor show how the community had identified itself with the rising and falling fortunes of the Gurjara capitals. It is but natural and consequential that soon Aṇahillapura came to be a great political and cultural centre both for Gujarat and the Jainas. Vanarāja Chāvaḍā, while founding Aṇahilla-pāḍa, invited eminent Jaina merchants and monks who had magnificent temples erected there. Many of his councillors and generals were Jainas. In Eastern India the poet Bappabhaṭṭi, who was a contemporary of Vākpati, is said to have converted to Jainism king Āmarāja, the son and successor of Yaśovarman of Kanauj.

IV. MONKS AND THE LAITY

The temple with the statues of Tīrthaṅkaras and others and the monastic order including outstanding monks, formed the mainstay for the spread and progress of Jainism among the masses. The pious house-holders and ladies regularly visited the temples, where occasional festivities were celebrated and monks prescribed fasts and other vows to the laity. It appears that certain monks, who were formerly staying in caves, came to be closely associated with certain temples to which the kings gave gifts of lands for worship in the name of those very monks. Gradually some of the monks began to stay in the temples, and thus arose the later distinction of *chaityavāsa* and *vanavāsa*. It is possible that out of the former grew the institution of Bhaṭṭāraka (more or less a religious head of the community), first in the South and then in the North. The monks wandered over a pretty large area, except during the four months of the rainy season; and the monastic pedigrees show that there were close cultural con-

tacts (which increased with political conquests) between Gujarat and Deccan, and Gujarat and Eastern India. The vow of *sallekhanā*, i.e., voluntarily facing death by gradual fasting on critical occasions, was regularly observed by monks and pious men and women. In the South a large number of inscriptions recording *sallekhanā* and *saṁnyāsumaraṇa* have come down to us, especially from holy places to which monks and pious laity retired on the eve of their lives.

During this period flourished some of the most distinguished monks and literary men in Gujarat and the Deccan. It is through their preachings that huge temples were built, costly statues erected, and religious gifts given by princes and merchants. If logicians like Akalaṅka and Haribhadra propagated Anekāntamata and attacked other creeds, the poets too did the same only through a different channel. Jaṭila, writing in the South some time in the seventh century A.D., vigorously attacks heterodox schools of thought; and he denounces non-Jaina deities, the sacerdotal religion of the Vedas, priestly rituals and the Brahmanical order of society. The sacrifices, involving killing of beings, were gradually losing popularity, due to the influence of the doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* on which Jainism insisted; and the 'Jainas fostered the principle of toleration more sincerely and at the same time more successfully than any other community in India.'[7] With the gradual loss of royal patronage, Jainism suffered at the hands of rival sects, first in the Tamil land and later in Karṇāṭaka. The Śaiva impact was perhaps too crushing in the Tamil area, as is apparent from the subsequent fortunes of Jainism there. But while emerging successful out of the struggle, Śaivism and Śaiva saints were influenced by Jainism in various ways: the fourfold gift preached in Jainism was imitated; the caste system was run down; hymns were composed in the manner of those addressed to Tīrthaṅkaras; and sixty-three saints were admitted in the Śaiva hierarchy like the Jaina Śalākāpurushas.

V. LITERATURE

The council of Valabhī is an outstanding event during this period. The Jaina Siddhānta or the Canon, which was shaped at the Pāṭaliputra council, in the fourth century B.C. (Vol. II, Ch. XIII), was reduced to a state of disorder due to schisms in the Church, and discontinuity in the inheritance of scriptural knowledge occasioned by the death of eminent teachers. Some time at the beginning of the fourth century A.D., Skandila at Mathurā and Nāgārjuna at Valabhī invited monks from distant parts and tried to restore the Siddhānta,

7 B. A. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p. 270.

portions of which were being lost in traditional memory. In course of time a co-ordination of these two attempts became necessary. Consequently in the year 980 after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra a council was again convened at Valabhī under the presidentship of Devarddhi Kshamāśramaṇa for pooling together the Siddhānta fixed by Skandila and Nāgārjuna, to give the texts a settled form and also to prepare authentic copies for the use of eminent monks as well as ascetic congregations. There are reasons to believe that the present-day Ardhamāgadhī canon is practically the same as that shaped at the Valabhī council (in the fifth century A.D.). This council gathered all that was known or recorded, and re-arranged the entire material under a somewhat new classification. It was found that the Drishṭivāda was lost beyond recovery; certain sections had become defunct; and some material remained of doubtful context. So the present canon is wanting in the twelfth Aṅga; there are gaps in texts like the *Āchārāṅga* and passages require re-arrangement; and a new division like the Upāṅga had to be devised for absorbing apparently additional material. The present Āgama, Siddhānta or Canon consists of 11 Aṅgas, 12 Upāṅgas, 10 Prakīrṇakas, 6 Chhedasūtras, 2 Individual Texts and 4 Mūlasūtras. Though the Prākṛit language shows signs of modernity here and there, the canon is substantially the same as that of the Pāṭaliputra council, with some of its parts lost, re-arranged, and redacted with very few additions. The authority of this canon, perhaps even when it was compiled at Pāṭaliputra, was not accepted by the Digambaras who started compiling memory notes primarily in the distant South, and we have consequently the pre-canonical works of Śivārya, Vaṭṭakera, Kundakunda and others. These works bear witness to much that was common to Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras.

The redaction of the canon was an achievement of which the monks and laity must have felt proud; and it is no wonder that it inaugurated a new era in the intellectual life of the Jainas in Gujarat. Eminent monks were sure to come forth to elucidate and expound the contents of the canon. The Niryukti commentaries, in *gāthās*, were there on some of the texts even prior to the Valabhī council, but they were too concise and technical to serve all explanatory purposes. The trend of contemporary thought required a logical and argumentative propounding of the contents; so authors like Saṅghadāsa and Jinabhadra (Valabhī, A.D. 609) wrote the Bhāshya, in Prākṛit *gāthās*, expounding the contents of certain texts and their Niryuktis. Other authors like Jinadāsa Mahaṭṭara wrote Chūrṇi commentaries in prose, in mixed Prākṛit and Sanskrit, mostly occupying themselves with hair-splitting textual explanation. Gujarat became the

cradle of canonical study which reached remarkable perfection when learned Sanskrit commentaries on some of the texts were written by Haribhadra (*c.* A.D. 750), Śīlāṅka (A.D. 876) and others.

The Jaina literature, though forming a little world by itself, is fully sensitive and reacting to the general progress of Indian thought. The method of exposition in the canonical texts is that of a teacher, of a preacher, and of a dogmatist, who rarely argues and refutes, though he is aware of religious tenets to which he does not subscribe. He explains more by division (or classification) than by definition. The Niryuktis and Bhāshyas adopt a logical method which is further perfected by the Sanskrit commentaries. Umāsvāti's *Tattvārtha-sūtra* is a systematic exposition of Jainism, and its *Svopajña-bhāshya* only completes the chain of thought of which the *sūtras* are just the links; but, as time passed on, it needed elaborate elucidation by way of refuting the contemporary philosophical views. The commentaries on these *sūtras* clearly demonstrate how the Jaina philosophers refuted, from time to time, the various alien doctrines predominant at the time, and established the validity of the principles upheld by them. Pūjyapāda clearly defines many a technical term with the aid of his grammatical genius; Akalaṅka and Haribhadra tried to fortify every doctrine on the basis of anekānta logic; and Siddhasena and Vidyānanda, though holding different opinions on certain dogmas, successfully elaborated their attack against contemporary schools of thought. The thought-patterns set forth by Gautama and Kaṇāda, and the ideology of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga, almost opened a new branch of literature wherein Sanskrit language was most happily handled and logical arguments were advanced with vehemence. It is mainly during this period that Jaina authors like Samantabhadra, Siddhasena, Mallavādi, Akalaṅka, Haribhadra, Anantavīrya and Vidyānanda not only refuted other systems of philosophy, but also made solid contributions to Indian Nyāya literature, besides putting their dogmatic structure on a sound logical basis. On the one hand the logician thus defended the system of philosophy, and on the other the dogmatist went on thoroughly studying and recording the details of *Karma* doctrine. Authors like Śivaśarman compiled monographs; Vīrasena and Jinasena wrote elaborate commentaries on earlier Sūtras; and Nemichandra and Mādhavachandra prepared digests in the tenth century A.D. Thus there is a vast literature dealing with the *Karma* doctrine which possesses a unique metaphysical basis in Jainism.

Jaina authors all along cultivated Prākṛit, the language of their scriptures, and also Sanskrit, the language of the learned, whenever the necessity of the latter was felt. The canon in Prākṛit and its ac-

cessories were mainly intended for the Jainas, while the logical treatises in Sanskrit were meant for the learned body in general. Almost from the beginning the Jaina authors have selected the narrative tale in the form of Purāṇa, Kāvya, romantic novel or didactic story as the most suitable vehicle for conveying their religious principles. The themes centred round 63 holy persons of the Jaina mythology, collectively or individually, monastic martyrs and heroic legends of Rāma and Vāsudeva. Gujarat (with Rajasthan) and the Deccan have produced some of the best authors of this age; and as there was political contact between these two, the Jaina works do show some mutual influence in these parts. Besides Prākṛit and Sanskrit, Jaina authors cultivated Apabhraṁśa in the North and Kannaḍa and Tamil in the South. Major contributors to Jaina narrative literature, from Gujarat include: Pādalipta, Saṅghadāsa, Haribhadra, Uddyotana and Śīlāchārya in Prākṛit, and Jinasena I (A.D. 782-83), Siddharshi (A.D. 906) and Harisheṇa (A.D. 931-32) in Sanskrit; from Malwa Dhanapāla (A.D. 970) and Mahāsena (between A.D. 974 and 1009), in Sanskrit; and from the South Kavi Parameśvara, Jaṭila, Jinasena II (ninth century), Guṇabhadra, Somadeva (A.D. 959) etc. in Sanskrit. Like Sanskrit Prākṛits also became, in course of time, stereotyped literary languages, and popular languages underwent further evolution. The *Paumachariya* of Vimala shows the influence of popular Apabhraṁśa, and soon after the fifth century A.D. the Jaina authors started composing devotional and narrative works in Apabhraṁśa which is indebted to Prākṛit for much of its vocabulary and to contemporary vernaculars for its inflection, construction and metres. The prominent authors of this period are Joindu, Chaturmukha, Svayambhū, and Pushpadanta whose works, excepting those of Chaturmukha, have come down to us. Pushpadanta began his *Mahāpurāṇa* in A.D. 959 while Tuḍiga, or Krishṇarāja III of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, was celebrating his victory over the Cholas at Melpāṭi.

The Jaina teachers never tried to constitute an intellectual aristocracy claiming some exclusive sanctity either for their knowledge or for any particular language. They tried to inculcate their moral ideas among the masses, and this they could do better through local languages. They therefore, always tried to address the masses through the vernaculars. It is this desire on their part that has raised some of the vernaculars to a level of high literary refinement.

The contribution to Tamil literature by Jaina authors is considerably rich, but we are not on safe ground about the dates of Tamil works. When the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuan Tsang, visited South by the middle of the seventh century, Digambara Jainas and Jaina

temples were numerous in both the Pallava realm and the Pāṇḍya kingdom.

The advent of Jainas and Buddhists in the field of Tamil composition brought about a distinct change in its tone and ideology. Especially the Jaina authors, to whom posterity owes many a masterpiece of Tamil literature, were imbued with the spirit of Prākṛit and Sanskrit literature, and infused the same in their Tamil composition. Their works are characterised by religious zeal, didactic appeal and moral elevation; their tales are grand and awe-inspiring with the message of *Ahiṁsā* looming very large. There are conflicting views about the faith of Tiruvalluvar, but all along the Jainas have claimed the *Kuṛal* as their work. Besides they have composed other didactic works like the *Nāladiyār*, *Aṛanerichchāram* of Tirumunippādiyar, *Palamoli* of Munṛuraiyar Araiyanār etc. Three of the five major Kāvyas we owe to Jaina authors: the *Śilappadikāram* of Ilaṅgôvadigal, a brother of the Chera prince Śeṅguṭṭuvan, the *Valayāpadi* of unknown authorship, and the *Chintāmaṇi* of Tiruttakkadevar. The two other major Kāvyas, *Maṇimékalai* and *Kuṇḍalakeśi* are by Buddhist authors.

Generally the themes are the same as those in Sanskrit and Prākrit Jaina works. In some cases, however, the Jaina authors have worked out the local stories infusing them with their ideology, investing them with the touches of their religious bias, and imposing on them their pet ideas of rebirth and retribution. Their important minor Kāvyas are the *Nīlakéśi*, which is a poem refuting other systems of philosophy, *Udayana-kāvya*, which is connected with the tales of the *Bṛihatkathā*, *Chūlāmaṇi* and *Nāgakumāra-kavya*. The dates of some of those works are far from being definitely fixed. The author of the earliest Tamil grammar is perhaps a Jaina; and in later years the Jaina authors made important contributions to Tamil grammar, metrics and lexicography.

It is through the pioneer efforts of Jaina poets that the Kannada language came to be invested with a fluent literary style. The earlier poets respectfully mention many Prākṛit and Sanskrit works from which they derived both scholarship and inspiration. They could see what their colleagues in the Tamil country were doing for the masses through the local language. And the patronage of Karṇāṭaka dynasties gave them great opportunities for their cultural and literary activities. The earliest Kannaḍa composition that has come down to us is the *Kavirājamārga* attributed to Amoghavarsha (A.D. 815-77) of the Rāshṭrakūta dynasty. It does presuppose still earlier literature in Kannaḍa. The three gems of Kannaḍa literature name-

ly Pampa, Ponna and Ranna belong to this period. They respectfully refer to many Jaina *āchāryas* to whom probably they owed their religious and literary inspiration. It is noteworthy that some of these poets, or their families, were converted to Jainism possibly by the pious influence of great Jaina monks of that age. A poet of this period who deserves special mention is Chāmuṇḍarāya, the commander-in-chief of Rājamalla (A.D. 974-84). He was a pupil of Ajitasena and to him we owe the *Trishashtiśalākā-purusha-charita* in Kannaḍa prose. It is a stylistic *Purāṇa,* in prose with occasional verses, giving the account of 63 holy persons of the Jaina church in the manner of Kavi Parameśvara, Jinasena and Guṇabhadra of the past. It is a remarkable event that these early Kannḍa poets were not Āchāryas but laymen. They rightly addressed their fraternity through the vernacular, but it was rather too high-flown for the masses. Their outlook was not exclusively sectarian, though they are not wanting in the zeal for propagating Jaina doctrines. They have freely drawn on earlier Sanskrit and Prākṛit works, and thus with their rich heritage they could raise Kannaḍa language to a classical dignity. Their poems no more remained sectarian texts but proved to be literary masterpieces for the judicious *litterateur* of posterity.

The Jaina poets cultivated various languages not merely as a means to an end. Their love for language and literature was genuine and ardent. That is why they wrote on grammar, rhetoric, metrics, lexicography and other accessories of literary study. Even mathematics, medicine, polity and other technical branches of learning were duly attended to by Jaina authors. In many cases the literary pursuit transcended the religious purpose: that is how the Jaina authors left a lasting stamp on Tamil and Kannaḍa which they enriched in the South

The Jaina monks have been ardent devotees of learning, and more so in Gujarat: they spent much of their time and energy in studying different branches of knowledge and composing works according to their aptitude and ability. Their pursuit of knowledge needed big manuscript libraries; rich members of the laity did their best to equip them in different places; and some of the manuscripts from the Jaisalmer and Pattan collections may belong to our period. These manuscript collections can be looked upon as a part of our national wealth. The doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* has bred exceptional intellectual tolerance among the monks, and in their pursuit of learning, their sectarian zeal was never a hindrance. It is in Jaina manuscript collections that we come across rare non-Jaina works which the Jaina monks have preserved for posterity as safely as their own scriptures,

It is indeed highly creditable on the part of these monks, especially because sectarian fanaticism in Mediaeval India has gone to the extent of burning books belonging to others.

VI. PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL ETHICS

The fundamental Jaina doctrines were arranged quite systematically by Umāsvāti in his *Tattvārtha-sūtra,* which has served as the basic work in subsequent centuries. The Śvetāmbara and Digambara authors criticised each other on certain dogmatic details, but they all along defended their doctrines against the attacks of Buddhist and Brahmanic schools which they severely criticised in their works. The metaphysical and epistemological structure of Jainism has undergone little change. The Syādvāda and Nayavāda reached almost a final stage during this period. The doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* or extreme kindness to life has been the primary vow of the monk. The laity formed an integral part of the Jaina order, and the rules and regulations for the laity were just a miniature of those prescribed for monks. Practically a house-holder is always on his way to monkhood; only he is allowed to halt at some milestone according to his ability. During this period Jainism showed a good deal of proselytizing zeal in the South: and Jaina principles did have a sober influence on society. The popularity of the story of Yaśodhara in South Indian literature only shows how thoroughly the doctrine of *Ahiṁsā* was propagated. Jainism could not escape the influence of the new converts to their faith who continued to worship their tutelary deities and practise some of the family rites as before. It is possibly due to such influence that the subordinate pantheon of Jaina worship grew, household rituals were adjusted, non-Jaina terms were redefined to suit the Jaina ideology, and so on. An author like Somadeva was willing to make concession for various popular rites, provided the fundamentals of Jainism are accepted (*samyaktva*) and the vows are thoroughly observed.

VII. MONUMENTS

As a result of the patronage of princes and rich merchants, Jainism could boast of possessing many monuments serving various purposes of the community. The interdependence of the ascetic order and the laity was a religious necessity, and perhaps the chief plank supporting the social structure. The monks were expected to lead a rigorous life, living in a lonely place away from the crowd: but they came to the laity for meals, and the laity visited them for religious enlightenment. The canon vividly describes the ideal life Mahāvīra led

and how monks came and stayed in the *chaitya* in the town-parks. From pretty early times the Jaina monks lived in or retired to caves in hills adjacent to human habitation. Jaina caves of this (or some even of earlier) period are found near about Madurai, Bādāmi, Tera, Ellorā, Kalyāṇagaḍa, Nāsik, Māṅgituṅgi, Girnār, Udayagiri etc. Some of them were used by monks for their *sallekhanā-maraṇa.* One comes across *nisidis* or stone structures commemorating the *saṁnyāsa-maraṇa* of eminent monks in many places. *Stūpas* and statues were erected in certain caves in early days. A cave with a statue is virtually a temple, as understood later on. The caves at Tera, Ellorā etc. are really cave-temples. The texts like the *Rāyapaseṇiya* contain colourful descriptions of statues etc; and Khaṇḍagiri and Mathurā inscriptions prove the existence of image-worship among the Jainas. Building temples and erecting statues have been looked upon as religious and meritorious acts. Authors like Jaṭila in the South have appealed to this sentiment and an Āchārya like Yaśadatta, aided by his pupils, popularised the building of temples all over Gujarat. Few temples and statues have survived the repeated attacks of foreign iconoclasts. Only a few images of this period are available from southern Gujarat; for instance, those dug out at Mahuḍi. In the South old statues here and there are met with, some of which are attended by the figures of Yaksha and Yakshī. Jinabhadra, Uddyotana and Jinasena I refer to temples at Valabhī, Wadhwan, Ākāśavapra and Jalor; and it is quite likely that some of the temples belong to this period. In the South we have plenty of Jaina temples in the Pallava, Kadamba and Chālukya styles. For instance, there is the Meguṭi temple at Aihole (A.D. 634), now converted into a Śaiva sanctuary. At Puligeṛe or modern Lakshmeśvara also there is an old temple; at Śravaṇa Belgola there is the famous *basadi* named after its builder, the general Chāmuṇḍarāya. Some of the temples in the South have a *mānastāmbha* in front of them; some specific ideas are associated with it in Jainism; and the practice of erecting such free-standing pillars of stone was later on carried to greater perfection. It is at the close of this period that Chāmuṇḍarāya got constructed the majestic statue of Bāhubali at Śravaṇa Belgola in Karnataka. It is a nude statue, 57 feet in height, cut from a rock and standing on the top of a hill called Vindhyagiri. The facial expression of the image is symbolic of quiet meditation and is achieved with exquisite artistic skill. The statue is grand in concept, gigantic in execution, and remarkable in its general appearance; it is a marvel in Indian art and iconography. It has been imitated both in the South and North, but no other statue has equalled it in its captivating expression. The institution of the *Maṭha,* with a *Bhaṭṭāraka* as the spiritual head

of the community, perhaps originated during this period, though it grew more prosperous later on. The selfless section of the monastic order could always wield a healthy influence on the rich laity, whose generosity flowed into fruitful channels of erecting religious monuments which facilitated the religious and literary activities of monks.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT (C)

BUDDHISM

I. GENERAL PROGRESS

WE HAVE SEEN in a previous chapter (Vol. II, Ch. XIII) that Buddhism had attained its apogee, both from doctrinal and ecclesiastic points of view, in the Kushāṇa period. The Kushāṇas in the North and the Sātavāhanas in the South were great patrons of the faith, and Mathurā, Gandhāra and Kashmir in the North and Dhānyakaṭaka in the South had risen to be active centres of Buddhism.

With the advent of the Gupta dynasty Buddhism received a new impetus. The Gupta Emperors, we know, were Bhāgavatas, adherents of a Brahmanical faith, but they followed a policy of religious toleration, and were even sympathetic towards the cause of Buddhism. Although epigraphic evidence on Buddhist endowments under the Guptas is not abundant, we have a number of important inscriptions recording gifts of private donors in the regions of Kauśāmbī, Sāñchī, Bodhgayā and Mathurā from the beginning of the fifth century till the end of the sixth.[1] There are many records, written by the Chinese pilgrims who came to India in this period, which throw light on the condition of Buddhism in the country. Besides, Buddhist art itself, with its relics at Mathurā, Sārnāth, Nālandā, Ajaṇṭā, Bāgh and Dhānyakaṭaka eloquently speaks of the prosperity of Buddhism in this period.

Samudra-gupta was in all probability the patron of a great Buddhist philosopher and was connected with a Buddhist endowment. That philosopher was Vasubandhu, the founder of the idealist school of Mahāyāna philosophy (Vijñānavāda) and the author of the *Abhidharmakośa* and a number of other works. There is some controversy about the date of Vasubandhu, but it is almost universally accepted that he lived in the fourth century and probably till the beginning of the fifth.[1a] He was in Ayodhyā, the capital of the Guptas, and work-

1 Fleet, III, Gupta Inscriptions, nos. 5, 11, 62 68-73; 76 etc.; *MASI* pp. 66. *Nālandā and its Epigraphical Materials*, pp. 64, 72 ff.

1a Lévi, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra, Introduction*, pp. 1-2; Takakusu, 'Paramārtha's *Life of Vasubandhu*', *JRAS*. 1905, pp. 44-53; Peri, 'A propos de la date de Vasubandhu', *BEFEO*. XI, pp. 739-90.

ed there. The tradition, however, is not quite clear on the name of his imperial patron. A biography of Vasubandhu, written by Paramārtha (546-69), says that this patron was king Vikramāditya of Ayodhyā. This Vikramāditya was so much influenced by Vasubandhu that he sent his queen and his son Bālāditya to study under the famous teacher. Bālāditya, on ascending the throne, continued to honour his former teacher who lived up to a ripe old age of 80 at Ayodhyā. The two kings are believed to have been Chandra-gupta I and Samudra-gupta. Their reigns covered a period of about 55 years from 320 to 375, the period during which Vasubandhu worked. Inscriptions, however, do not support the assumption that the titles of Vikramāditya and Bālāditya were ever borne by those two rulers. The attribution of the titles to them was probably due to a mistake of Paramārtha who thought that every Gupta emperor was a Vikramāditya and his Crown-prince a Bālāditya. When those titles became common with the later rulers of the dynasty the confusion became an easy one.

An epigraphic record seems to support the story of this association of Samudra-gupta with Vasubandhu. We know, on the evidence of the Chinese historians, that king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon established connections with Samudra-gupta and sent a Buddhist monk named Mahānāman to establish a monastery at Bodhgayā for the use of the Ceylonese monks with the permission of the Gupta Emperor (p. 27). Mahānāman has left an inscription at Bodhgayā recording this foundation. The inscription, by a *double entendre,* mentions the completion of the *Abhidharmakośa* as a recent event (*sampūrṇo dharmakośaḥ*). The name of Vasubandhu is suggested by the expression *lokabhūtyai śāstuḥ Śākyaikabandho.*[2] The inscription is dated in the year 269, and this should probably be referred to the Śaka era. That indicates approximately the period (A.D. 348/349) in which the *Abhidharmakośa* was completed.

Fa-hien was in India during the reign of Chandra-gupta II and visited the famous centres of Buddhist learning in Northern India.[3] He testifies to the flourishing condition of Buddhism, specially in Uḍḍiyāna, Gandhāra, Mathurā, Kanauj, Kośala, Magadha and Tāmralipti. Fa-hien stayed in Magadha for three years, and in Tāmralipti for two years, studying the Buddhist texts, copying them, and drawing pictures of images. He mentions the number of monks in

2 Fleet, *op. cit.,* p. 274; Lévi, '*Inscription de Mahānāman a Bodhgayā*', *Indian Studies in honour of Lanman,* pp. 35-47, (reproduced in *Memorial Sylvain Lévi,* pp. 343 ff.)

3 Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien.*

some of the centres. He found nearly 500 *saṅghārāmas* in Uḍḍiyāna, which accommodated several thousands of monks. In the neighbourhood of Mathurā there were more than 20 monasteries accommodating 3000 monks. From Mathurā downwards all along the bank of the Yamunā he passed a succession of Buddhist monasteries in which thousands of monks lived. These figures show that Buddhism was in the ascendancy, and this condition went on improving for several centuries. Fa-hien was followed by a number of other Chinese pilgrims between A.D. 420 and 522, but most of them returned only after a sojourn in the Buddhist centres of learning in Kashmir and North-Western India.[4]

The foundation of the institutions in Nālandā was also due to the patronage of the Gupta rulers. Fa-hien stayed in Magadha for three years, but he does not speak of the famous monastery of Nālandā. It had not either come into existence or become important as a centre of learning at that time. But there is no doubt that it rose into prominence soon after his departure. Hiuan Tsang tells us that the monastery was built by Śakrāditya. His son and successor Buddhagupta continued the good work of his father and built another monastery near by. King Tathāgata-gupta built the third, King Bālāditya the fourth, and Bālāditya's son Vajra, the fifth. Thus five kings in succession added to the structures.[5] Other kings of Mid-India followed suit, and Nālāndā soon became an imposing institution. Of the rulers mentioned, Bālāditya was probably Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya (above, p. 90). Śakrāditya and his successors, who were the first builders of the institution, seem to have represented a collateral line of the Gupta dynasty.[6] In all appearance the building of Nālandā started towards the middle of the fifth century and systematic additions were made to it up to the middle of the sixth century.

From the middle of the seventh century, again, we get a number of records giving a clear picture of the condition of Buddhism in India. The most important record is the account of Hiuan Tsang. He was in India for nearly fourteen years (630-644), visiting practically all important centres of Buddhism, making contacts with great teachers and collecting Buddhist texts. In some of the places he stayed for a considerable time, studying Buddhist texts with competent teachers. He mentions about four thousand monasteries with

4 Chavannes, '*Le Voyage de Song-yun dans l'Udyāna et le Gandhara*', Appendix *BEFEO*. 1903.

5 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* II, p. 165.

6 The identification of these kings is far from certain. Their identification by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri with the known Gupta Emperors is very doubtful cf. *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), pp. 570 ff.

nearly one hundred and fifty thousand monks residing in them. Many monasteries were in ruins, but many were still great centres of Buddhist activities. So far as the extent of Buddhism is concerned, it had reached its height in this period, but it also started showing symptoms of decay. The very large number of monks in India may lead to the suspicion that they had become monks because life was easy and care-free in the monasteries which were maintained by public charity. Nevertheless some of the great centres of Buddhist study like Nālandā and Valabhī were still keeping the light burning vigorously.

King Harsha-vardhana, who ascended the throne in A.D. 606, although an eclectic in regard to his religious profession, had great leanings towards Buddhism, his elder brother and sister were devout Buddhists, and he himself was a worshipper of Śiva, Āditya and Buddha. In his later days he became a great follower of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Hiuan Tsang, who had established close personal relations with the king, testifies to this transformation. He tells us that as a Buddhist the king 'caused the use of animal food to cease throughout the five Indias and he prohibited the taking of life under severe penalties. He erected thousands of topes on the banks of the Ganges, established travellers' rests through all his dominions and erected Buddhist monasteries at sacred places of the Buddhists. He regularly held the quinquennial Convocation and gave away in religious alms everything except the material of war'.[7] The pilgrim further tells us that Harsha used to summon all Buddhist monks once a year, feed them for twenty days, and arrange for religious discussions. The best of them would be placed on his own royal throne, and the king would take religious instruction from them. He was also responsible for making additions to the Nālandā monastery.[8]

Harsha's leaning towards Buddhism seems to have been due to a reaction to the policy of persecution pursued by King Śaśāṅka of Bengal, who was also responsible for the murder of his elder brother (p. 205). Śaśāṅka, we are told, was not only hostile towards Buddhism, but also carried on works of vandalism against Buddhist institutions. Thus it is said that he burnt the Bodhi tree, destroyed the footprints of Buddha at Pāṭaliputra, burnt the monasteries, and drove away the monks.[9] It is difficult to say how far the story of this persecution is true. The quarrel between the two families, that of Śaśāṅka and Harsha, might have led to certain incidents affecting the interests of

7 Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 344.
8 Watters, *op cit.*, II, p. 171.
9 Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 115.

the Buddhists, but so far as it can be judged from the state of Buddhism in eastern India in the time of Hiuan Tsang, the story of an extensive persecution shortly before the time of the pilgrim's visit cannot be implicitly believed.

In the west the rulers of the Maitraka dynasty at Valabhī had become great patrons of the Buddhist faith since the middle of the sixth century. The princess Duḍḍā, niece of Dhruvasena I, Dhruvasena himself, Śīlāditya I, Dharasena I etc. were all patrons of Buddhism, built monasteries in the city of Valabhī, and patronised scholars. This policy was continued by the rulers right up to the middle of the seventh century. Numerous Buddhist relics discovered at Valabhī testify to the existence of Buddhism in that area up to the tenth century.[10]

The century that followed Harsha's rule saw the dismemberment of the empire and the rise of dynastic rules in different parts of the country. It was a state of anarchy, unfavourable for the growth of a monastic religion like Buddhism which depended so much on the patronage of the rulers. Many of the early mediaeval dynasties like the Rāshṭrakūṭas, Pratihāras etc. do not seem to have been very friendly towards this religion; they patronised Hindu revivalist movements. Buddhism still lingered in Kashmir, Swat valley, Valabhī and other places in the north, as can be judged from the accounts of Chinese travellers like I-tsing (671-95) and Wu-kong (751-90), but its condition was not prosperous. It was only in Eastern India, specially in Nālandā, that Buddhism still flourished, most probably on account of the large endowments that had been made by the former rulers.

While Buddhism was slowly disappearing from other parts of India it had another great revival in Eastern India under the patronage of the Pāla dynasty. The Pāla dynasty came to power towards the middle of the eighth century and ruled over an extensive empire till the middle of the eleventh. The rulers of this dynasty were devout Buddhists and called themselves *paramasaugata*. They were responsible for new endowments to the Nālandā monastery and also for the foundation of new monasteries such as Vikramaśīla, Odantapuri and Somapura.

Gopāla, the first king of the dynasty, founded a Vihāra in Nālandā and established many religious schools. His son Dharmapāla founded the famous Vikramaśīla and also probably the Odantapurī mo-

10 Lévi, '*Les donations religieuses des rois de Valabhī*', *Etudes critique et d' histoire* II, 1896, pp. 189-203 (*Memorial Sylvain Lévi*, pp. 218 ff.).

nasteries. Somapura was founded by king Devapāla. Dharmapāla is also said to have established fifty religious schools. He was, besides, the patron of the great Buddhist scholar Haribhadra, the author of noted works on Buddhist philosophy. A number of other institutions had grown, evidently out of private donations, in the Pāla period both in Bihar and Bengal. Some of them like Devīkoṭa, Traikūṭaka, Paṇḍita, Sannagara, Phullahari, Paṭṭikera, Vikramapurī and Jagaddala are mentioned in literature.[11]

II. IMPORTANT CENTRES OF BUDDHISM

Although Mathurā and Purushapura had played a very important part in the dissemination and study of Buddhism in the earlier period, Kashmir outshone them in the Gupta period. Kashmir had become a centre of Buddhist studies in the Kushāṇa period, and continued to be so for several centuries even after the disappearance of the Kushāṇas. It was a great seat of Sanskrit learning since early times and this language soon came to be cultivated also as a vehicle of Buddhist literature in that country. Kashmir was responsible for shaping the canonical literature of the Sarvāstivāda and Mūla-Sarvāstivāda schools which was composed in pure Sanskrit.

The importance of Kashmir as a centre of Buddhist studies in the Gupta period is clearly brought out by the Chinese accounts. Although Fa-hien did not go to Kashmir, many of his contemporary travellers preferred to go to Kashmir for their studies.[12] Che-mong, who came to India in 404, passed some time in Kashmir for his studies. Fa-yong, who came in 420, did the same. Biographies of Indian Buddhist scholars of the same period speak of the great role of Kashmir in the study and transmission of the Buddhist lore. Kumārajīva, who was born in Kucha in the last quarter of the fourth century of an Indian father and a Kuchean mother, was brought to Kashmir for his studies. Kashmir sent to China Saṅghabhūti (381), Gautama Saṅghadeva (384), Puṇyatrāta and Dharmayaśas (397-401), Buddhajīva (423), Buddhayaśas (about 400), Vimalāksha (406), Guṇavarman (413), Dharmamitra (424), Buddhabhadra (421), Vimokshasena (541), etc. These scholars were responsible for translating a large part of the Sanskrit Buddhist canon into Chinese and building up the Chinese Buddhist literature.[13]

Kashmir continued to be a centre of Buddhist studies in the sixth and seventh centuries too, but Nālandā must have eclipsed her re-

11 *HBR*, I, pp. 417-18.

12 P. C. Bagchi, *India and China* (2nd ed.), pp. 65 ff.

13 *Ibid.*, pp. 35 ff.

putation to a great extent. From the eighth century, again, Kashmir somewhat regained her prestige and took an active part in the study and propagation of Buddhism. In the eighth and ninth centuries Buddhism received patronage from the rulers and the nobility of the country. Huei-chao, who visited the country about A.D. 730, says that 'the kings, queens, the princes and the nobility were all in the habit of building monasteries according to their respective means.'[14] Wu-k'ong, who was in India between 751 and 790 and spent several years in Kashmir in the study of Buddhist texts, also speaks of the prosperous condition of Buddhism in that period.[15] Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa, who maintained diplomatic relations with China, was a great patron of Buddhism. He founded a number of monasteries and chaityas, and also set up images of Buddha.[16] Jayāpīda continued the same pious acts. In spite of occasional persecution, Buddhism continued its precarious existence in Kashmir up to the twelfth century.

Kashmir had a hand in the propagation of Buddhism in Tibet. We do not know exactly to which part of India Thonmi-sambhota, the first emissary of Srong-tsan-Gampo, came for his studies, but according to one tradition, the Tibetan alphabet, which he invented, was modelled on the alphabet prevalent in Kashmir.[17] The establishment of Buddhism on a firm footing in Tibet was due to Padmasambhava, who hailed from Uḍḍiyāna and most probably had gone from Kashmir. After the foundation of the monastery of Sam-ye by him, two Kashmirian scholars, Jinamitra and Dānaśīla were invited to Tibet to establish the rules of monastic discipline.[18] A number of Kashmir scholars—Ananta, Jñānaśrī, Buddhaśrījñāna etc.—went to Tibet to translate the Buddhist texts into Tibetan. The Tibetan canon contains the names of a host of translators and authors from Kashmir who were active in Tibet in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. Kashmir played an important part in the establishment of Buddhism in Tibet.[19]

Other centres of Buddhism in the North-West continued their existence during this period, but none of them seems to have played any important part in Buddhist studies. Purushapura, which was so important in the Kushāṇa period, had now become a mere place

14 For Huei-chao's account, cf. Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 51, pp. 576-77.

15 Lévi and Chavannes, '*L'itineraire d' Ou-kong*', *J. As.* 1895, pp. 341-84.

16 *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, iv, pp. 200 ff.

17 Obermiller, *Bu-ston*, p. 183.

18 *Ibid*. p. 191.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 181, and pp. 201 ff.

of pilgrimage. The two famous Buddhist philosophers, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, who were born in Purushapura towards the beginning of the Gupta period, apparently went to other places, the former to Ayodhyā and the latter to Kashmir, for their studies. Nagarahāra (Jelalabad) also figures as the birth-place of some noted scholars, but it does not seem to have been a centre of any importance. Buddhabhadra, who went to China in the beginning of the fifth century, was from Nagarahāra. Vimokshasena, who was in China in 541, was born in Uḍḍiyāna, and Jinagupta, who was almost a contemporary of the former and was in China in 559, was born at Purushapura. But amongst them Buddhabhadra and Vimokshasena at least had their education in Kashmir.[20] With the conversion of Tibet, Jālandhara, which lay on the route to Tibet, served as a centre of Buddhist activities in the seventh century. Hiuan-chao, who was in India in the middle of that century, passed four years at Jālandhara in the study of Buddhist literature.[21] Occasionally Buddhist scholars could be found in these centres; for example, as late as in the Pāla period we hear of a great scholar of Purushapura, named Sarvajñadeva, who was the teacher of a Buddhist scholar named Vīradeva, born at Nagarahāra. Vīradeva later on came to Nālandā for his studies.[22] But as an organised seat of Buddhist learning no other place in North-Western India except Kashmir played any important part in the Gupta period and later.

Mathurā in this period was only a place of pilgrimage. Only three places in Northern India seem to have attained some importance as centres of Buddhist studies in the Gupta period, viz. Matipura, Kānyakubja and Ayodhyā.[23] Matipura was a centre of Vaibhāshika studies in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., and Hiuan-Tsang stayed there for some time. Kānyakubja rose into importance under king Harsha who made it his capital. We find mention of the Kaumudi-saṅghārāma which was a seat of learning in Kanauj in the last quarter of the sixth century. Scholars from such distant parts as Lāṭa used to come there for study.[24] We know from the account of Hiuan-Tsang that the place was full of Buddhist establishments, there being about 100 Buddhist monasteries in his time. Hiuan-Tsang passed some time in the Bhadravihāra of Kānyakubja, studying a Vibhāshā work of Buddhadāsa with a Buddhist scholar named Vīryasena. Ayodhyā, according to Hiuan Tsang, was the

20 *India and China*, pp 44 ff.
21 Chavannes, *Religieux Eminents*, p. 15.
22 Goshrawan Inscription, *MASI*, no. 66, pp. 89 ff.
23 Watters, *op. cit.*, I. pp. 322, 340, 354.
24 *India and China*, p. 47.

temporary residence of Āsaṅga and Vasubandhu, and had also developed a tradition in Buddhist learning. Śrīlāta, the famous Sautrāntika teacher, was connected with the place.

The Mahābodhi and its neighbourhood had become an important centre of Buddhist activities, not only as the most important place of pilgrimage but also as a centre of Buddhist studies, specially for foreign students. Already in the time of Samudra-gupta, the emissaries of king Meghavarṇa of Ceylon had set up a monastery for the use of the Ceylonese monks.[25] To the west of the Mahābodhi temple there was a monastery of the kingdom of Kapiśa named Guṇāśrita, and it was the abode of the monks coming from the northern countries.[26] Very near the temple of Mahābodhi was the monastery of the kingdom of K'iu-lu-kia (Kolkhai, Tāmraparṇi?) built by the king of that country for the use of the monks coming from the South. We are told that although it was a monastery of very modest appearance, its monks observed the rules of discipline very strictly. King Ādityasena of Magadha, who lived in the third quarter of the seventh century, had built a temple there.[27] The Chinese sources mention two other places, which cannot be exactly identified but which were within the zone of influence of the Mahābodhi temple. These were An-mo-lo-po (Āmrava ?), which is located to the north of the Gaṅgā (?), and Mṛigaśikhāvana which is located about 40 *yojanas* to the east of Nālandā and down the Gaṅgā. There seems to be some confusion in these indications of geographical location, as the two places are mentioned in connection with the Mahābodhi.[27a] There was a monastery in An-mo-lo-po,[28] called Gandhāra-chaṇḍa (?), founded by the Tukhāras for the use of the monks coming from their country. Not only the Tukhāras, but also other monks coming from the north, used to live there. Mṛigaśikhāvana was the site of a monastery which had been built for the use of the Chinese monks by a king named Śrīgupta, who might have been one of the earlier members of the Gupta dynasty.[29] The monastery was in ruins in the seventh century. Some of these monasteries built for the foreigners also served as educational institutions. We know that Hiuan-chao, who came in the seventh century, stayed at An-mo-lo-po for seven years for the purpose of study.

25 Lévi, '*Les Missions de Wang Hiuan-tse dans l'Inde*'. *JA*. 1900. See above, p. 836.

26 Chavannes, *Religeux Eminents*, p. 81.

27 *Ibid.*, p. 81.

27a Cf. *IHQ*, XIV, pp. 532-35.

28 *Ibid.*, pp. 18 n, 26, 29, 30, 80.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 82. cf. above, pp. 7-8.

Hui-lun, who came about the same time, studied the *Abhidharma-kośa-śāstra* there. Certain letters, which passed between Hiuan-Tsang and the Indian scholars of Mahābodhi,[30] clearly bring out that the latter place was a centre of Buddhist literary activities.

Nālandā, as we have seen, had come into existence already in the fifth century. It developed not so much as a place of pilgrimage but as a centre of Buddhist studies. A number of kings with names ending in *Gupta* (above, cf. p. 91), Harsha-vardhana and other kings of neighbouring areas all contributed to the growth and prosperity of the institution. There is a period of darkness after Harsha, but with the rise of the Pāla dynasty in Bengal, Nālandā again received active royal patronage.

It is from the account of the Chinese travellers that we get a picture of the greatness of the institution. Huei-lun,[31] who came to India towards the middle of the seventh century, tells us that it contained eight temples and brick-built houses for the residence of the monks. The whole area was a sort of large quadrangle. The buildings were three-storied, each storey being more than 10 feet high. The monastery could accommodate 3500 students. It is said that 201 villages had been endowed to the institution for its maintenance. About its unique position in the field of Buddhist learning Hiuan-Tsang says:[32]

'In the establishment there were some thousands of Brethren, all men of great ability and learning, several hundreds being highly esteemed and famous; the Brethren were very strict in observing the precepts and regulations of their Order; they were looked upon as models by all India; learning and discussing they found the day too short; day and night they admonished each other, juniors and seniors mutually helping to perfection. If among them were any who did not talk of the mysteries of the *Tripiṭaka,* such persons, being ashamed, lived aloof. Hence foreign students came to the establishment to put an end to their doubts, and then became celebrated, and those who stole the name (of Nālandā brother) were well treated with respect wherever they went.'

Some of the luminaries of Nālandā are also mentioned by the pilgrim.[33] They were Dharmapāla, Chandrapāla, Guṇamati, Sthiramati, Prabhāmitra, Jinamitra, Jñānachandra, and Śīlabhadra. Sthiramati, Dharmapāla and Guṇamati were all great scholars and commentators of original treatises on the Yogāchara philosophy. Chandrapāla

30 *India and China,* p. 80.
31 Chavannes, *op. cit.,* pp. 84 ff.
32 Watters, *op. cit.,* II, p. 165.
33 *Ibid.*

and Jñānachandra do not seem to have authors of books. Prabhāmitra[34] or Prabhākaramitra went to Eastern Turkestan and China towards the beginning of the seventh century. He was responsible for introducing Buddhism among the Western Turks. He went to China in 627 and translated a number of important texts into Chinese. He died in China in A.D. 633. Śīlabhadra, who was a great scholar of the Vijñānavāda philosophy, was the abbot of the Nālandā monastery when Hiuan Tsang came there for his studies.

Nālandā attracted not only foreign scholars but also scholars from different parts of India in its palmy days. I-tsing and a number of his contemporaries—Huei-lun, Tao-hi, Hiuan-chao, etc.—all passed years in Nālandā for their studies.[35] We know of Indian scholars going from Nālandā to China till the end of the tenth century,[36]—Dharmachandra (732-39), Subhākarasiṁha (716-99), Dharmadeva (973-1001),etc. Vajrabodhi, who was in China from 720 to 732, was also educated at Nālandā. There was a monastery of Kashmir at Nālandā, evidently for the benefit of the students coming from Kashmir.[37] Śāntarakshita and Kamalaśīla, who were responsible for establishing Buddhism in Tibet in the same period, were also connected with Nālandā.[38]

Nālandā probably started losing its importance with the rise of the Vikramaśīla monastery founded by Dharmapāla towards the end of the eighth century. Vikramaśīla was situated on a hill on the south (right) bank of the Ganges to the north of Magadha, and has been located at Patharghata in the Bhagalpur district.[38a] It became a very large establishment with the help of the Pāla kings, possessed 107 temples, six colleges, and 117 professors in different subjects. A number of scholars of note and authors of books on mysticism, logic and philosophy, who lived at Vikramaśīla in the Pāla period between the eighth and tenth centuries, are mentioned in the Tibetan sources. The chief among them were Ratnākaraśānti, Jetāri, Jñānaśrīmitra, Abhayākaragupta, Divākarachandra and Dīpaṁkara Śrījñāna. From the ninth century till the twelfth, when it was destroyed, it played a very important part in the transmission of Buddhism to Tibet. Tibetan scholars used to come regularly to this

34 *India and China*, pp. 49 ff.

35 Chavannes, *op. cit.*, sections 1, 2, 41.

36 *India and China*, App. iii.

37 *'L'Itineraire de Ki-ye'*, *BEFEO*, 1902, pp. 256-59. Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka, 51. p. 982.

38 *HBR*. p. 333.

38a Recent view seeks to identify it with Antichak, about 13 km north to Kahalgaon Railway Station. Bhagalpur district, *Comprehensive History of Bihar*, I. pt. 2, Patna. 1974, p. 535. (*KKDG*)

monastery for their studies, and we know that a good number of Tibetan translations of Indian texts, now included in the Tibetan canon, were prepared at Vikramaśīla.[39]

A number of other institutions also had come into being under the Pālas. Thus Odantapurī, which was built in the neighbourhood of Nālandā in the eight century, and served as a model for the first Buddhist monastery of Sam-ye, was an institution of considerable importance. Somapura-vihāra (Pāhārpur), built in the same period in North Bengal, was also an institution of some note for a period. A number of other institutions of lesser importance had come into existence in various parts of Bengal in the Pāla period, either through the patronage of the kings or that of the nobles. They served as active centres of study in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. A number of scholars belonging to these monasteries is mentioned in the Tibetan sources. Haribhadra of the Traikūṭaka-vihāra compiled his famous *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* in the reign of Dharmapāla. Vibhūtichandra, Dānaśīla, Mokshākara-gupta and Śubhākara lived in the Jagaddala-vihāra in the Pāla peiod. Tibetan scholars used to come there for their studies, and many texts were translated into Tibetan in that monastery.[40]

Tāmralipti and Samataṭa also seem to have been centres of Buddhist studies for some time in this period. Fa-hien speaks of twenty-two monasteries at Tāmralipti, and these were all inhabited by monks. He stayed there for two years 'writing out his *sūtras* and drawing pictures of Buddhist images'. Hiuan Tsang found it a prosperous centre of Buddhism. Later in the same century I-tsing passed some time there, studying Sanskrit and Science of Grammar. Some of his contemporaries—Ta-Sheng-teng, Tao-lin etc.—also passed a number of years there for their studies. Tao-lin passed three years there studying Sanskrit and the Sarvāstivāda-vinaya.[41]

Samataṭa rose into importance in the beginning of the sixth century. The ruler of the land, Vainya-gupta,[42] played the part of a great patron. Two monasteries, Āśramavihāra and Rājavihāra, of Samataṭa seem to have been very important in this period. They were in the hands of a sect of Mahāyānists called Avaivarttika-saṅgha founded by one Āchārya Śāntideva. Hiuan Tsang also mentions the place as an important centre of Buddhism. Śīlabhadra, the great abbot of the Nālandā monastery, was, according to Hiuan Tsang, original-

39 *Ibid.*, p. 417.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 467.

41 Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 100, Watters, *op. cit.*, II; pp. 187; 189; Takakusu; *I-tsing*, p. XXXI; Chavannes, *Religieux Eminents*, p. 100.

42 *HBR* pp. 413, 414 f.

ly a prince of the royal family of Samataṭa. In the time of I-tsing the ruler of the country was Rājabhaṭa, also a great patron of the Buddhists.[43]

As noted above (pp. 492-93), some of the Kara kings of Orissa were Buddhists, and one of them sent a Buddhist text to the Emperor of China. But neither in Orissa nor in the Deccan do we hear of any important centre of Buddhist studies in this period. There were many monasteries here and there, and also pious monks living in them, but none of those institutions had attracted scholars for specialised studies in Buddhist literature or philosophy. The institutions at Dhānyakaṭaka seem to have been perpetuating the old tradition only in a very feeble way. Hiuan Tsang, who visited the place, tells us that most of the old monasteries were in ruins, only about twenty among them were habitable, and about 1000 monks occupied them. Two of them, Pūrvaśaila and Aparaśaila, were still held in respect by the Buddhist world, but probably only as places of pilgrimage.[44]

The city of Valabhī in Western India emerged as a centre of Buddhist studies in the Gupta period. A strong Buddhist community had come into existence under the patronage of the local rulers. In the sixth and seventh centuries a number of monasteries were founded, the most important among them being Duḍḍāvihāra, Guhakavihāra, Bhaṭṭārakavihāra, Guhasenavihāra, etc. Two Buddhist scholars of note, Buddhadāsa and Sthiramati belonged to Valabhī. Hiuan Tsang describes Valabhī as a very prosperous centre of Buddhism which possessed 170 monasteries inhabited by nearly 10,300 monks. Even in the eighth century we hear of scholars going to Valabhī for their studies. Vajrabodhi had his education first at Nālandā, and then proceeded to Western India, most probably to Valabhī, for his studies before going to the South.[45]

It is thus apparent that although some of the old centres of study had fallen into decay before the rise of the Guptas, new and more vigorous centres came into existence under them. These new centres were many but, during the early Gupta period, Kashmir was the most predominant centre of studies. Later, after the foundation of Nālandā, the centre of studies was gradually shifted to Eastern India. Nālandā dominated the whole Buddhist world for nearly three centuries from the sixth to the ninth. In spite of the patronage of the great Pāla rulers Nālandā was soon eclipsed by two other

43 Chavannes, *Religieux Eminents,* p. 94.

44 Watters, *op. cit.,* II, p. 215.

45 Watters, *op. cit.,* II, p. 246. *India and China,* p. 53. *Lévi,* *'Les donations religeuses des rois de Valabhī'*, cf note 10 above.

institutions, Vikramaśīla and Odantapurī, which had been founded under the Pālas. Eastern India, with its new institutions, Vikramaśīla, Odantapurī, Jagaddala, Vikramapurī etc. almost monopolised the preservation and transmission of Buddhist culture from the ninth up to the twelfth century.

III. IMPORTANT SCHOOLS OF BUDDHISM

The transformation which Buddhism had been undergoing during the Kushāṇa period became more marked in the Gupta period. Mahāyāna decidedly became the most dominant form of Buddhism from the fourth century onwards. The eighteen schools of Hīnayāna were forgotten. Only four or five of them are heard of in this period, and they are also subordinated to the Mahāyāna.

Of the Hīnayāna schools Fa-hien speaks of only three,—the *Mahāsāṅghika, Sarvāstivāda* and *Mahīśāsaka.* He got copies of the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the first two schools in Magadha. The *Mahīśāsaka Vinayapiṭaka* was discovered by him in Ceylon. He did not see much of the other schools as he dismisses them summarily: 'As to the other eighteen schools each one has the views and decisions of its own masters. Those agree (with this) in the general meaning, but they have small and trivial differences'.[46] Epigraphy of this period has not much to say about the schools. There is one solitary inscription—the Kura Buddhist Stone-slab inscription of the reign of Toramāṇa (about A.D. 500)—which records a donation to the monks of the *Mahīśāsaka* school.[47]

Hiuan Tsang, who made a comprehensive survey of the condition of Buddhism in the middle of the seventh century, gives a fuller picture of the Hīnayāna schools existing in his time. From his evidence it is clear that the vast majority of monks followed the Mahāyāna, but some of the Hīnayāna schools were still lingering. In Uḍḍiyāna (Swat valley) he[48] saw that the Vinayapiṭakas of the five schools, viz., *Dharmagupta, Mahīśāsaka, Kāśyapīya, Sarvāstivāda, and Mahāśāṅghika*, were still taught, but he remarks that the monks were clever in reciting the texts without penetrating their deep meaning. According to the pilgrim most of the Hīnayānists in Northern India were adherents of the *Sammatīya* school, and only a few followed the *Sarvāstivāda.*[49] In the west, specially in Mālava

46 Legge. *Travels of Fa-hien,* p. 98.

47 *EI,* I., pp. 28 ff; Lüders, *List.* no. 5.

48 Watters, *op. cit.* I, p. 226.

49 From Hiuan Tsang's account we find that the Sammatīyas were flourishing at the following places: Ahichchhatra, Saṅkāśya, Ayamukha, Viśoka, Śrāvastī, Kapilavastu, Benares, Iraṇaparvata (?), Karṇasuvarṇa, Mālava, Valabhī, Ānandpur etc. The number of monks belonging to this sect is stated by the pilgrim as nearly 45,000—more than one-third of the total number of monks in India in his day.

and Valabhī, the *Sammatīya* school was followed. In Samataṭa and Drāviḍa he saw the *Sthavira* school, but in Kaliṅga and some other places he met with the followers of a special sect which he calls the Mahāyāna of the *Sthavira* school. In Dhānyakaṭaka there were still remnants of the two *Mahāsāṅghika* sects, the *Pūrvaśaila* and the *Aparaśaila,* but the days of their prosperity were long over. *Sammatīya,* as we have seen, was the most important Hīnayāna school of the period, and the pilgrim tells us that the sister of Harsha, and probably Harsha himself in his earlier days, were adherents of this school.[50]

I-tsing mentions only four principal schools,[51] viz., *Mahāsāṅghika* Sthavira, *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda* and *Sammatīya.* He does not speak of the older *Sarvāstivāda.* *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda* evidently supplanted the *Sarvāstivāda* soon after the time of Hiuan Tsang. Hiuan Tsang did not know the literature of this school. I-tsing was the first to take the *Vinayapiṭaka* of this school to China and translate it into Chinese. According to his evidence *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda* flourished mostly in Magadha and in the islands of the Southern Sea in his times. *Sammatīya* was confined to Lāṭa and Sindhu, and the *Sthavira* school to the South. Both *Mahāsāṅghika* and *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda* were followed in Northern India, and all the four schools were more or less known in Eastern India. But it seems that interest in the Hīnayāna schools in this period was very limited. The monks were interested in them so far as their ordination was concerned. They had to follow the disciplinary rules of some Hīnayāna school in regard to their conduct, dress, food etc.

The principal philosophical schools of Hīnayāna, viz. the *Vaibhāshika* and *Sautrāntika,* still held their ground before the powerful onslaught of the Mahāyāna, but they were losing their importance gradually. The *Vaibhāshika* philosophy was followed and studied in Kashmir and some places in North India even till the time of Hiuan Tsang. That Kashmir was a great centre of *Vaibhāshika* studies in the Gupta period is proved by the fact that a number of *Vibhāshā* works was translated by Kashmirian scholars like Buddhavarman, Saṅghabhūti etc. into Chinese towards the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. Hiuan Tsang mentions also Matipura as a centre of Vaibhāshika studies. This was the place where a great Vaibhāshika teacher Guṇaprabha, who probably lived towards the end of the fifth century, worked and composed a number of treatises on *Vibhāshā.* Saṅghabhadra, a great *Vaibhāsika*

50 Beal, *Life of Hiuan Tsang,* p. 176, Watters, op. cit. I; p. 346.
51 Takakusu, *I-tsing,* pp. xxiii—xxiv.

teacher of Kashmir and a contemporary of Vasubandhu, also lived in Matipura. His famous work *Nyāyanusāraśāstra,* written for refuting the *Yogāchāra* doctrines, was composed there. Vimalamitra, a disciple of Saṅghabhadra, also lived in Matipura. Hiuan Tsang studied the *Tattvasandeśa-śāstra* of Guṇaprabha with a *Vaibhāshika* scholar named Mitrasena at Matipura. Mitrasena was at that time 90 years old, and as he was a disciple of Guṇaprabha, we may presume that Guṇaprabha lived towards the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. In fact, some sources consider him to be a contemporary of Sthiramati, the famous disciple of Vasubandhu. Kānyakubja was also a centre of *Vaibhāshika* studies in the time of Hiuan Tsang, as the pilgrim studied a *Vaibhāshika* work of Buddhadāsa with Vīryasena in the Bhadravihāra of that place.[52]

Vaibhāshika was in this period split into two main divisions. One is called the Kashmir-Vaibhāshika, and the other, Pāśchātya or Western Vaibhāshika. The Western Vaibhāshika is again mentioned as of two classes, *Mṛidu* (mild) and *Madhya* (those who followed a middle course). The first established a character of the *pudgala,* which was neither permanent nor impermanent, by admitting the reality of exterior objects. The *Madhya* class also maintained similar philosophical views but held special views in the matter of *dhyāna.* The Kashmir-Vaibhāshikas, however, entertained an extreme (*adhimātra*) philosophical view. They did not admit the reality of the exterior objects which constituted the body, and maintained also the doctrine of *nairātmya.* According to them a complete knowledge of the four Aryan truths leads to the knowledge of *Śūnyatā* of the *pudgala.* The Kashmir-Vaibhāshikas therefore seem to have been working under the influence of the Sautrāntikas.[53]

The *Sautrāntika* school does not seem to have been so largely followed. The most illustrious teacher of the school, who in all likelihood lived towards the very beginning of the Gupta period, was Harivarman. His work *Tattvasiddhi* was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva towards the beginning of the fifth century.[54] *Sautrāntika* later on seems to have merged into the *Mādhyamika* on account of the similarity of certain fundamental views, and we hear of a *Mādhyamika-Sautrāntika* in the later period.[55]

The *Sammatīya* school also had developed a philosophy of its own.[56]

52 Watters, *op. cit*, I, pp. 276, 322-23, 353.

53 *Tattvaratnāvalī* of Advayavajra, *Advayavajrasaṁgraha* by H.P. Sastri, *GOS.*, pp. 34 ff.

54 *India and China,* p. 136.

55 Vassilieff, *Le Bouddhisme* (French translation), p. 321.

56 Masuda in, *Asia Major,* II, pp. 1-69, see under Vātsiputriya.

They believed in the existence of a certain ego, but this was not exactly the *pudgala* of the *Sarvāstivāda* school. They maintained that the ego (*pudgala*) was neither different from nor identical with the *skandhas*. This ego has no attributes. This definition of the *pudgala* laid the foundation of the *Ālayavijñāna* theory of the *Yogāchāra Vijñānavāda*, and that explains the great popularity of this Hīnayāna school in the seventh century when Mahāyāna was the dominant form of Buddhism in North India.

The two Mahāyāna schools of philosophy, the *Mādhyamika* and the *Yogāchāra*, attained their apogee in the Gupta period. The *Mādhyamika* of Nāgārjuna-Āryadeva gave rise to various schools of interpreters.[57] One school was known as the *Prāsaṅgika* school and its main exponents were Buddhapālita and Chandrakīrti who lived in the fifth century. Another school was known as *Mādhyamika-Sautrāntika* (also *Svātantra*), and its chief exponent was Bhāvya or Bhāvaviveka. There was still a third school of interpretation which is called *Yogāchāra-Mādhyamika*. Its principal exponents were: Jñānagarbha, Śrīgupta, Śāntarakshita, Kamalaśīla and Haribhadra. We do not know the period when the first two teachers flourished, but it is certain that Śāntarakshita and Kamalaśīla, who went to Tibet, lived in the eighth century. Haribhadra was a contemporary of Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty and lived also in the eighth century.

The Tibetan sources try to distinguish between the views of the various schools of interpretation. Buddhapālita composed a commentary on the Mūlamādhyamika and explained the philosophy of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva from the *Prāsaṅgika* point of view. Chandrakīrti, too, was a *Prāsaṅgika;* he composed commentaries on the *Mūlamādhyamika* of Nāgārjuna and also on the *Chatuḥśataka* of Āryadeva. His commentary of *Mūlamādhyamika* is known as *Prasannapadā*. Bhāvaviveka in his *Prajñāpradīpa*, a commentary of the *Mūlamādhyamika*, refuted many points in the commentary of Buddhapālita. Bhāvaviveka composed two other works, viz. *Mādhyamikahṛidaya* and the *Karatalaratna*. preserved in Chinese translation. Jñānagarbha composed a work entitled the *Mādhyamika-satyadvaya*. Bhāvaviveka and his followers maintained the reality of external objects from the empirical standpoint and did not admit of the existence of introspective perception (*sva-samvedanā*). The third school of interpreters led by Śāntarakshita deny the empirical reality of the external world, admit of introspective perception, and al-

57 Vassilieff, *op. cit.*, pp. 318 ff., Obermiller, *Bu-ston*, p. 122.

though they have Yogāchāra leaning, they do not admit that consciousness (*vijñāna*) has an ultimate reality.

The *Yogāchāra* school, as we have seen, had its beginning in the earlier period, probably in the third century, but its greatest development took place in the period under review.[58] Asaṅga, the elder brother of Vasubandhu, if not the founder of the system, was certainly responsible for establishing the new philosophy on a solid and comprehensive basis. Both Asaṅga and Vasubandhu were natives of Paurushapura (Peshawar), but worked in Ayodhyā. Asaṅga was at first a follower of Mahīśāsaka school and later adopted Mahāyāna. Vasubhandhu also preferred Hīnayāna in his earlier age. It was as an adherent of the *Sarvāstivāda* school that he wrote his famous *Abhidharmakośa.* He, however, changed his creed under the influence of Asaṅga, and propounded a new system of *Yogāchāra* called *Vijñānavāda which carries the Yogāchāra* Philosophy to perfection.

A large number of important works is attributed to Asaṅga, the principal among them being the *Yogāchārabhūmiśāstra, Abhisamayālaṅkāra-śāstra, Abhidharmasamuchchaya, Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṁkāra,* and *Mahāyāna-saṁparigraha-śāstra.* The principal works of Vasubandhu besides the *Abhidharmakośa,* were: Commentaries on *Saṁparigraha-śāstra, Śataśāstra, Daśabhūmika-śāstra, Madhyāntavibhaṅga-śāstra, Vijñānamātratā-siddhi,* and *Viṁśikā-Triṁśikā. Yogāchāra,* as the name indicates, emphasises the religious aspect of the system, and gives an analysis of the psychological conditions of the mind with a view to delineating the way of approach towards the ultimate reality. Asaṅga does not fail to postulate the nature of this reality in his works. This reality is a form of consciousness (*vijñāna*) called *Ālaya-vijñāna,* a sort of storehouse of the effects of all the experiences which alone is permanent and real in a world of impermanence. It is this aspect of the *Yogāchāra* which Vasubandhu develops in his works and his system thus came to be known as *Vijñānavāda.*

Vasubandhu was followed by a galaxy of teachers like Sthiramati, Diṅnāga, Guṇaprabha, Vimuktasena, Dharmakīrti, Dharmapāla, Śīlabhadra and others who brilliantly continued the traditions of the two great masters.[59] The Tibetan tradition tells us that among the disciples of Vasubandhu four were great, each a specialist in his own subject; Sthiramati in the knowledge of the doctrines of 18 schools, Vimuktasena in the mystic philosophy of *Prajñāpāramitā,* Guṇaprabha in *Vinaya,* and Diṅnāga in logic (*pramāṇa*). Sthiramati

58 Vassilieff, pp. 288 ff., *Bu-ston,* pp. 136 ff.

59 Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic,* I, Introduction.

and Diṅnāga were direct disciples of Vasubandhu, and lived in the fifth century. Sthiramati is known for his commentaries on some of the *Vijñānavāda* works of Vasubandhu. Diṅnāga developed the logical aspect of the Vijñānavāda in a number of works, the most famous of which was the *Pramāṇasamuchchaya.* The line of Diṅnāga was continued through Īśvarasena, Dharmakīrti, Vinītadeva, Dharmottara and others. Īśvarasena composed a sub-commentary on the *Pramāṇasamuchchaya,* whereas his disciple, Dharmakīrti (seventh century), wrote a commentary on the same work, besides a number of original works the most important of which was the *Pramāṇavārttika.* A number of disciples and grand-disciples of Dharmakīrti —Devendrabuddhi and Śākyabuddhi, Vinītadeva and Dharmottara —wrote different treatises bearing on the *Pramāṇavārttika.* Guṇamati, Dharmapāla and Śīlabhadra represent another line of great interpreters of the *Yogāchāra-Vijñānavāda.* Guṇamati and Dharmapāla must have lived in the sixth century and Dharmapāla's disciple Śīlabhadra in the seventh. Śīlabhadra was a very old teacher about A.D. 637, when Hiuan Tsang came to study the Vijñānavāda philosophy under him. He died soon after the pilgrim's departure from India, probably about A.D. 648. Śīlabhadra therefore was born in the sixth century. One of the works of Guṇamati was translated by Paramārtha into Chinese between 557 and 569. Dharmapāla is known for his important commentaries on the Vijñānavāda texts like *Ālambanapratyaya, Vijñānamātratā-siddhi* etc., while Śīlabhadra, as can be judged from the report of Hiuan Tsang, was a great exponent of the same philosophy.[60] Śīlabhadra did not write any original work, but the *Vijñānamātratā-siddhi,* as translated into Chinese by Hiuan Tsang, must have been enriched by the notes of lectures given by Śīlabhadra at Nālandā. In the eighth century both *Mādhyamika* and *Yogāchāra* seem to have lost their original vigour and a synthesis of the two was attempted by various writers of note. This is represented in the works of Śāntarakshita, Kamalaśīla and Haribhadra who are also counted amongst the followers of both *Mādhyamika* and *Yogāchāra.* The Tibetan tradition enumerates them under a different class of *Mādhyamika* called *Yogāchāra-Mādhyamika,*[61] which has been already mentioned.

IV. TANTRAYĀNA OR MYSTIC BUDDHISM

In the eighth century Buddhism underwent still another transfor-

60 Watters, *op. cit.,* II, p. 169.
61 Vassilieff, *op. cit.,* p. 325.

mation and entered the last stage of its evolution in India,[62] usually regarded as a stage of decadence. As a philosophy and as a system of ethics it was certainly dead, but by an inevitable process, it had developed a system of mysticism which continued to exercise a considerable influence on other Indian religions, even after its disappearance in the twelfth century. The origin of this mysticism may be old, as its roots lie deep in the Mahāyāna, but it asserted itself under its distinct form only in the eighth century. It flourished during the next three or four centuries, specially in Magadha and Bengal, to some extent in Kashmir and Uḍḍiyāna, and perhaps also in Sindh. The great teachers of this new form of Buddhism are mostly connected with Uḍḍiyāna, Bengal and Magadha.

This new form of Buddhism is generally known as *Tantrayāna* or Mystic Buddhism, but it had evolved three different ways of mystic practices called *Vajrayāna, Sahajayāna* and *Kālachakrayāna.* The leaders of this new movement are called *Siddhas* or *Siddhāchāryas* 'those who had attained spiritual perfection'. Their number is stated to be 84 in the old sources, both Tibetan and Indian. A very large majority of them were historical persons, and lived to all appearance in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. A number of these teachers come from different parts of India. Padmavajra or Padmasambhava, Indrabhūti and his sister Lakshmī are associated with Uḍḍiyāna, Bhusuku probably with Saurāshṭra, Nāgabodhi with the South, and the rest with Magadha and Bengal. The works of many of these *Siddhas* are still preserved in Tibetan translations, and only a small part of them has been discovered in the original. As these *Siddhas* belong to a period which is strictly beyond the scope of the present volume it is not intended to treat their history in detail here.

Their teachings, however, were based on a number of works which attained canonical importance. Amongst these may be mentioned the *Guhyasamājatantra* (published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series) and *Hevajratantra, Samvaratantra* and *Kālachakratantra,* the last three being available in manuscripts. These works were certainly extant in the eighth-ninth centuries. Another text, *Jñānasiddhi* by Indrabhūti (also published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series) may substantially go back to the same period. A host of other works of similar nature, which are preserved in Tibetan translation, might have belonged to this period, but it is extremely difficult to fix their dates in the present state of our knowledge. The works already

62 For the mystic schools, cf. my contribution in *HBR.*, pp. 419 ff.

mentioned give an idea of the doctrines of the different mystic schools of Buddhism.

Vajrayāna and *Sahajayāna* were two aspects of the same mysticism, Vajrayāna laid stress on mystic ceremonials like the practice of *mantra, mudrā* and *maṇḍala.* Hence there is place in it for a large number of gods and goddesses who are supposed to be of help in the realisation of the ultimate goal. *Vajra* is defined as *Prajñā* and the *Bodhichitta* is its essence. Hence the cultivation of *Bodhichitta* is the sole means of spiritual realisation. The metaphysical background to the system is supplied by the *Mādhyamika.* The highest goal is *śūnyatā,* a knowledge of 'the relativity of the essence of existence'. Truth has two aspects—the *sāṁvṛitika,* relative, and *pāramārthika,* the absolute. The first concerns the world of phenomena. From the ultimate point of view this is all illusion. The attainment of this ultimate knowledge leads to the cessation of the illusion and then the goal is reached. The world of phenomenality may be overcome in two ways: either by getting control over all forces of nature which contribute to its production with the help of magic powers, or by sheer force of psychic energy. The former is recommended by the *Vajrayāna* and the latter by the *Sahajayāna.* Hence *Sahajayāna* discards ceremonial and magic practices and lays stress on the Yogic aspect. The *Kālachakrayāna,* according to the Tibetan sources, originated outside India in a country called Sambhala, and was introduced in Eastern India under the Pālas.[63] Abhayākaragupta, who was a contemporary of Rāmapāla, was a great exponent of the system. It attached great importance to the time factor, the *muhūrta, tithi, nakshatra,* etc. in the matter of the cultivation of the *Bodhichitta.* Hence astronomy and astrology came to have an important place in this system. So far as the ultimate goal is concerned the Kālachakra does not seem to have differed from the other mystic schools.

63 The *Kālachakratantra,* with the commentary called *Vimalaprabhā,* has been edited by Biswanath Banerjee. It will be published by the Asiatic Society shortly—(KKDG).

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CHAPTER TWENTY-EIGHT (D)

INDIAN ICONOGRAPHY*

(A. D. 300-985)

INTRODUCTION

HISTORY OF ART is regarded by some as a history of ideas. If so, the study of icons is one of the most fruitful means to trace that history in so far as it is related to religion. India with her teeming millions professing various religious faiths offers an extensive ground for such an investigation covering a vast period. The study of countless images—anthropomorphic, theriomorphic or symbolic representations of cult-deities—produced in different epochs, and their intrinsic meaning with changes in their forms and techniques constitutes a fundamentally important branch of research in the history of Indian art as well.

Earliest evidence of plastic activities in India is furnished by a number of female terracotta figurines discovered at the peasant culture sites on the banks of the Zhob and the Kulli in Baluchistan of about the first half of the third millennium B. C.[1] Most of these female figurines have rightly been interpreted as those of Mother-goddess as conceived in those days. Almost similar figures have been discovered at the Indus sites like Harappa and Mohenjodaro,[2] the culture of which extended from the second half of the third millennium B. C. From Mohenjodaro has come a group of seals, a few of which depict a two-horned deity with three faces, being surrounded by some animals.[3] Marshall[4] has recognised in this figure a prototype of Śiva-Paśupati of later days. Along with this interesting piece have been found some conical objects and stone rings which are

* As iconography has not been dealt with in Vol. II the subject has been treated from the very beginning—*Editor.*

1 Stuart Piggot, *Pre-historic India,* pp. 108, 127, figs. 9.'16.

2 *Ibid.,* pl. 8; *AIA,* I, pl. A8.

3 *MIC,* I, pl. XII, 17; *AIA* (*AIA* denotes its second volume, if not otherwise mentioned), pl. IIa.

4 *MIC,* I, pp. 52-6.

taken by scholars as representations of male and female energies in the phallic and the *yoni* forms respectively.[5] If so, the practice of worshipping a Śiva-like deity in phallic form may also be believed to have been in vogue in those days

What happened along the arrow of time between the Indus civilization and the Vedic culture is not definitely known. The religion of the Vedic Aryans was essentially henotheistic or kathenotheistic in which sacrifice played a dominant part. The Vedic *ṛishis,* as the *Ṛigveda* and other Vedic texts would show, used to worship their deities aniconically. A sizable section of the Indians, deprecated in the *Ṛigveda* as *śiśnadevas* (phallus-worshippers) and *mūradevas* (worshippers of inanimate objects), appear to have carried forward the tradition of image worship prevalent among most of the Indus people. Thus the philosophically-minded Vedic *ṛishis* could not check the progress of the practice of image worship in India. And presumably a section of the Vedic population also came under the influence of indigenous image worshippers.

The practice of image worship became gradually popular with the fusion of Vedic and non-Vedic elements as evident from the post-Vedic literary and archaeological sources. Thus Pāṇini, who probably flourished in the fifth century B. C., seems to allude to the worship of deities in concrete forms in his aphorism (*sūtra*) *jīvikārthe chāpaṇye* (V. 3. 99). Though Pāṇini is silent about these deities, it may be presumed that he had the images of popular deities like the Yakshas and the Nāgas or more probably of Vāsudeva, Arjuna and the Mahārajas (Kubera, Dhṛitarāshṭra, Viḍudhaka and Virūpāksha, the guardian deities of the Northern, Eastern, Southern and Western quarters respectively) in view. Patañjali of the second century B. C. while commenting on Pāṇini's *sūtra* in question, mentions the construction of images of a few of the gods, namely Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha whom he elsewhere (VI. 3. 26) seems to have described as *laukika devatās* or folk-deities for worship in his time. His assertion that the Mauryas used to sell images, evidently for replenishing their royal coffer, indicates in a way the demand of images among their subjects. Kauṭilya, who may have flourished in the Maurya period, also refers to the figures of the goddess and altars to be carved on wooden door-frame of the royal underground chamber and to the images and flags of the gods as well. The word *devatāḥ* used in Gautama's Dharmasūtra (IX. 13), according to Haradatta and Maskari, means images (*pratimāḥ*). Instances from indigenous literary records can be multiplied.

5 *AIA,* I, pl. A8.

Turning to foreign accounts, we hear from Quintus Curtius[6] that an image of Herakles was carried in front of the army of Porus when he was advancing against Alexander. This image, either of Śiva or of Kṛishṇa, was obviously used for *abhichārika* (malevolent) purpose. Literary evidences thus show that the practice of icon-worship was well established in the early pre-Christian centuries.

Archaeological materials supply more definite information as to the existence of the practice of image-worship in India in pre-Christian centuries. Among many pre-Christian epigraphic records the Besnagar[7] and the Ghosundi[8] inscriptions may be mentioned. While the Besnagar inscription of the second century B.C. records the erection of a Garuḍa-dhvaja in honour of *deva-deva* Vāsudeva by Bhāgavata Heliodora (Heliodorus), a Yavana by birth, the Ghosundi inscription of the first century B.C. contains a reference to the construction of a stone enclosure (*pūjā-śilā-prākāra*) round the shrines of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudeva, the shrines very probably containing the images of the deities concerned. Many more inscriptional evidences can be cited to prove the existence of structural shrines and the installation of images of different deities.

Numismatic and glyptic data also testify to the existence of concrete representations of Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical divinities. For instance, Śiva, one of the principal Brahmanical divinities, appear for the first time in an anthropomorphic form on the coins hailing from Ujjayini and its environs.[9] On many of these coins the god holds a staff in the right and a vase in the left hands. Śiva also appears as holding a club and a trident on some copper coins of the Indo-Scythic ruler Maues.[10] Kārttikeya, another Brahmanical deity, appears in human form, sometimes with six heads, on one unique silver and a fair number of copper coins of the Yaudheyas belonging to the second-third century A.D.[11] On some coins of the Kanishka appears the figure of Buddha.[12] Besides coins, seals also bear effigies

6 *De Rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*, Book 8, Chapter XIV; *CAIR*, p. 119. The image has been variously identified with Śiva or Yaksha (Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, p. 42, fn. 5). Kṛishṇa or Indra (Bevan, *CHI*, I, p. 328), Kṛishṇa (Banerjea, *DHI*; p. 89; fn. 1) and a *dikpāla* or planet (A. M. Shastri, *JIH*, XLII pt. 1, p. 125).

7 *SI*, p. 88.

8 *Ibid*., p. 90.

9 *CAI*, pp. 97-98, pl. X, figs 1-6; Allan in *CCBM* (AI), intro., pp. cxliii; describes the deity and its variants on Ujjain coins as either Śiva-Mahākāla or Skanda-Kārttikeya, while in the body of the *Catalogue*, pp. 245-52, he describes them as Kārttikeya or simply as the figures of a deity. Banerjea, however, confidently identifies the deity with Śiva, *DHI*, p. 117.

10 *CCBM* (GSK), pl. XVII. 3.

11 *THAI*, pls. VI, 112, 113a; VII, 113 b-c, 115, 116 etc.; VIII, 128a-c, 129, 130 etc.

12 *CCBM* (GSK) pl. XXVI, 8.

of deities. Some very finely executed seals from Basarh of the Gupta period bear on them the figure of Gaja-Lakshmī and a few of its variants.[13] A seal from Bhita[14] has symbols of wheel and conch and also a sign which, according to Coomaraswamy,[15] is the *śrīvatsa* mark, evidently a Vaishṇava symbol. Another seal from Basarh[16] bears a finely executed figure of a boar evidently representing Varāha-avatāra of Vishṇu. Numerous coins and seals would therefore testify to the existence of the practice of worshipping deities in concrete forms.

As regards monumental evidence, mention may be made of the figures of Yaksha and Yakshiṇī, both in relief and in the round. Some of them, labelled with identificatory inscriptions, may be regarded as deities worshipped by tribal and semi-tribal peoples of ancient India. Similar remark may be made of the figures of Nāgas, Kuberas, Vidyādharas etc. The discovery of a few capitals of columns such as *tāla* (fan-palm), Garuḍa and Makara, etc., goes to prove the symbolical worship of either the first three of the four Vyūhas—Saṁkarshaṇa, Vāsudeva and Pradyumna.[17] The Buddhist monuments of Sanchi, Bharhut and other places of the second-first century B.C. presenting the Master and his predecessors with the help of symbols, such as the Bodhi tree with the Vajrāsana (diamond-seat) beneath it, as well as the anthropomorphic figures of Buddha produced in the Gandhāra and Mathurā ateliers in the first century A.D. may also be noted in this connection. Like the Buddhists, the Jainas also practised icon worship from early times. They even claim that Mahāvīra was worshipped in iconic form in his life time.[18] The Lohanipur image[19] or the bronze figure of Pārśvanātha in the Prince of Wales Museum[20] datable between the second and the first century B.C. may be among the earliest available Jaina images. In this way with the help of monumental remains the existence of the practice of the icon worship in ancient India can be proved.

The above survey thus pushes back the antiquity of image worship to the days of the Indus civilization (c. 2,500 B.C.-1,500 B.C.) or

13 *ASI*, AR. 1903-04, pp. 107 ff, pl. XL-XLI.

14 *Ibid.*, 1913-14, Seal no 54.

15 *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1927-28, N.F. IV, p. 183.

16 *ASI*, AR, 1911-12, p. 53, pl. XIX.

17 For the discovery of *tāla* and *makara* capitals at Besnagar, see *ASI*, AR 1913-14, pp. 188-91, pl. LIII and LIV. For another *tāladhvaja* of the first B.C., discovered at Pawaya in the old Gwalior State, see *ASI*, AR, 1914-15, Pt. I, p. 21; pl. XVI c. The *garuḍadhvaja* on which the famous record is inscribed has already been mentioned.

18 See *SJA*, p. 4.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 5, fig. 2.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 8, fig. 3.

perhaps even earlier to the period of the village cultures of Beluchistan (c. 3.500 B.C.—2,500 B.C.) and this practice of worshipping deities in concrete forms has been continuing down to the present day across several centuries.

From about second century B.C. image worship began to be popular and became the most prominent feature of the religious life of the people in the early mediaeval preiod. Among the factors that led to the popularity of image worship, the chief was perhaps religious sectarianism which necessitated the making of varied type of images. Icono-plastic art also seems to have received an impetus from foreigners particularly the Greeks who were famous for the images of their divinities. In the early mediaeval period grew up the Tāntric literature embodying concepts of some deities in different forms as well as canons for their iconic representation. The last, though not the least, important factor is to be found in the regular and systematic patronage of the ruling powers like the Guptas, the Chālukyas, the Pālas, the Senas and a host of others. How much emphasis was, indeed, laid upon the icono-plastic art in the mediaeval period becomes apparent in the statement: 'Gods and goddesses become fit to be worshipped only when they are set up with correct proportions.' A number of texts containing rules and prescriptions of iconometry were prepared for the guidance of artists.

Image worship in India, though very old, extant specimens useful for the study of the historical evolution of icons corresponding to available texts hardly go beyond two or three centuries prior to the Christian era. The paucitv of old images may be accounted for by the practice of using perishable materials like wood, clay etc. in image making, not to speak of the havoc done by iconoclasts. Besides wood and clay were stone, metal and ivory. Delineation of figures of divinities was also made in colour or canvases made of wood or similar perishable materials. The *Haribhaktivilāsa* contains two lists of images of the deities. While the first[21] mentions four varieties, viz.. *chitrajā* (painted on canvas, wall or cloth), *lepajā* (made of clay), *pākajā* (made of molten metal) and *śāstrotkīrṇā* (carved by metal instruments), the second[22] refers to seven kinds of images in relation to the characteristic materials of which they are made, such as, *mṛinmayī* (made of clay), *dārughaṭitā* (made of wood), *lohajā* (made of iron), *ratnajā* (made of precious stone), *śailajā* (made of stone), *gandhajā* (probably made of fragrant materials such as sandalwood) and *kausumī* (made of flower). In case of the absence of stone or metal a canvas, even a jar symbolising the deity, could have

21 See *DHI*, p. 208.
22 *Ibid.*, pp. 208-9.

been worshipped and that this practice seems to be in vogue even now is testified to by deities being either painted on a canvas or represented by a jar. The popularity of this practice is also reflected in the well-known saying *ghaṭe paṭe pūjā* (worship by jar or canvas).

With the growth of the popularity of anthropomorphic representation of gods and goddesses, necessity was felt to lay down rules relating to the proportions of height, length, breadth, girth etc. of the image to be made from head to foot. A regular literature containing such rules of proportion thus came into existence in the course of time. Human beings were divided by ancient śāstrakāras into *Haṁsa, Śaśa, Ruchaka, Bhadra* and *Mālavya,* and since images of divinities conforming to the *Haṁsa* and the *Mālavya* in respect of proportions of height are not uncommon, it may be reasonably inferred that divine images were modelled on human figures. Without referring to details regarding the inconometrical measurements, as found in a number of texts, due to the lack of space, it may be concluded that many a well-preserved image has shown a fair correspondence between the actual practice and the ideal theory.[23] This phenomenon perhaps proves that the age-old dictum 'beautiful is that image which is made according to the canons detailed in the *śāstras,*—no other is so' was sought to be closely followed by the artists. A modern professional artist like Hadaway,[24] after studying ancient Indian images, comes to the same conclusion: 'The Hindu image maker or sculptor... has, in place of the living model, a most elaborated and beautiful system of proportions, which he uses constantly, combining these with close observation and study of natural detail'.

In conclusion, a point of importance may be taken note of. Time and space leave their impress on the idea and the corresponding icon despite the tendency towards rigid canonisation of icon-making. This is amply borne out by changes—changes in poses and postures, dresses and ornaments, attributes and delineation of limbs—in the images of deities of different pantheons produced in different epochs. These changes were due not only to chronological reasons, but also to a great extent to the geographical factors. Thus 'the same image-concept may have different manifestations in the same period in different parts of India'. In other words, in spite of a fundamental affinity

23 For details regarding canons of iconometry, see Rao, *Tālamāna,* Banerjea, *DHI,* Ch. VIII. The remark of Rao that these canons 'injuriously affected Indian iconoplastic art' (*EHI,* I, p. 31) is unjust. Does the canonisation of the rules of speech and writing adversely affect the language of a people? In fact, Rao seems to contradict himself when he observes: 'if in Indian sculpture the results are not good in some instances it is the fault of the artists and not attributable to the guide books' (*Ibid.*, App. B, p. 8).

24 *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift,* 1914, p. 34.

underlying practically identical icons fashioned in different historical periods and in different areas, characteristic distinguishing features registering the differences of distance in time and place are also recognisable in Indian images.

The five principal deities worshipped by the Smārta Hindus are Vishṇu, Śiva, Sūrya, Devī (i.e., the goddess representing Śakti or Female Fnergy) and Gaṇapati. Worship of these five deities, known as Pañchāyatana or Pañchopāsanā, gave an impetus to the development of Brahmanical iconography. Among these five deities Vishṇu, Śiva and Śakti receive greater attention. Iconic types of these five deities and their varieties are briefly described below.

VISHṆU

Vishṇu is an important member of the traditional Brahmanical triad, the other two being Brahmā and Śiva. Brahmā is the creator, Vishṇu the preserver and Śiva the destroyer. The present Vishṇu grew out of the fusion of three god-concepts: Vishṇu of the Vedic Saṁhitās, Nārāyaṇa of the Brāhmaṇas and Vāsudeva-Kṛishna of the Epics and the Purāṇas.

Vishṇu as the central deity of a specific cult does not seem to have come into prominence much before the second century B.C. while the Besnagar inscription of the second century B.C. refers to a god named 'Vāsudeva' as *devadeva* (god of gods), and the Ghosundi inscription of the first century B.C. alludes to the construction of shrines in honour of Vāsudeva and Saṁkarshaṇa.[25] But in what iconic form Vāsudeva was represented at Besnagar or Ghosundi cannot be determined at present. It appears that the process of fusion of the three god-concepts was not yet complete though Vāsudeva of the Vṛishṇis in association with Saṁkarshaṇa (i.e., Balarāma, his elder brother) was already deified. This has been interestingly confirmed by the recent discovery of a few bronze coins of the Indo-Greek King Agathocles (second century B.C.) at Ai-Khanum (Northern Afghanistan) which bear on their obverse the figure of Vāsudeva with a *śaṅkha*(?) and a *chakra* held in his hands and the effigy of Saṁkarshaṇa carrying a *hala* and a *mushala* on their reverse.[26] Besides Vāsudeva and Saṁkarshaṇa, Sāmba (Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa's son by Jāmvavatī), Pradyumna (another son of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa by Rukmiṇī) and Aniruddha (grandson of the same), mentioned in the Epics and the Purāṇas were also deified and images of some of them have been dis-

25 For Ghosundi inscription, see fn. 8, A Nanaghat epigraph of the first century B.C. (*SI*, pp. 192 ff) invoking Vāsudeva and Saṁkarshaṇa may also be recalled here

26 *JNSI*, XXXV, pp. 73-77, pl. VII.

covered at Mathurā along with some architectural reliefs of the second or third century A.D. illustrating the scene of Kṛishṇa-janmāshṭamī and other episodes connected with the mythology of Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa who soon became identical with Vishṇu, the central deity of the Vaishṇava cult.[27]

Besides the iconic representations of Paurāṇik Vishṇu, to be detailed below, the god is also aniconically worshipped through the medium of a piece of stone to which is given the name 'śālagrāma' or 'śāligrāma'! These śālagrāmas are generally picked up from the bed of the Gaṇḍakī in North Bihar. A variety of these is found at Dvārakā, a well-known Vaishṇava tīrtha in Western India. It may be noted that the śālagrāma stone is never fixed on a pedestal like the liṅga stone of Śiva.

The concept of the full-fledged Paurāṇik Vishṇu seems to have received its iconic expression in the third-fourth century A.D. and from the period of the *paramabhāgavata* Gupta monarchs onwards images of this god grew in number and variety. These images are in the main divided into three classes, viz, the 'Dhruvaberas' or the immovable images, 'Vyūhas' or the emanatory forms, and 'Vibhavas' or the incarnatory forms. The first of these, viz., the Dhruvaberas of Vishṇu find detailed mention in the *Vaikhānasāgama*.[28] According to this South Indian text, the different *Dhruva* types of images are divided into four broad divisions *yoga, bhoga, vīra* and *abhichārika* by name on the basis of the particular result to be attained by the devotee through the worship; each of these groups again is subdivided into three classes according to the 'attitude' in which the image is shown, viz., standing (*sthānaka*), seated (*āsana*) and recumbent (*śayana*); lastly, each one of these twelve (subgroups is divided into three classes as *uttama, madhyama* and *adhama* according to the number of accessory figures gathering round the central deity.[29] Thus there are as many as 36 varieties of Dhruvaberas.

27 Kṛishṇa-janmāshṭamī relief (Mathura Museum, exhibit no. 1344), *ASI*, AR 1925-26, pp. 183-84, and pl. LXVIIc; for other Kṛishṇāyana scenes, see *ASI*, AR, 1905-06, pp. 135-40 and figures, *MASI*, 70. pp. 18 ff. 33 and plantes; Goetz, *Art and Archaeology of Bikaner State*, fig. 5. Also see *JISOA*, XIV, pp. 18-20.

28 The *Vaikhānasaāgama* is found both in the prose and metrical recensions; the metrical version, being perhaps slightly later than the prose recension, was composed in about the ninth century A.D. For the relevant text, see *EHI*, I, pt. 2, Appendix C, vv, 17-26.

29 The accessory figures are the deities like Brahmā and Śiva and the Pūjakamunis, viz., Bhṛigu and Mārkaṇḍeya (also known as Puṇya, Purāṇa and Amita). The absence of Brahmā and Śiva in the group makes the central image of Vishṇu one of the *madhyama* class and if the Pūjakamunis are also omitted, the example is held to belong to the *adhama* class.

The *Vaikhānasāgama* mode of grouping the main images of Vishṇu as *sthānaka, āsana* and *sayana* is basically applicable to all cases of his representation. Prescriptions regarding the other basis of classification into *yoga, bhoga. vīra* and *abhichārika* groups, however, were not invariably followed. For instance, according to the text in question the *yoga* form of Vishṇu should be practically devoid of ornaments, but a number of yogasana-Vishṇu icons are found lavishly ornamented. Consequently such images fall under both the classes, *yoga* and *bhoga*. *Vīra* and *abhichārika* forms represent respectively the heroic and malevolent aspects of the god; Vishṇu icons in the latter form were to be enshrined outside the locality, meant to cause harm to the enemies. Though these two forms, like the other two, have been described in detail in the *Vaikhānasāgama*, they have been rarely represented. Rao regards the seated Vishṇu from Aihole as *Adhamavīrāsana-mūrti* which is actually an image of the *bhoga* variety. So far only one image of the *abhichārika* variety has been discovered. Hailing from Chaitanpur (Burdwan district, West Bengal) this shows the god with his right and left hands placed on the heads of Gadādevī and Chakrapurusha, and his front right and left hands carrying a lotus-bud and a conch-shell respectively; its head and shoulder are encircled by a halo and it has a curious string of amulets instead of the usual *hāra* and *vanamālā*.

Indeed, among the early *yoga* icons, mention may be made of the *yogasthānkamūrti* holding the *chakra* and *śaṅkha* in back hands, normal hands in the *abhayamudrā* and in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose found at Mahabalipuram;[30] the *yogāsanamūrti* (also known as *yogeśamūrti*) carrying the *gadā* and *chakra* in the back hands, normal hands in the *yogamudrā* placed on the lap discovered at Mathurā; and the *yogaśayanamūrti*[31] showing the god reclining on Ādiśesha with the right arm near the head and the left arm bent at the elbow with the hand held in the *kaṭaka* pose sculptured on the Mahabalipuram cave wall.

Bhoga-mūrtis of Vishṇu are abundant. Among such icons of the *sthānaka* variety, two-, four- and eight- handed forms are available. An image found at Rupavas[32] near Fatehpur Sikri, U.P., is endowed with two hands holding a *śaṅkha* and a *chakra*. One of the earliest extant four-armed images of the God, now in the Mathurā Museum, holds a gadā and a chakra in the back right and left hands, the two normal hands being in *abhayamudrā* (right)[33] and the hold-

30 *EHI*, I, pp. 97-98, pl. XVII.
31 *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10, pl. XXXI; *HIIA*, pl. LXI, fig. 209.
32 *CASR*, VI, p. 20
33 *JISOA*, V, p. 124, pl. XIV, fig. 2.

ing a monk's bottle of long neck and conical bottom (left). The Udayagiri relief[34] figure has its back hands placed on the heads of Chakrapurusha and Gadādevī and the front left holding a conch-shell; its broken right hand was probably in the *abhayamudrā;* the mark on its breast is one of the early varieties of *śrīvatsa.* The eight-handed form of Vishṇu is found at Badami; in the four right hands of the figure are found *chakra. śara, gadā* and *khaḍga* and in the three left hands are *śaṅkha, kheṭaka* and *dhanu* and the front left is in the *kaṭihasta* pose; the curious bust on the top of the *kirīṭa* of the figure appears to the Narasiṁha.

A relief shown in the centre of the principal architrave in the main sanctum of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh (U.P.)[35] represents the *bhogāsana* form of Vishṇu. In it the god, seated in the *ardhaparyaṅka* on the coils of Ādiśesha, is flanked by two consorts, one shampooing his leg. Vishṇu in his *bhoga* form is also found to be seated on his mount Garuḍa. One of the earliest such images hailing from Lakshmankati, Backergunge district (Bangladesh), interestingly depicts Chakrapurusha and Gadādevī in the normal hands of the god (the miniature figure of the former in the centre of the *chakra* and that of the latter in the palm) and tiny effigies of Śrī and Pushṭi on the stalks of lotuses held in the back hands.[36] As regards Vishṇu's *śayanamūrti* of the *bhoga* variety (this type known in the South as Raṅganātha, Raṅgasvāmī etc.), the well-known Daśāvatara temple relief shows the four-armed god reclining on the coils of the Seshanāga, Lakshmī shampooing his legs, two Āyudha-purushas (probably Gadādevī and Chakrapurusha) standing behind her; Brahmā is seated on a lotus issuing from the navel of the God, and he is flanked on the right by Indra and Kārttikeya on their respective mounts and on the left by Hara-Pārvatī on a bull; the figure on the extreme right corner is of Vidyādhara; the bottom register contains six figures, the two from the left being of Madhu and Kaiṭabha.

The mode in which the *Vaikhānasāgama* classifies the Dhruva-beras, however, is not generally met with in other relevant texts. And this detailed classification is not clearly applicable to the Vishṇu images of the Gupta culture-epoch, though some of these image-groups were produced by the end of the later Gupta period. Mention may be made of some Vishṇu temples, such as the Vaikuṇṭhapperumāl, at Kanchipuram and Kūḍal-alagar at Madurai; the central shrines of these have three storeys, each storey being occupied by

34 *DHI*, p. 400.
35 *CASR*, X, pl. XXXVI.
36 *IBBSDM*, pp. 86-87, pl. XXXII.

an image of Vishṇu, the standing, sitting and recumbent images being placed in the lowermost, middle and uppermost storeys in order.

A few words need be said about the Pāñcharātra philosophy which was responsible for the creation of the iconic types of Vishṇu classified as those of the *vyūha* (emanation) and the *vibhava* (incarnation). According to this philosophy. Vishṇu expresses Himself in five ways, viz., *para. vyūha, vibhava, antaryāmī* and *archhā*. Among these *para* or the highest aspect of the God is represented by Vāsudeva who being devoid of form is hardly apprehensible but who for the sake of his devotees eventually through his own will endows himself with a form symbolical of the universe. The *antaryāmī* aspect is concerned with the mind of the devotee where he is believed to reside. The *archhā* aspect relates to the concrete representations of Vishṇu most of which illustrate the *vyūha* and *vibhava* aspects of the lord. J. N. Banerjea suggests that the Dhruvaberas described above symbolize in a way the *para* aspect of Vishṇu.[37] Thus the *archhā* aspect covers the *para, vyūha* and *vibhava* aspects of the god.

As regards the *vyūha* concept, the Pāñcharātra philosophy enjoins that the Supreme lord is to be shown with four faces and with four or more hands, the faces being Vaikuṇṭha (Vāsudeva), Nṛisiṁha, Varāha and Kapila and the cognisances being *śaṅkha, chakra, gadā* and *padma*. The earliest Pāñcharātra text referring to Him as Vaikuṇṭha is the *Jayākhya Samhita* (LIV) of the Gupta period. According to it, the God is to be shown with four faces and with four hands, the faces being Vaikuṇṭha (Vāsudeva), Nṛisiṁha, Varāha and Kapila and with the cognisances *śaṅkha, chakra, gadā* and *padma*.[38] There seems to be little doubt that the one-time Vīras (heroes) belonging to the Vishṇu clan were deified in course of time, very probably in the Gupta period and it was Sāmba who was ultimately, for reasons unknown, dropped from the list. Again, as the *bhakti* cult centering round Vāsudeva was essentially monotheistic (cf. *devadeva* of the Besnagar inscription), the emergent *vyūha* doctrine embodied the concept of one in four, that is. the entities of Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha were merged into Vāsudeva, the god *par excellence*. And thus the vyūhas are combined into one iconic type. The earliest illustration of the Chaturvyūha concept is of about the third century A.D. and now an exhibit in the Mathura Museum; it shows the god with three busts, one on the top and the two near the shoulders, attached to the main figure; the *gadā* and the serpent-hood behind the bust to the right seem to symbolize his Vāsudeva

37 *DHI*, p. 400.
38 The *Vishṇudharmottaram* (III.85) refers to His eight hands.

and the Saṁkarshaṇa aspects respectively. The full-fledged type is, however, represented by the early mediaeval image, most of which hail from Kashmir, notably from Mārtaṇḍa and Avantipur. While the Mārtaṇḍa temple specimens being reliefs are three-faced, images from Avantipur which are in the round are four-faced. Of the four faces, the central one is human, side faces on the right and left are of a lion and a boar respectively, and the back face is of an ugly demon.[39] Generally, Vishṇu-Chaturmūrti holds a lotus and a conch-shell in the front hands while the back hands rest on Chakra-purusha and Gadādevī.[40]

From these four *vyūhas* emerge the twenty-four forms of Vishṇu, generally known as *Keśavādi-chaturviṁśati-mūrtayaḥ*. This group of icons is pretty well-known in literature as well as in art. According to the idea underlying this group. Vāsudeva is the primeval god: he creates Saṁkarshaṇa, Saṁkarshaṇa in his turn Pradyumna and Pradyumna in his turn Aniruddha. From each of these vyūhas descend three sub-vyūhas (*vyūhāntaras*). To the twelve sub-vyūhas another set of twelve is added and are called together with the latter, the twenty-four forms (*chaturviṁśatimūrtayaḥ*) of Vishṇu. There are reasons to believe that the original number of sub-vyūhas was twelve.[40a] However, as in the case of Chaturmūrti, so also in the case of the Chaturviṁśati-mūrti the principle of monotheism was never lost sight of by the expounders of the Pāñcharātra system. Iconically, all these twenty-four varieties are identical, the difference between each of these forms lying only in the order of the attributes—*śaṅkha, chakra, gadā* and *padma*—held by the four hands of the deity.[41] All these twenty-four forms are not found together forming a single group in early Indian repertory. Stray images of one or other forms have been discovered throughout the country and are preserved in different museums (see Vol. IV). Iconically, Saṁkarshaṇa and Nṛisiṁha of the *vyūha* group are different from their namesakes of the *vibhava* class.

39 Exceptions to this type are encountered in some specimens. Thus an image, now in the National Museum, shows both the side faces as that of a lion (*JASB*, XVII, 1951, pp. 251-53, Pl. III). Another example, exhibited in the Srinagar Museum; substitutes the face of the lion by that of a horse (*JOI*, XXV, 1976, nos. 3-4, p. 338).

40 For Martanda temple specimens, see *ASI, AR*, 1915-16, pp. 62-63 For Avantipur images, see R. C. Kak, *Handbook of Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of Pratap Singh Museum*, pp. 49-51; also *ASI*, AR, 1913-14, pl. XXVIII, figs. b-c.

40a See my article 'Hayaśīrsha Pāñcharātra and the Chaturviṁśati vyūha of Vishṇu' in *JAIH*, X, 1976-77, pp. 176 ff.

41 The order according to some texts (e.g., *Agnipurāna, Chaturvarga-Chintāmaṇi Rūpamaṇḍana*) is from the lower right hand, that is, from the lower right, upper right, upper left, lower left; according to others (*e.g., Padmapurāṇa*) it is from the upper right hand, that is, upper right, upper left, lower left, lower right.

The comparative abundance of images falling under the *vibhava* class indicates the wide popularity of the *vibhava* aspect of Vishṇu. The antiquity of the idea of incarnation can be pushed back to the days of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*. Both these works state that Prajāpati, the creator, assumed the forms of Fish (Matsya), Tortoise (Kūrma) and Boar (Varāha) on different occasions for the continuance of the creation and the welfare of the created. The earliest version of this doctrine of incarnation is found in the *Bhagavad-gītā* (IV. 7-8) wherein Kṛishṇa or Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu is represented as the ever-active godhead incarnate. That the Vaishṇavas adopted this doctrine in a special manner will be evident from the conspicuous presence of the Matsya, Kūrma and Varāha forms of Vishnu in the lists of Avatāras, i.e., incarnations of the god. The word *avatāra* literally means 'the act of coming down' and the Vaishṇavas believe that their lord 'creates himself age after age as the conditions in the universe demand'. Thus according to their belief Vishṇu had come down to earth on several occasions for the furtherance of the creation. It is supposed that not only Vishṇu himself, but even his *pārshadas* (associates) and his weapons as well incarnated themselves when necessity arose.

Incarnations, literally 'divine descents', are innumerable (*avatārāḥ hyasaṁkhyeyāḥ, prādurbhāvā sahasrāṇi*), but in course of time the number came to be stereotyped as ten (*daśāvatārāḥ*).[42] These ten Avatāras of Vishṇu are: Matsya (fish), Kūrma (Tortoise), Varāha (Boar), Narasiṁha (Man-lion), Vāmana (Dwarf), Paraśurāma, Dāśarathi Rāma, Kṛishna, Buddha and Kalki. Some authorities do not consider Buddha to be an Avatāra of Vishṇu and replace him by Kṛishṇa. Depiction of these ten Avatāras together in a row on stone slabs usually placed in different parts of the Vaishṇava shrines as decorative reliefs is a common sight in North India. Their representation on one side of the small stone or metal plaques known as Vishṇupaṭṭas have been met with in Bengal. In the Chālukyan sculpture the ten Avatāras were carved in a foliage canopy, providing the background of Vishṇu icons. Many of the Avatāras were also separately represented, and of them Varāha, Narasiṁha and Vāmana-Trivikrama were more popular than the others. Separate or group representations, however, rarely go back to a period prior to the Kushan age.

The Matsya and Kūrma incarnations may be represented either

42 The number of Avatāras varies in different texts. As for instance, the *Matsya-purāṇa*, (Ch. 47, V. 6) enumerates seven Avatāras. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* has three lists of Avatāras, the number in the first (1.3.6 ff) is 22, in the second (II.7.1 ff.) 23 and in the third (XI. 4.3 ff) 16. The *Sātvata Saṁhitā* and the *Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* raise this number to 39.

theriomorphically or in hybrid form: in the latter the upper half is human and the lower animal. In the hybrid form the human part holds *śaṅkha, chakra, gadā* and *padma* in the four hands. Separate representations of these two Avatāras though rare, are not altogether unknown. The sculptures from Garhwa (U. P.) portray the lord in his zoomorphic forms; in his Kūrma representation from this place some human figures are seen churning a rod, presumably the Mandāra mountain, on its back.[43] Examples showing the hybrid form of the god are relatively late (see Vol. IV). The next incarnation is also zoomorphic or therianthropic in form; the first type is illustrated by the famous colossal boar at Eran (M.P.) of the Gupta period; it bears tiny human figures on it and holds the Earth-goddess by one of its tusks. The second type is exemplified by a large number of images hailing from different parts of India. One of the earliest representations of Varāhāvatāra is carved on a part of the outer facade of a fifth-century shrine at Udayagiri near Bhilsa (M.P.); the dynamic figure of the god is sculptured with rows of several tiny figures; some of them have been recognised as 11 Rudras, 12 Ādityas and 8 Vasus.[44] Of the other specimens those of Mahabalipuram and Badami deserve mention; the latter depicts the god as holding the Earth-goddess on his palm instead of his elbow, a feature not following the usual iconographic prescription.[45] Textually, Narasiṁha has got as many as five forms: Yoga-Narasiṁha, Kevala-Narasiṁha, Sthauṇa-Narasimha, Lakshmī-Narasiṁha and Yānaka-Narasiṁha, In art all of them, except the last, are represented, and of them the Sthauṇa form seems to have been popular. The earliest Narasiṁha figure is perhaps the one borne by a seal of the Gupta period unearthed at Basarh (North Bihar); the god is portrayed here as seated facing in the *lalitāsana* pose with his right hand raised and the left resting on hip; this exemplifies the Kevala Narasiṁha type.[46] Of a later date is a Badami relief which depicts Kevala Narasiṁha as standing and not seated as required by the texts, and more interestingly, with the Āyudhapurushas. While instances of Lakshmī-Narasiṁha datable to our period are rare, Sthauṇa figures are comparatively prolific; in most of them the god is seen as killing the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu by felling him on his knees, but in some the actual combat between them has been depicted. The Vāmana (dwarf) and Virāṭa (colossal) aspects of the fifth incarnatory form

43 For Garhwa figures of Matsya and Kūrma, see Bhattacharya, *II*, 1, pl. XIII, figs. 1-2.

44 *JAS*, V, 1963, nos. 3-4, pp. 99-103.

45 *EHI*, I, pt. 1, pl. XXXVI; *AIA*, pl. 282.

46 *ASI*, AR, 1913-14, pl. XLVI, no. 191.

of the lord are illustrated separately or collectively, Vāmana being two-armed and Virāṭa, designated as Trivikrama, being four- or eight- handed; when both Vāmana and Trivikrama are figured together, the former appears as a young Brahmachārī, holding an umbrella and a staff, and the latter carrying different emblems in his hands, with his right or left foot firmly planted, the other leg thrown upwards as if to attack the heavens; the Mahabalipuram, the Badami and the Ellora reliefs are among the early celebrated illustrations. The next three incarnations, viz., Paraśurāma, Dāśarathi Rāma and Balarāma, are fully human and their images, so far found, are seldom endowed with more than two hands, and their varieties are also limited; though they are usually carved in the Daśāvatāra slabs, separate representations of them, particularly of Balarāma, are also known. The characteristic emblem of Paraśurāma is *paraśu* and the attributes of Dāśarathi Rāma are *dhanu* and *bāṇa.* The typical cognisances of Balarāma are *hala* and *mushala,* which are met with in his earliest representation on a few bronze coins of Agathocles, unearthed at Ai-Khanum in Northern Afghanistan (p. 862). Another image of Balarāma (now in the Lucknow Museum), more or less of the same period, shows the deity as standing under a canopy of serpenthoods and carrying his characteristic emblems in his two hands.[47] In course of time the four-armed variety of the god became popular and is illustrated by a relief of the Paharpur monument (eighth century A.D.), and two ninth-century bronze images, now exhibits in the Patna Museum; in all of them the deity carries a *pānapatra* (wine-cup) in addition to his usual emblems.[48] The next Avatāra is Krishṇa, the earliest plastic representation of whom is met with on the other side of the above-noted coins of Agathocles; in it the lord holds a *chakra,* presumably his cognisance Sudarśana-*chakra.* In the Daśāvatara reliefs of subsequent days, however, Krishṇa's place was taken by Buddha, evidently because Krishṇa was then looked upon as the God himself, in other words, the ever-active god-head (*Krishṇa-stu Bhagavān svayam*). But in the contemporary South Indian repertoire Krishṇa was still appearing as an Avatāra. While Buddha is figured in the Daśāvatāra reliefs as standing, with his right hand disposed in the *abhayamudrā,* independent sculptures illustrating the myths and legends of Krishṇa are abundant and have been discovered from different parts of India; one of the earliest such examples has been found at Mathura, belonging to the third century A.D., which depicts the Krishṇa-janmāshṭamī scene;

47 *DHI,* pl. XXII, fig. 4.

48 For the Paharpur specimen, see *MASI,* 55, pl. XXVII, fig. b. For the Patna Museum examples, see *JISOA,* II, pl. XXVIII, 1.; *EISMS,* pl. Ib.

another noteworthy piece is a terracotta, which hailing from Rangmahal (Rajasthan), and datable to the fifth century A.D., portrays Kṛishṇa as uplifting the mountain called Govardhana.[49] Kalki, the future Avatāra, depicted as an angry man riding on horseback with a sword raised in his hand, is recognisable in the last figure of the Daśāvatāra slabs; normally two-handed, he is described in some texts as also four-handed.[50]

Images of a few other manifestations and incarnatory forms of Vishṇu, found in the longer lists of the Avatāras, have also come to light. Thus in one of the niches of the Deogarh temple is seen an elegant relief of Nara-Narāyaṇa (the deified forms of Arjuna and Vāsudeva-Kṛishṇa); while the four-armed figure in it stands for Nārāyaṇa, that of two-armed one is of Nara, and the faces of both of them beam with tranquillity.[51] Similarly, a relief from Amaravati portrays Māndhātā, an Avatāra of Vishṇu according to some lists (e.g., of the *Matsya-purāṇa*); in it Māndhātā, also the first paramount sovereign, is seen with his right hand upraised symbolizing, as it were, his assurance to his countless subjects and holding in his left hand the jewel (*maṇi*); six other jewels such as *chakra, strī, aśva, hasti* etc. clustering round him make the total number of jewels seven (*saptaratnāni*), traditionally associated with him.[52] An eighth-ninth century image of a five-faced sthānaka Vishṇu hailing from Kanauj shows on the top of the central deity a small horse-faced figure carrying a beaded rosary in its right hand and an indistinct object in its left; this figure evidently represents the Hayagrīva incarnation of Vishṇu.[53] Besides such incarnatory forms, different aspects of Vishṇu are also found to have been occasionally represented. Thus the Deogarh relief illustrates his Gajendra-moksha or Kari-varada aspect which is connected with the deliverance of Gajendra (the king of elephants) from the clutches of an aquatic monster by him; the relief portrays Vishṇu with four hands (one hand

49 For details about such Kṛishnāyana scenes, *JISOA*, XIV, pp. 18-20. The Rangamahal terracotta has been illustrated in Goetz, *Art and Architecture of Bikaner State*. fig. 5.

50 The myth of Kalki seems to have derived an inspiration from the Buddhist lore, according to which Maitreya would come down to earth for the welfare of the sentient beings. The description of Kalki as a horseman is also reminiscent of horseman of the Book of Revelation of the Christians. The belief of many Christians in the second coming of Christ in future may also be noted in this connection.

51 *ITS*, pl. 9. An example in terracotta, found at Ahichchhatra, is now on display in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, *Archives of Asian Art*, XXIV, 1970-71, pp. 78-79, fig. 3.

52 *AIA*, pl. 86a; also *DHI*, pl. VIII, fig. 8.

53 *ITS*, pl. 16. The sculpture showing Hayagrīva is that of Viśvarūpa Vishṇu (*infra*, p. 872).

carrying *gadā*, another on thigh, others broken) and as seated on Garuḍa flying in the air; Gajendra with his legs encircled by serpentine coils of the monster (seemingly a snake), offers flowers in adoration with his upraised trunk.[54] Another image of Vishṇu with several accessory figures lying in the courtyard of the Changu temple in Nepal illustrates his Viśvarūpa aspect, so impressively described in the eleventh canto of the *Bhagavad-gītā*; in this sculpture the god, shown with twelve heads and ten hands (mostly broken), seems to have illustrated his all-embracing and all-pervasive power, the underlying idea of the Viśvarūpa form; while the heaven, earth and nether regions are respectively represented by the Vidyādharas and Kinnarīs, four couchant elephants and the Nāgas, the figure among others, with folded hands and with a bow hanging from his right shoulder on the right side of Vishṇu, stands for Arjuna, to whom the lord revealed his Viśvarūpa form.[55]

Vaishṇava theologians and artists also conceived the weapons of Vishṇu in human form. Designated as the Āyudhapurushas, they are found in sculptures of the Gupta period generally with Vishṇu.[56] In later sculptures their independent representations came in vogue. Thus we get representations of Śaṅkhapurusha, Chakrapurusha, Padmapurusha and Gadādevī, the first three appearing as male and the last one appearing as female figures. Among them *chakra* and *gadā* in human form are found as early as the Gupta period, while the anthropomorphic representations of *śaṅkha* and *padma* (rarely found) are of a relatively late period. Lastly, we find a number of independent illustrations of Garuḍa, in which the mount of Vishṇu is shown as a well-built man with two wings and bird-like features such as an aquiline nose and round eyes.[57]

ŚIVA

Equally important a member like Vishṇu of the Brahmanical triad is Śiva and though he is specially connected with the act of destruction (*saṁhāra*) or absorption (*pralaya*), his devotees associate him with the other two acts, viz., those of creation (*srishṭi*) and preservation (*sthiti*) attributed to Brahmā and Vishṇu. Śiva is also looked

54 *AIA*, pl. 110.

55 *VIN*, fig. 19.

56 As for example, in the Abhichāraka-sthānakamūrti (*ante*, p. 864) and Garuḍāsana mūrti (*ante*, p. 865). Chakrapurusha and Gadādevī make their appearance.

57 In the earlier phase of his iconography Garuḍa appears as a bird, one of the oldest examples belonging to the art of Sanchi (first century B.C.). His subsequent icons exhibit his hybrid form viz., the body of a man and the face, nose and wings of a bird. In the Mathura Yogāsana Vishṇu image (*ante*, p. 864) he appears as a human being with just a suggestion of tiny wings behind his back.

upon as the performer of the acts of *anugraha* or *prasāda* i.e., 'conferment of grace' and *tirobhāva* i.e., 'power of concealment' or 'obscuration'. All these acts are collectively known as *pañchakṛityas* or the five-fold activities of the god. Śiva is also conceived as a great *yogī*, a great exponent of various *śāstras*, and an adept in dance and music. As Vishṇu is the greatest of all gods (*devadeva*) to a Vaishṇava, so to a Śaiva Śiva appears as great lord (*Maheśvara*) or greatest of the gods (*Mahādeva*) and hence the lord of all created beings (*Bhūtapati, Bhūtanātha, Paśupati*). Śiva, like Vishṇu, is known under several names and as many as one hundred names of the god are found in the *Śatarudrīya* text of the *Śukla Yajurveda* of the *Vājasaneyī* school of the later Vedic period.

The evolution of the concept of Śiva may be traced to the period of the Indus civilisation and, as has already been noted, the horned deity of Mahenjo-daro, surrounded by animals, may well be the prototype of Śiva-Paśupati of later days. If so, Śiva or proto-Śiva was worshipped by the Indus peoples in the third-second millennium B.C., if not earlier. In the *Ṛigveda* mention is made of Rudra, a god of thunder and lightning. Terrific in nature, this Rudra appears also as a pacific god in later Vedic literature. The word 'Śiva' is used as a proper name in the *Śvetāśvatara Upanishad* and not in the Saṁhitās or in the Brahmanical texts where the word in question appears as an attributive epithet of several gods with the etymological meaning 'good' or 'auspicious'. The appearance of 'Rudra' as one of the several names of Śiva in the Epics and the Purāṇas as well as in the *Śatarudrīya* text tends to show that Rudra of the Vedic literature merged with Śiva of the Epics and the Purāṇas on the one hand and the proto-Śiva of Mohenjo-daro on the other, though the name of the Indus deity is not known In other words, the concept of Pauranic Śiva is the outcome of the fusion of a pre-Vedic deity like Śiva-Paśupati, Vedic Rudra and post-Vedic Śiva. In this respect Śiva is anterior to Vishṇu and in his concept one may recognise the fusion of Aryan and pre-Aryan, in other words Vedic and pre-Vedic, strains.

When exactly a regular cult round Rudra-Śiva did emerge is at present difficult to determine. On the strength of the literary data it may, however, be surmised that the cult appeared certainly in the pre-Christian centuries. Patañjali's allusions to Śiva (V. 3. 99). Śivabhāgavatas (V. 2. 36) and a village named 'Śivapura' in the *Udīchya* country read in conjunction with a reference to the skin-clad tribe, the Siboi or Sibae mentioned by the Classical writers, would show that the cult of Śiva emerged in all likelihood much before the beginning of the Christian era, probably in the third-second century

B.C. This view seems to be supported by the well-known Śaiva sculpture discovered at Gudimallam (Andhra).[58] Assignable to the first century B.C., this sculpture is a big realistic phallic emblem of Śiva on which is depicted a human figure of the god holding a ram in his right hand and a water-vessel and a battle-axe in his left one; the god stands on a malformed dwarf (*apasmārapurursha*) and bears the usual characteristics like *jaṭābhāra* (matted hair), prominent sex-mark etc. The Gudimallam sculpture depicting Śiva both in his human and phallic forms in one piece indicates the simultaneous currency of aniconism and iconism in India from early times. That the practice of aniconic-iconic mode of representing Śiva continued in later days is testified to by the Mukhaliṅgas and the Liṅgodbhavamūrtis.

Before we describe the Mukhaliṅgas and the Liṅgodbhavamūrtis, we may say a few words about the *liṅga* or phallic emblem in general.[59] It is in this form of *liṅga* that Śiva was and still is usually worshipped and in all the Śiva temples, both old and new, the principal object of worship in the sanctum is invariably the phallic emblem of the god. The human figures of Śiva, if any, are found as accessories in different parts of the temple. The phallic emblem is fixed in a circular or a quadrangular receptacle on a monolithic pedestal known as *yoni* (in South India *pānivattam* or *āvadaiyār*), representing the Female Energy. The Śaiva Āgamas and similar other texts speak of the several varieties of the emblem of which the chief is the *Mānushaliṅga* (i.e., liṅga made by human hand out of stone). The *Mānushaliṅga* consists of three parts: *Brahmabhāga,* i.e., the quadrangular bottom of the shaft, *Vishṇubhāga* i.e., the octagonal middle portion and *Rudrabhāga* (also known as *Pūjābhāga* since on its top offerings of milk, water, flower etc. are placed), i.e., the circular or cylindrical upper portion. The first two sections are inserted inside the pedestal (*pīṭhikā*) and the ground. Sometimes the *Rudrabhāga* is marked by certain lines, technically known as *brahmasūtras.* Another kind of *liṅga* is known as *Bāṇaliṅga* which is but a natural stone procured from the bed of the Narmadā. It may be noted here that a section of the Śaivas in the South carry these Bāṇalingas on their bodies and daily worship them.

Originally, the aniconic emblem of Śiva might have likened to the shape of a *liṅga* or phallus, but the gradual change in the taste and outlook of the votaries oriented its shape to such a degree that

58 Another illustration approximating to the Gudimallam sculpture was found at Mathura. It is datable to the close of the second of the beginning of the third century A.D. See *HIIA*, pl. XVIII, fig. 68.

59 For details see *EHI*, II, pp. 75-99.

a Western scholar went to the extent of tracing its origin in the Buddhist stūpa model.[60] Thus while the Gudimallam Śivaliṅga and the 'liṅga with a broadened top' in the collection of the Lucknow Museum are examples of the realistic emblem, the Śivalinga in the Mathura Museum or the Karamdanda inscribed Śivaliṅga of the time of Kumāragupta I (Gupta year 117) are much removed from the earlier realism and they assume a conventional character.

The Mukhaliṅgas, later than the types of the realistic lingas like the Gudimallam, depict one or more human faces on them, the faces evidently representing one or more aspects of Śiva. The extant specimens of Mukhaliṅgas usually show one, three and four faces carved on the Rudrabhāga. The earliest of these specimens belongs to the Gupta period and is now in the Lucknow Museum. It is of the *Ekamukha* type, i.e., it bears one face.[61] Specimens of *Trimukha* and *Chaturmukha* types, particularly of the latter, are quite common. As to the *Dvimukha* type, no specimen has been found as yet, but one sculpture in the Mathura Museum may be interpreted as such.[62]

Liṅgodbhava form or 'the liṅga manifestation', as the name implies, usually depicts Śiva within a huge liṅga, the portion of the feet below the ankles being hidden in the Liṅga. On occasions Śiva is represented aniconically and in some specimens the liṅga is shown as a blazing column of fire with flames.[63] In such representation Brahmā is shown either in human form or in the form of his swan-mount soaring up on the left side of Śiva and Vishṇu either in human form or in his incarnatory form of the boar delving below into the depths of the earth on his right. The figure emanating from the middle has four hands like Chandraśekhara (see below) and holds in its back arms the axe and the antelope and exhibits the *abhaya-* and the *varada- mudrās* in the front hands. In such representation of Śiva a sectarian bias is clear in its attempt to show the greatness of the god at the cost of Brahmā and Vishṇu, two other members of the triad. Liṅgodbhaba form came to be popular in mediaeval times. Among the early representations, the carvings of Mahabalipuram, Ellora, and Mogalrajapuram (near Vijayawada, Andhra) deserve mention, the last one is perhaps the earliest, datable to the sixth century A.D.

60 Havell, E. B., *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India* (1915) pp. 106-17.

61 *JISOA*, III, pl. VII, fig. 2. An early Ekamukha liṅga (allegedly of the Suṅga period) is now on display in the Bharatpur Museum.

62 *Ibid.*, fig. 3; for the interpretation, see, *DHI*, p. 461.

63 The relevant examples are furnished, *inter alia*, by a sculpture at Daśāvatāra cave at Ellora (see *EHI*, II, pl. XIV, fig. 17) and a mutilated piece now on display at the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Benaras, (see, *Chhavi*, fig. 344).

Though most of the specimens come from the South, a few have been recovered from the North.[64]

Human figures of Śiva, though show a multiple variety, can be divided into two broad classes according to their expressions. Thus we have his benign (*saumya*) and terrific (*ugra*) figures. These *saumya* and *ugra* types are sometimes connected with stories. The non-mythological Śaiva icons of the *saumya* types are known under various names such as Chandraśekhara or Śaśāṅkaśekhara (when a crescent moon is found on the *jaṭā* of the god), Vṛishavāhana (when the god leans against the bull), Vṛishārūḍha (when he is seated on his bull-mount), Umā-Maheśvara or Hara-Gaurī (when he is accompanied by Gaurī or Umā), Somā-Skanda (when he is found with Umā and Skanda) etc. While Umā-Maheśvara was popular in North India, Somā-Skanda was favourite with South Indian artists and devotees. Further, as regards cognisances, trident, rosary and snake are found in North Indian figures, while axe and deer are ubiquitous in South Indian images.[65]

Images designated as Dakshiṇāmūrtis and Nṛityamūrtis can also be included in the class of non-mythological *saumya* images. In the form of Dakshiṇāmūrti (south-facing) Śiva is the universal teacher; a teacher of *yoga* and *jñāna*, a player on *vīṇā* and an expounder of other śāstras, and thus the corresponding appellations are yoga-Dakshiṇāmūrti, jñāna-Dhakshiṇāmūrti, vīṇādhara-Dakshīṇāmūrti and vyākhyāna-Dakshiṇāmūrti. Most of these images are comparatively late in date and hail from South India, though examples from North India and also of an earlier period are not unknown. A reposeful ascetic form of Śiva carved on a terracotta plaque of the late Gupta period discovered at Ahichchhatra, if interpreted as jñāna- or vyākhyāna- Dakshiṇāmūrti, will be the earliest specimen of the class.[66]

Nṛityamūrtis of Śiva may be included in the category of Dakshiṇāmūrtis, since they demonstrate the skill of the god in the art of dancing, as the vīṇādhara-Dakshiṇāmūrtis show him as an adept

64 The above-noted Liṅgodbhavamūrti of the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Varanasi, comes from Etah U.P. It belongs to the ninth century A.D.

65 Some of the early representations of these placid forms include Chandraśekhara of Paharpur (*MASI*, 55, pl. 30b), Vṛishavāhana of Mahabalipuram (*EHI*, pl. CXI), Vṛishārūḍha of an unknown findspot (depicted on an intaglio, now in the Indian Museum, *DHI*, pl. XXXIV, fig. 1), Umā-Maheśvara of Kosam (ibid., pl. XXVIII; fig. 2); Somā-Skanda of Nellore (*EHI*, II, pl. XXII, fig. 2). It may be noted here that *vajra* and *aṅkuśa*, the characteristic emblems of Indra, sometimes appear in the hands of Śiva on the coins of Kushan rulers; such representations of the god are placid in appearance.

66 *DHI*, p. 461.

instrumentalist. A marvel of Indian art, the Nṛityamūrti of Śiva symbolizes the philosophy of universal flux. Better known as Naṭarāja mūrtis, such icons hail from all parts of India, though South India has yielded the most outstanding type in bronze, earliest such specimens being datable to the Chola regime (ninth century). Regarded as a master-dancer (*naṭarāja*), Śiva is depicted in South Indian bronzes as dancing with the left leg raised, the right resting on the back of the malformed demon Apasmārapurusha (in Tamil Mūyalaka); his front left hand is in the *dola-* or *gaja- hasta* pose pointing to the raised foot, the front right hand in the *abhayamudrā,* the back right hand holding a kettle-drum or *ḍamaru* (*udukkai* in Tamil) and the back left a ball of fire; the entire composition is placed on a pedestal where the ends of a flamboyant circular or elliptical aureola or *prabhā* (in Tamil *tiruvasi*) meet. The symbolism underlying these South Indian Naṭarāja figures has been explained in *Unmai Vilakkam*, a Tamil text of the later days thus[67]: 'Creation arises from the drum; protection proceeds from the hand of hope; from fire proceeds destruction; the foot held aloft gives *mukti.*' Here *mukti* or release is suggestive of *anugraha,* and if the *prabhāvali* round him is considered symbolical of the act of obscuration, these bronze Natarājas may be said to symbolize all the five-fold activities (*pañchakṛityas*) of the great god. Though the Naṭarāja bronzes portray Śiva with four hands, more hands are also known. In fact, earlier instances in stone are mostly multihanded. One such specimen of the early sixth century, found at Asanapata (Orissa) and perhaps the earliest of the class, depicts him as *ūrdhvaliṅga,* third-eyed and eight-armed; he carries, among other things, a *vīṇā* in the main pair of his hands and thus illustrates the combination of his Vīṇādhara and Naṭeśa concepts.[68] Examples of the ten-, twelve- and even sixteen- handed varieties are also not unknown. It is to be noted that the North Indian and the Deccanese (e.g., the Badami and Ellora reliefs of the seventh and eighth centuries respectively) instances do not show the Apasmāra-purusha beneath the legs of the divine dancer, while some of the North Indian figures (e.g., the above-mentioned one from Asanapata) are characterised by the *ūrdhvaliṅga* feature.[68a]

Before passing on to the *saumya* images connected with some sort of story, mention may be made of a few varieties of Śaiva icons, which do not fall in either the *saumya* or the *ugra* classes of the

67 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Dance of Siva,* pp. 87 ff.

68 See my article, 'Iconographical Notes', *JAIH,* XII, 1978-79, p. 115.

68a For a comprehensive account of Śiva-Naṭarāja, see C. Sivaramamaurti, *Nataraja,* New Delhi, 1974.

present discussion. These consist of composite or syncretistic images like Ardhanārīśvara and Hari-Hara (*infra*, pp. 911 ff) and representations of Lakulīśa and Sadāśiva (other variety Mahāsadāśiva). Lakulīśa, a second-century Śaiva teacher of Gujarat, was subsequently deified and came to be looked upon as an incarnation of Śiva. His earliest representation can be seen on the inscribed pilaster of the time of Chandragupta II; here he has been portrayed as a two-armed and three-eyed figure, holding a club (*lakuṭa*) in his right hand and an indistinct object, probably a *kapāla* in the left. Seated images of Lakulīśa with two or four hands holding a *lakuṭa* in one of them and the characteristic trait of *ūrdhvaretas* (penis erect) are more common than the standing ones and they come mostly from Western and Eastern India. Some of the notable examples have been in different parts of Orissa, mainly at Bhuvaneswar and its neighbourhood.[69] Sadāśiva-Mahāsadāśiva mūrtis of the god illustrate in an esoteric manner some of the principal tenets of Śuddha Śaivism. South Indian in character, they represent the god with multiple hands and with several heads and most of them belong to a late period (see Vol. IV).

Among the mythological placid figures of Śiva mention may be made of Gaṅgādhara- (also known as Gaṅgāvisarjana-), Kalyāṇasundara- or Vaivāhika-, Kirātarjuna- or Pāśupat-āstradāna-, Vishnvanugraha-, Rāvaṇānugraha- and Chandeśānugraha- mūrtis. Gaṅgādhara-Śiva, as the name implies, held Gaṅga on his head when the latter descended on the earth torrentially. In the centre of a panel at Elephanta[70] can be seen Śiva and Umā standing side by side; the back right hand of the god is holding his *jaṭā* on which the figure of Gaṅgā is visible (though the figure is mutilated), while the front right is disposed in the *abhayamudrā*; both the left hands are broken, but the back left hand was apparently near the chin of Umā indicating Siva's attempt to appease ~~his~~ consort who felt jealous to Gaṅgā; on the right and near the foot of Śiva is seated Bhagīratha whose austere penances satisfied the god and made him to agree to hold Gaṅgā on his head. In a near-contemporary sculpture carved on the cave-wall at Tiruchchirappalli the same theme is depicted with equal competence, but here the figure of Umā is absent. Kalyāṇasundara or Śiva, the bride-groom, is portrayed in the posture of holding the hand of Pārvatī, the bride (*pāṇigrahaṇa*); while in some sculptures (e.g., at Ellora[71]) Vishnu has been shown as giving away Pārvatī to Śiva, in others (e.g., at Elephanta[72]) Vishṇu's place is given

69 *ARB*, figs. 62 (Mukteśvara temple), 124 (Paraśurāmeśvara temple).
70 *EHI*, pl. XC.
71 Cave XXIX (Dhumar Lena), *AIA*, pl. 237.
72 *EHI*, II, pl. CIII.

to Himavān, the father of Pārvatī. The Kirātārjuna form, in which the god fought with Arjuna in the form of *kirāta* over a dead boar, has been depicted on the walls of the Svarṇajāleśvara and Śiśireśvara temples at Bhuvaneswar. Vishṇvānugrahamūrti is represented, among others, by the Kailāsanātha temple relief at Kanchipuram;[73] Śiva is seen here seated on an eminence with his consort and below his seat is Vishṇu: the actual scene of presenting the *chakra* to Vishṇu is absent (in later sculptures, however, the scene is depicted). A notable example of Rāvanānugraha-mūrti is furnished by some panels at Ellora. In one of them Rāvaṇa, the demon-king of Laṅkā, is depicted as uplifting with much effort the mountain Kailāsa, on which are seated Śiva and Pārvatī and their attendants.[74] A notable Chaṇḍeśānugraha image of our period has been encountered on the wall of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchipuram; though much damaged, the relief still enables us to recognise the four-armed Śiva and his devotee Chaṇḍeśvara with the axe by which he cut down the leg of his father out of unstinted devotion to his god.[75]

The *ugra* or terrific icons of Śiva, unconnected with any story, are known under several names, the generic name being 'Bhairava'. Śiva protects the universe (*bharana*) and he is terrific (*bhīshaṇa*) and hence his name 'Bhairava'. According to the general textual prescription of Bhairava he should have a fierce look, a yawning mouth, protruding fangs, sharp teeth, a tiger-skin, serpent-thread, a garland of skulls and attributes like *triśūla*, *dhanu*, *kripāṇa*, *khaṭvaṇāga*, *pāśa*, *paraśu* etc. We are also told of eight different forms of Bhairava, such as Asitāṅga, Ruru, Krodha, etc.; each one of them is sub-divided into eight different forms, thus making sixty-four in all.[76] Iconoplastic representations of some of them include Vaṭuka-Bhairava and Atiriktāṅga Bhairava. Statues of the first, so far found, are comparatively late (see Vol. IV). The Ellora repertory possesses an image of Atiriktāṅga Bhairava who has been shown with a number of goblins surrounding him and the emaciated figure of Kālī seated near his foot.[77] Besides such Bhairava icons, mention may be made of Kaṅkāla- and Bhikshāṭana- mūrtis, which are characteristically South Indian. Both these types are practically identical; in both the deity should have attributes like *ḍamaru*, *kapāla*, *kaṅkāla-daṇḍa* etc and prominent *jaṭās* (in the case of the latter the *jaṭās* may also be dishevelled), but in the Bhikshāṭanamūrti the person of the divinity should have no kind of clothing and instead there should be a snake tied round the waist. Kaṅkālamūrtis assignable to our

73 *Ibid*, pl. LI.
74 *AIA*, pl. 211.
75 *EHI*, II, pl. XLIX, fig. 2.
76 For details, *ibid.*, pp. 180 ff.
77 *Ibid.*, pl. XLII.

period are so far unknown, whereas the Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchipuram has yielded a good example of the two-armed form of Bhikshāṭanamūrti.[78] In the Bhikshāṭanamūrti the god is said to have begged for food and received it on one occasion from his spouse (known as Annapūrṇā in Bengal).[79] Two other forms of the *ugra* category are Ekapāda and Vīrabhadra. In his Ekapāda form the god stands on one leg and is usually *ūrdhvaliṅga;* he wears a *sarpakuṇḍala* in the right ear and is either two-handed or four-handed. Figures of Ekapāda are encountered on the walls of different Orissan temples (e.g., Śiśireśvara at Bhuvaneswar) as well as in the State Museum at Bhuvaneswar. (see Vol. IV). One of the male companions of the Mātṛikās, usually seven in number, (*infra,* pp. 895 ff) also bears the name Vīrabhadra and he is seen portrayed in the Mātṛikā group of icons of our period (*infra* p. 896). It may be noted here that though Vaṭuka Bhairava, Bhikshāṭana- and Vīrabhadra-mūrtis are associated with the terrific aspect of Śiva, icono-plastically they are not unoften placid in appearance.

Śiva is regarded as a great destroyer and several stories depicting him as such have been woven round him. His images illustrating these anecdotes are therefore not uncommon. The god is said to have killed not only various demons (asuras), but also punished many deities such as Yama, Narasiṁha, Kāmadeva etc. Some of these well-known Samhāramūrtis include, *inter alia,* Andhakāsuravadhamūrti, Gajāsurasaṁhāra-mūrti, Tripurāntakamūrti, Kālantaka (Kālāri)-mūrti, Kāmadahana-mūrti and Śarabheśa-mūrti. The Andhakāsuravadha-mūrti of Śiva is furnished by two examples of Ellora and Elephanta in which the god is represented with eight hands carrying emblems like *triśūla, kapāla, ḍamaru, khaḍga* etc.[80] Of the Gajāsurasaṁhāra figures one at Vaital *deul* at Bhuvaneswar shows the god engaged in the act of slaying Gajāsura with a knife, whose elephant form is met with in the upper right corner of the panel; the human form of the demon lying prostrate serves as the seat of Śiva.[81] In

78 *Ibid.,* pl. LXXXVI.

79 The illustrations of Annapūrṇā-Pārvatī's offering of alms to her consort, as met with in the panels of Paharpur and Paraśurameśvara temples, are conceptually and iconically different from the Bhikshāṭanamūrtis of the South.

80 *EHI,* II, pls. XLV, XLVII (Dasavatara and Kailasa, Ellora) and XLVI (Elephanta).

81 *ARB,* pp 80-81. This specimen does not exactly answer to the descriptions of Gajāsurasaṁhāra-mūrtis found in Rao's work, *op. cit.,* II. pp. 378 ff. It also differs from the illustrations reproduced by Rao, *ibid.* The four-armed figure of a male deity with an elephant behind him carved on the outer face of the low compound wall of the Mukteśvara temple (*ARB,* fig. 58) may provide another example of Gajāsurasaṁhāra-mūrti of Śiva.

subsequent sculptures the combined form of Andhakāsuravadha- and Gajāsurasaṁhāra-mūrtis is recognisable. The next form, Tripurāntaka, is represented by two Ellora specimens and a Kailāsanātha temple figure at Kanchipuram; in the one at Ellora[82] the ten-handed god stands in his horse-drawn chariot, with face and arms turned towards the three castles (*tripura*) which he is about to destroy, while in the other[83] Śiva has only two arms, the right hand carrying the arrow and the left one the bow. In the Kanchipuram relief,[84] however, the eight-handed god is seated in the *āliḍhāsana* posture in the chariot. While in most such examples the actual castles are seldom or indistinctly shown, in a relief from Pattadakal (eight century, now in the National Museum) the brazen castles are clearly depicted. The two identical reliefs, now in the MGM Museum at Raipur (MP), the eight-armed Tripurāntaka Śiva rides on a chariot drawn by bulls instead of horses and further he kills one of the three Asuras, and in these respects these specimens are interesting.[85] The Kālāntaka-mūrti, signifying the punishment of Kāla (Yama) by our god for the attempt of the former to take away the life of Mārkaṇḍeya, an ardent devotee of Śiva, has been illustrated by two sculptures at Ellora (in the Daśāvatāra and Kailāsa). In the Daśāvatāra cave panel[86] Śiva is seen issuing from the *liṅga*, in front of which Mārkaṇḍeya is kneeling with his hands folded; the right leg of the god is buried up to the knee in the *liṅga* and the left leg is represented as kicking Yama. The Kāmadahana and Śarabhesa images, belonging to a later period, have been described in the next volume.

SŪRYA

The Indus people, if not their predecessors, seem to have worshipped the Sun as most of other nations of the contemporary world did. At present we have, however, no means to determine the nature of Sun-worship in pre-Vedic India. In the Ṛigvedic period the Sun was worshipped in his various aspects under names like, *Sūrya Savitā, Pūshā, Bhaga, Vivasvān, Mitra, Aryamā* and *Vishṇu* each of these names connoting his manifold aspects. Of these *Bhaga, Mitra* and *Aryamā* are the Indian equivalents of the Iranian *Baga* or *Bagho, Mithra* and *Aryaman*. An analytical study of the Vedic data would show that the Sun-god was originally an atmospheric deity *par excellence* and later on he was transformed into a divinity

82 *EHI*, II. pl. XXXVII. It is at the Dasāvatara cave.

83 *AIA*, pl. 226. It is at the Kailāsa temple.

84 *EHI*, II, pl. XXXIX.

85 K. K. Dasgupta, 'Iconographical Notes', *JAIH*, XII, 1978-79, p. 110.

86 *EHI*, II, pl. XXXIV. The Kailāsa panel is practically similar to it.

of light known under the principal name *Sūrya* covering all the Vedic aspects of the Sun.

In connection with the different names of the Sun occurring in the *Ṛigveda* and later Vedic texts another designation is met with: *Āditya.* The word in plural 'Ādityas' originally meant 'sons of Aditi' and according to the derivative meaning it is applicable to all the gods. In a narrower sense, the term *Āditya* was principally associated with the solar cult, meant to represent the different aspects of Sūrya. The number of Ādityas, mentioned as six in the *Ṛigveda* (II. 27), increased in the course of time to twelve (*Dvādaśāditya*). These twelve Ādityas, supposed to preside over twelve months of the year, are Dhātā, Mitra, Aryamā, Rudra, Varuṇa, Sūrya, Bhaga, Vivasvān, Pūshā, Savitā, Tvashṭā and Vishṇu (*infra,* p. 907). Besides the Ādityas, there is another group of deities designated as Navagrahas (nine planets) whose names are Ravi, Soma, Maṅgala, Budha, Bṛihaspati, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu and Ketu (*infra,* pp. 905-6).

Another deity associated with the solar cult is Revanta, who along with Ādityas and Navagrahas are described in the section of minor deities (*infra,* p. 907).

Like other principal gods Sūrya had also exclusive worshippers of his own who used to look on him as 'lord of gods' (cf. *deveśvara* in the *Mahābhārata,* II. 46.16). And in the Gupta and the mediaeval times many shrines in his honour were erected by them, specially in Kashmir-Punjab area and Western India. A few South Indian inscriptions of the ninth century also refer to Āditya-gṛiha (Sun-shrines), though extant remains of a separate Sun-temple in South India do not go beyond the twelfth century.

There are reasons to believe that the Magas or the Mitra-worshipping priests of ancient Iran, some of whom had settled in India in pre-Christian centuries, contributed much towards the origin and development of the cult and iconography of the god. Thus Varāhamihira, the author of the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (LIX 19), observes that the Magas are the proper persons to install an image of Sūrya in temples. Alberuni also seems to be aware of this fact since he records that the ancient Persian priests who had settled in India during his time were known by the name of *Maga.* Indeed, there seems to be little doubt that this band of Iranians was responsible to a great extent in popularising and spreading the cult of Sūrya in India.

The actual mode of worship of Sūrya, as in the case of other gods, is two-fold: aniconic and iconic. Originally, Sūrya as an atmospheric deity was worshipped by means of symbols. The Vedic people represented Sūrya in the form of a wheel or disc. This aniconic mode lingered on in later days. The *Sāmbapurāṇa,* a work of about the

eight century, says (XXIX. 2-6): 'In ancient times there was no image (of the Sun); the Sun was worshipped in a circle. The Sun, worshipped by his devotees in early days, was circular, just as there is the disc (of the Sun) in the sky.' Motif of a wheel, a disc or a lotus flower on some of the earliest punch-marked and cast coins of India usually taken by scholars as standing for Sun. The coins of the Uddehikas and the Mitra chiefs of Pañchāla like Sūryamitra and Bhānumitra bear on their reverse a disc on a pedestal, the disc presumably representing the Sun.[87]

The practice of worshipping the Sun in anthropomorphic form also emerged in pre-Christian centuries. On a railing at Bodhgaya[88] he rides on a one-wheeled chariot drawn by four horses; his female attendants shown as shooting arrows are Ushā and Pratyushā respectively, personifying the different aspects of 'Dawn' dispelling darkness. Incidentally, this Bodhgaya Sūrya bears a resemblance with Helios (the Greek Sun-god) riding on a four-horsed chariot as figured on the coins of the Bactrian Greek king Plato (probably of the line of Eukratides).[88a] It cannot be suggested, however, that the Bodhgaya sculpture was modelled on the coin-device of Plato. The Bhaja relief[89] depicts a figure, perhaps the Sun-god, as riding in the company of two ladies in a chariot, the wheels of the car passing over malformed nude demons, personifving darkness. These two reliefs of the first century B.C. discovered from widely separated regions are the earliest human representations of Sūrya. They have some striking affinity with a relief of the second century discovered at Lala Bhagat near Kanpur (U.P.) in which the god is shown as riding on a chariot drawn by four horses; and as in earlier instances, here also he is shown in the company of two women, one holding an umbrella on his head, the other probably carrying a fly-whisk.[90]

Coming to other images of the early Christian centuries, our attention is drawn to the repertories of Gandhāra and Mathurā. While the Bhaja and Bodhgaya reliefs show the god barebodied with his legs invisible, hidden under the chariot, the Gandhāra and Mathurā figures have heavy tunics and boots, both alien in character, like those of Kushāna monarchs as portrayed on their coins and in sculp-

87 *THAI*, pl. IV, 60, IX, 140, 141 etc.; *CCBM* (AI), pp. 193 ff., 195 ff.

88 *HIIA*, pl. XVII, fig. 61.

88a *CCBM* (GSK), pl. VI, fig. 11.

89 *AIA*, pls. 40-41, E. H. Johnston recognises in this composition the depiction of the story of the war between Śakra and the Asuras as narrated in the *Samyutta Nikāya*, *JISOA*, VII, pp. 1-7.

90 *DHI*, pl. XXIX, fig. 1.

tures.[91] A few Mathurā specimens have an additional feature, probably alien in character, consisting of the Sun-disc or nimbus behind the head of the deity and a pair of short wings attached to his shoulders (are these wings the traces of the early Vedic mythology of the Sun as a bird?). These non-Indian iconographic features of Gandhāra and Mathurā images of Sūrya may be due to the influence of the Sun-cult of the Iranian Magi priests. The probability is enhanced by Varāhamihira's prescription that in his image the Sun-god should be shown not only in the dress of the 'Northerners' (*udīchyavesha*), but also as wearing a *viyaṅga* (the Indianised form of the Persian waist-girdle *Aiwiyaonghen*). The *udīchyavesha,* as apparent from extant specimens, consisted of the long coat and boots, though textual evidence expressly referring to boots, is unavailable.

Though a few representations of Sūrya of the Gupta period, like the standing examples discovered at Niyamatpur and Kumarpur (Rajshahi, Bangladesh) and Bhumara (M.P.), seem to have still conformed to the injunctions as laid down in the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā*, the *Matsyapurāṇa* and the *Vishṇudharmottara* (cf. the features like long tunic, *viyaṅga* etc.),[92] there are images of the same epoch which demonstrate an attempt on the part of Indian artists to represent the god divested of foreign elements (e.g., the Deora sculpture, see below). Thus sometime after the sixth century, the period of Varāhamihira and the Bhumara and allied reliefs, the long coat disappeared leaving the upper part of the body of the god bare, the boots only surviving. A rare exception has, however, been found in two identical sculptures, now in the Museum at Maldah, West Bengal; in them the god, as in South Indian instances (see below), is without boots. With the passage of time the boots also seem to have received scant attention and what appear to be boots in them are 'nothing but the finished outlines of Sūrya's uncarved legs'.[93]

Sūrya had already become marked by his characteristic cognisances, viz., two full- or half-blown lotuses held in two hands, as evidenced by statuaries of Niyamatpur, Kumarpur and Bhumara (the object held by the god in his right hand in an early Mathurā

91 For alien elements in such Sūrya icons, see Agrawala, V. S., *Handbook of the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology,* Muttra, p. 52.

92 For Niyamatpur and Kumarpur sculptures, see Majumdar, R. C., *History of Ancient Bengal,* p 155. For Bhumāra image, see Banerjee, R. D., *Siva Temple of Bhumara,* pl. XIV, a.

93 *ESB,* fig. 9. The Deora sculpture has an affinity with the contemporareous image of the god found at Kashipur (24 Parganas, West Bengal), now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta (*DHI,* p. 436, pl. XXVIII, fig. 4). The way in which the horses are delineated and the two demons are depicted beneath the chariot in the latter specimen is reminiscent of the technique evidenced by the Bhaja and Lala Bhagat statuaries,

relief is also perhaps a lotus-bud while that in the left is a short sword) and Varāhamihira's prescription. In the images of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods two more iconographic features come to the view, which became stereotyped in course of time; the number of horses of the chariot became seven, instead of the earlier four and the number of attendants of the god also increased. Besides Ushā and Pratyushā, Daṇḍī (or Daṇḍa) and Piṅgala, scribe and aide-de-camp respectively, Chhāyā and Suvarchasā, his queens, and charioteer Aruṇa. For instance, Daṇḍī and Piṅgala are present in the Niyamatpur and Kumarpur reliefs, wearing alien dress and holding their respective attributes, a staff and a lotus, and a pen and an inkpot. In the Deora (Bogra, Bangladesh) image of the late Gupta period Sūrya is accompanied by his charioteer driving a seven-horsed car, besides Ushā, Pratyushā, Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, the god is here clad in a *dhoti* tied round the waist by a girdle clasped in front, carrying in his two hands the usual emblems, lotus stalks with sprouting branches of flowers; a sword hanging on his left side and the boots on his legs are partially visible. Sūrya is generally shown as standing; but his seated images are also not rare. A metal image of the seventh or eighth century, discovered at Deulbadi (Comilla, Bangladesh), portrays the Sun-god as seated inside a one-wheeled chariot drawn by seven horses (the horses are shown on the pedestal); adorned with a prominent girdle round the abdomen, the deity carries the usual emblems and is accompanied by Daṇḍī and Piṅgala, and Ushā and Prayushā.[94] A comparative study of the Kushāṇa and Gupta examples, some of which have been described above, will thus reveal the gradual Indianisation of the Sūrya icons.

Notice need also be taken of South Indian images for some of their distinctive features. Thus mention may be made of an image hailing from Gudimallam, assignable to the seventh century. It shows the god as standing bare-footed on a pedestal without Aruṇa or the seven horses; the upper part of the body is left bare and the hands of the god lifted, up to the level of the shoulders carry two lotus-buds. There are some South Indian examples (image from Melcheri in Madras, and the well-known Ellora relief), however, in which Aruṇa and seven horses have been shown.

To what an extent the geographical factor has been operative in Indian iconography is borne out by the differences in Sūrya icons of North and South India. In South India, precisely in the Tamil country, Sūrya is found with the following characteristics unknown to North Indian repertory: *first*, his legs and feet are always left bare; *second*, his hands are lifted up to the level of the shoulders and

94 *IBBSDM*, pl. LIX.

are made to carry half-blossomed lotuses; *third,* he is bedecked with an udarabandha (different from viyaṅga), *fourth,* he is almost always alone, bereft of his retinue; and *lastly,* the chariot or the horses drawn by Aruṇa are absent. Iconographic differences in the representation of the Sun-god may have been based on geographical and environmental factors. While the Iranian Magi cult exerted its influence on the iconic form of Sūrya in Northern India, it was hardly, felt in the South, where indigenous tradition was more effective.

DEVI

Though the concept of a central goddess Devī as Śakti (Female Creative Principle) is of relatively late origin, the worship of a female divinity symbolising this Sakti in various aspects, especially in that of the Universal Mother, existed from a very early time.[95] It was widespread from Greece to India and the modes of this worship were both iconic and aniconic. Thus while the female statuettes discovered at the pre-Harappan and Harappan sites, resembling those found in other parts of the contemporary world, stand for the concrete representation of this Mother-goddess, the ring-stones unearthed at the Indus sites may be regarded as her aniconic emblems (*supra,* p. 856). Apart from these female figurines and ring-stones, a few Indus seals also deserve attention in this context. Thus the figure of a nude female shown upside down with legs wide apart, and a plant issuing from her womb carved on an oblong Harappan seal seemingly articulates the idea of a goddess as the main source of nourishment.[96] A Mohenjodaro seal showing a deity between two trees may be regarded as a tree-goddess and a prototype of the figure of Lakshmī of the historic times depicted as standing on the pericarp of a lotus flower with a lotus and leaves on long stalks spreading on her sides.[97] In the light of the evidence of such proto-historic relics it is reasonable to believe in the existence of the Śakti cult in the period of the Indus civilization, and also perhaps in the pre-Harappan epoch. In the following age, represented by the Vedic literature, the female deities seem to have occupied a

95. The genesis of the worship of a female divinity, presumably the Mother-Goddess, may be traced back to the Stone Age and Early Neolithic Group. Objects like the famous 'Venus of Wilendorf' and the figure from Menton (*AIA,* I, pl. A 9 b and c) hailing from Europe datable to the Aurignacian period of the Stone Age (c. 40,000-20,000 B.C.) are perhaps the earliest human efforts to express the idea of universal motherhood, closely approximating to, if not coinciding with, the one of Hindu *Jaganmātā* and *sarvaprapañchajananī.* Indeed, these pre-historic figurines are the precursors of the proto-historic and historic statuettes of Mother-goddess of India.

96 Vats, M.S., *Excavations at Harappa,* II, pl. XCIII, fig. 304; also *MIC,* pl XII, fig. 12.

97 *MIC,* pl. XII, fig. 18.

comparatively subordinate position in relation to the gods like Indra, Varuṇa, Rudra, Soma and others, and in fact the goddesses were outnumbered by the male divinities in the Vedic pantheon. Nevertheless, a few female deities like Aditi, Ushā, Sarasvatī, Pṛithivī and Vāk, figuring in the earliest Vedic text, the *Ṛigveda,* appear to have been held in high esteem by the Vedic Aryans. The well-known Ṛigvedic hymn (X. 125), described as *Devī-sūkta,* in the post-Vedic texts, identifying Vāk (the Vedic counterpart of the Greek Logos) with the Primal Energy of life,[98] tends to show the prevalence of the cult of Śakti in the Vedic period. Indeed, the increasing importance of this cult will be borne out by the data contained in the late Vedic texts, such as the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhita* of the *Śukla Yajurveda, Taittirīya Araṇyaka, Kena-* and *Muṇḍaka- Upanishads.* The 'mother' (the most popular one), 'daughter' and 'sister' aspects of the great goddess, as delineated in these late Vedic texts, were elaborated in the Epics and Purāṇas.[99]

The uninterrupted existence of the worship of a female divinity in one or various of her aspects is attested by the evidence of the archaeological relics of the historic period as well. The circular steatite and stone discs of the Maurya-Śuṅga period, discovered at Taxila, Patna, Benares and other places, bearing nude female figures and other vegetal and animal motifs on them, are illustrative in this context; with a hole at the centre, these discs may justifiably be regarded as the successors of the proto-historic ring-stones and forerunners of *yantras* of the later Tantric Śaktism. These nude female figures, identical *inter alia* with the one depicted on a gold leaf found at Lauriya-Nandangarh of the Maurya-Śuṅga age, may be taken as

98 The tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛigveda* which contains this *sūkta* is, however, regarded as later than the other *maṇḍalas.* Nevertheless, many age-old elements of thought and beliefs seem to have been embedded in this *sūkta.* The occurrence of the very word *śakti* in the sense of the generative power in the *Ṛigveda* seems to be significant in this context.

99 Ambikā appears as the sister of Rudra in the *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* (III. 57) and as the wife of Rudra in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X.18) and the latter relationship came to stay in the subsequent period; incidentally, Sāyaṇa while commenting on this passage calls Ambikā as Pārvatī, the mother of the whole universe. Umā-Haimavatī is described as the daughter of the Himalaya mountain in the *Kena Upanishad* (III. 25). The goddess is figured in her Kanyā-Kumārī or virgin-daughter aspect in the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (X.1), incidentally, that a section of the Hindus in the extreme south reserved their veneration for, the virgin-daughter aspect of the divinity, presumably from a time earlier than the beginnings of the Christian era, has been attested by the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (Section 58) written by an anonymous Greek author of the first century A.D. See W. H. Schoff's translation, p. 46.

representing the Mother-goddess.[100] Collectively, these objects and the Yakshiṇī images of the same epoch furnish the evidence of the prevalence of the cult of Śakti in the two or three centuries preceding the Christian era.

With the development of Pauranic religion in the Gupta period Devī in one or several of her forms and aspects came to be associated as consort with different male divinities. The underlying reason for the phenomenon is the concept of her being the Universal Mother (*sarvaprapañchajananī*, 'the creator of the world out of her womb'). Though she is usually looked on as the energy of Śiva, she is also associated with Vishṇu, the other major god of the Brahmanical pantheon; and also occasionally she appears as an embodiment of the combined energy of all the male divinities in order to deliver the latter from the jeopardy created by the demons. Apart from her association with her male consorts, Devī is independently represented in her diverse forms and her images are divisible into two classes according as they illustrate her *saumya* and *ghora* aspects.

As a consort of Śiva, Devī in her placid form, is known under names like *Durgā, Chaṇḍī, Gaurī, Parvatī* etc., and a lion invariably appears as her mount. One of the earliest representations of Durgā is figured on the obverse of a few copper coins of Azes of the first century B.C., clad in himation, the goddess holds in her upraised hand a lotus, the other hand being akimbo; the forepart of a lion beside her as well as the bull on the reverse makes her identification with Durgā-Siṁhavāhinī highly probable.[101] On some coins of Huvishka (second century A.D.) the deity appears as Umā (*Ommo* written in Greek characters).[102] Likewise she appears in her placid aspect on seals recovered from different parts of India; thus the figure of a female deity carrying a wreath in her left hand and a four-pronged object in the right carved on a terracotta seal which has been found at Rajghat (U.P.) may stand for Durgā; the accompanying legend *Durggaḥ* in the Gupta script lends support to the contention. Same is the identification of the figure with a trident-axe in her right hand (the other hand is on the hip), standing by the side of a bull, the

100 For Lauriya-Nandangarh relief, see *AIA*, I, B 3a; and *HIIA*, pl. XXX, fig. 105. This relief, once assigned to the eighth or seventh century B.C., is now assigned to the Maurya-Śuṅga period.

For stone and steatite discs from Taxila see Marshall, *Taxila*, 2, pl. 147 b, c, d and g; from Rupar, see *Lalit Kala*, 1-2 (1955-56), pl. XLVI, no. 12; from Patna, see *JBRS*, XXXVII, 1951, pls. V-IX. etc. For Rairh (Rajasthan) finds of statuettes of nude and semi-nude goddess see Puri, K. N., *Exacavations at Rairh*, pls. XII-XIII.

101 *CCBM*, GSK, pl. XIX, 5; *CCPM*, pl. XII, 308.

102 *DHI*, pl. XLIII, fig. 2.

mount of her consort, borne by a seal unearthed at Bhita (U. P.). A fine image of Devī in her *saumya* aspect of the Gupta period comes, however, from Nālandā, which has yielded some seals bearing the figure of Devī in her terrific aspect as well (see below); made of bronze, the statue shows the three-eyed goddess in the *samapadasthānaka* pose carrying in three of her hands a rosary, a hooked staff and a water-vessel, the other hand being broken; the interesting feature of this example lies in the depiction of a creeping *godhā* (iguana) near her right leg, which subsequently became a well-known cognisance in the Devī icons; on the lower section of the image her lion-mount and a bull(?) have been shown.[103] Another near-contemporary bronze sculpture of this Nalanda statue has been discovered at Deulbadi (Bangladesh); it portrays an eight-armed deity in the *samapadasthānaka* on the back of a lion couchant on a double lotus and a *triratha* pedestal in the company of two *chowry*-bearing female figures; described as 'Sarvvāṇī' in the inscription on the pedestal, the goddess carries in her hands *śara, khaḍga, chakra, śaṅkha, triśūla, ghaṇṭā, kheṭaka* and *dhanu*. Sarvvāṇī is same as Pārvatī and Gaurī, Sarva being one of the several names of her consort, Śiva. Though this image shows her with eight hands, she was usually portrayed with four hands and in the *sthānaka* pose in early mediaeval Bengal; in such specimens the deity is seen with a *liṅgam*-and-rosary, *triśūla, varadamudrā* or pomegranate and a vase in the hands and a *godhā* usually on the pedestal of her image;[104] and that this type migrated to the lands beyond the seas even has been attested by the discovery of similar statues from Java.[105] It may be noted here that while in North India and the Deccan separate shrines were occasionally erected for Pārvatī, in the Far South she was normally worshipped in the company of Śiva and their son Skanda (such iconic representations are known as Soma-Skanda *ante*, p. 876).[106] Similarly, the Annapūrṇa ('bestower of food') aspect of Pārvatī has been noticed in the art of North India and not in that of the South. A chaitya on the southern facade of the śikhara of Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneswar contains a relief in which Śiva is seen with a *chhatra* in his right hand and a cup in his extended left in which Annapurṇā is giving alms. Another figure of Annapūrṇā is supplied by the Paharpur repertory.

Two other major placid forms of Devī are Lakshmī and Sarasvatī, who may be termed *vyantara devatās* (intermediate divinities). In

103 *JRAS*, 1897, p. 324; *DHI*, pp. 126-27.
104 *IBBSDM*, pl. LXX.
105 *JGIS*, IV, 1937, pp. 137-47.
106 Note, for example, the shrines of Pārvatī at Ellora and Elephanta and the Gaurī and Pārvatī temples at Bhuvaneswar.

other words, they were originally, like many others, folk deities and were subsequently absorbed in the Brahmanical pantheon.[107] However, both Lakshmī and Sarasvatī (variantly, Śrī-Lakshmī and Pushṭi-Sarasvatī) are usually portrayed as attendants of Vishṇu,[108] though their separate representations are not unknown. The goddess of wealth and prosperity and an ideal of feminine beauty, Lakshmī in earlier instances is seen as standing or seated on a lotus (*padmasthā*) and holding a lotus in one of her hands (*padmadharā*), the other hand being in the *kaṭihasta* pose (rarely this hand carries a *padma*); two elephants consecrate her by pouring waters from two pitchers. Iconographically, this type is known as Gaja-Lakshmī or Abhisheka-Lakshmī and some of its earliest representations are encountered in the art of Bharhut-Sanchi (second-first century B.C.) as well as on contemporary monetary issues.[109] Of the effigies of the early centuries of the Christian era mention may be made of the Kailāsa (Ellora) example; in it the goddess is seated on a lotus in a lotus-pond in the company of some attendants and her lotus-seat is supported by two Nāgas. Images of Lakshmī without the attendant elephants are also not uncommon and apart from her prototype recognisable in the famous Sirimā devatā[110] of the Bharhut art, she may be identified with some of the lotus-bearing female figures on early Indian coins. A series of the Kuṇinda coins (second or first century B.C.) bear on them a standing female figure with a lotus in her right hand (the other in the *kaṭihasta* pose) and a stag as her attendant, as it were; the stag here may stand for her theriomorphic representation; alternatively, most probably as her *vāhana* the animal presents her in a composite form to be termed Durgā-Lakshmī and in support of this suggestion may be furnished the evidence of the relief of Gaja-Lakshmī riding on a lion (Durgā's

107 The appellation *Vyantara devatā,* applied to Lakshmī, Sarasvatī, Gaṇeśa, Skanda, Yakshas, Gandharvas etc., occurs in the Jaina canonical literature.

108 In South India Pushṭi-Sarasvatī is replaced by Bhūdevī in Vishnuite icons.

109 See, for the coin of Kausambi, *CCBM,* AI, pl. XX, 15; for coins of Viśākhadeva *ibid.*, pl. XVI, 14; for coins of Sivadatta, *ibid.* pl. XLIII, 5; for coins of Azilises, *CCPM,* pl. XIII, 333; for coins of Rajuvula, *CCBM,* AI, pl. XXVI, 1; for coins of Sodāsa, *ibid.*, pl. XXVI, 16. The device of Gaja-Lakshmī is seen not only on monetary issues of late rulers like Śaśāṅka and Jayanāga (*CGE,* pl. XIXA, 8-9, 11-13), but also on seals attached to land-grants of rulers of ancient and early mediaeval India. She is figured on numerous seals unearthed at places like Basarh, Nalanda, Bhita etc; on them she usually exhibits a lotus in one hand and *vara* in the other. For details regarding the representation of Gajalakshmī on seals, see K. K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals* (Lucknow, 1972), pp. 179 ff and for Lakshmī, *ibid.*, pp. 176-78.

110 In the *Kalakanni Jātaka* Siri or Sirimā has been described as the goddess of luck and fortune.

mount) found at Bilsad, U.P. (datable to the Gupta period) and the images of Durgā shown with both lion and stag (Tamil *kalaiman*) met with in Tamilnad.[111] As regards Sarasvatī, the Hindu goddess of learning,[112] her protoype may be recognised in a female figure on a Bharhut railing; in it she is standing on a lotus-pedestal (it is indicative of her divine character) and is playing a harp or *vīṇā*, a characteristic attribute of the goddess in later days. Apart from the well-known image from Mathurā, datable to the second century A.D., showing the deity with a *pustaka*, another distinctive emblem, which is actually affiliated with Jainism,[113] an early representation of Brahmanical Sarasvatī is found on the coinage of the Bengal king Samāchāradeva (sixth century A.D.); on the reverse of such coins the goddess stands on a lotus-bed with her left hand resting on a lotus and drawing up another lotus in front of her face in the posture of smelling it by her right hand; below her right hand is a goose, her characteristic vehicle, which is trying to snatch at a lotus-leaf in its front by its open beak.[114] Examples of the seated variety are furnished, *inter alia*, by the icons from Bhuvaneswar. One such instance is met with in a niche of the compound wall (on its outer face) of the Mukteśvara temple (ninth century), shows the goddess as seated on a lotus carrying a *vīṇā* with two hands and with two female attendants on both sides. A few significant and elegant images of Sarasvatī (e.g., an image showing a ram in place of her swan-mount, now in the Rajshahi Museum) belong to a late period (see Volume IV).

Before we pass on to the well-known iconic type called Mahishamardinī, which illustrates the *ghora* or terrific aspect of Devī, mention need be made of a few Śākta deities, mostly of the folk affiliation and benign in form and character. Of them Ekānaṁśā is associated with Krishṇa and Balarāma as their sister and in plastic representations she appears in between them. In an Ellora panel she holds a lotus-bud in her upraised right hand and places the other hand on the waist; and as usual she is flanked by her brothers. In a relief (tenth century), now in the Lucknow Museum[115], Ekānaṁśā car-

111 *THAI*, pp. 100-101. For relevant Kuṇinda coins, *ibid.*, pp. 91-93, pls. II-III, nos. 42-51. Figures of the goddess, accompanied by both stag and lion, are encountered at Mahabalipuram and Kanchipuram.

112 The Vedic river Sarasvatī, associated with the composition of many a hymn, was logically transformed into the goddess of learning in later days.

113 Smith, V. A., *Jaina Antiquities from Mathura*, pl. XCIX.

114 *CGE*, pl. XIX A. 7. A sealing from Bhita shows a vase on a pedestal and the legend *Sarasvatī* in Gupta characters.

115 Prayag Dayal, who first published this panel in *JUPHS*, VIII, 2, 1935, identified the male figures as Rāma and Lakshmaṇa and the central figure as Sītā. The

ries a full-blown lotus in her left hand and exhibits the *vara-mudrā* in the right in the company of Krishṇa and Balarāma. Another Sakti deity, who became popular in Tamilnadu during our period, was Jyeshṭhā. She was known as Alakshmī and the elder sister of Lakshmī and was worshipped for warding off evil. One of her earliest representations has been noticed in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchipuram. In a statue at Mylapore near Madras[116] the two-armed goddess, seated in *bhadrāsana*, exhibits *abhaya* in her right hand and places the left hand on her thigh; to her right is seated a bull-faced figure, supposedly her son and to her left is seated a young maiden, presumably her daughter. Representations of the river-goddesses, Gaṅgā and Yamunā, appeared in the Gupta period on either side of her door-jambs or of the doorway lintels of the temples like those at Ahichchhatra (U.P.), Tigawa and Bhumara (M.P.) and Dah Parvatiya (Assam). In their life-size clay statues, recovered from Ahichchhatra, Gaṅgā and Yamunā have been shown on their respective mounts, *makara* and *kūrma,* and with a water-jar in the left hand of each of them; while both the deities are attended by dwarfish female figures holding parasols over their heads,[117] Gaṅgā is significantly endowed with the third eye on her forehead (indicative of her śaivite association). The graceful river-goddesses of Dah Parvatiya are, however, holding pearl necklaces, in place of water-jars.[118] It may be noted here that the prototype of Gaṅgā seems to have been furnished by a *makaravāhinī* female figure carved on a Bharhut railing.[119] The snake-goddess, usually known as Manasā in Bengal, is represented among others, by a relief hailing from Birbhum; in it the deity is seated on a lotus placed over a jar from which two serpents are coming out and she is holding a hooded snake in her left

composition, actually represents the Ekānaṁśā triad. It may be noted that this effigy of Ekānaṁśā does not conform to the usual textual description, according to which the deity when two-armed, should bear a lotus in her right hand (not in the left as in the present instance) and place the left on her hip. The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (LVII. 37-39) refers to the four- and eight- armed forms of the deity, but no images answering to them have yet come to light.

116 *EHI*, I, pl. CXXI. Jyeshṭhā images appear for the first time at Kailāsanātha. The counterpart of Jyeshṭhā in Bengal is Śītalā, who like the South Indian deity, rides on a donkey. She is worshipped even now as the goddess of small-pox.

117 For reproductions of the images of these river-goddesses from Ahichchhatra, now in the National Museum, see V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), pls. V and VI.

118 *ASI*, AR, 1924-25, pl. XXXII *a-b*.

119 Barua, B. M., *Bharut*, III, pl. LXVI, 77. The deity is seen urging her mount to move fast with a goad which she carries in her right hand.

hand (the object in the other hand is indistinct); she is flanked by Jaratkāru and Āstika, her consort and son.[120] Effigies of the goddess, known by the generic name of *Nāginī*, are prolific in other parts of India.[121] To our period also belongs a group of images, usually encountered in Bengal and Bihar. A typical example of this group depicts a female deity lying on a bed with a male child lying by her side and attended by females; miniature figures of Śiva-liṅga, Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa and the Navagrahas are seen near the top portion of the relief, the scene of Kṛishṇa's nativity has most probably been delineated in such compositions.[122]

The *ugra* aspect of Devī is best known in her representation styled Mahishāsuramardinī (or simply Mahishamardinī). The earliest image of Mahishamardinī has been furnished by a first century terracotta plaque discovered at Nagar in Rajasthan; in it the four-armed goddess is seen lifting up the buffalo (the theriomorphic form of Mahishāsura) on to her knees, as it were, by her front right hand, and pulling out the tongue of the animal by the left and carrying a *triśūla* and a rectangular *kheṭaka* in her rear right and left hands respectively; her leonine mount is visible in the lower right portion of the plaque.[123] To the Kushāṇa period also belong a number of examples in some of which the goddess is six-armed. What deserves to be noted is that in most of them, as in the Nagar plaque, the right hand of the deity is on the back of the animal, while the left is pulling out its tongue, as it were. And that this type was popular in later days will be attested by a sandstone relief from Bhita (U.P.)

120 *DHI*, p. 250.

121 See for instance, the statue found at Satna (M.P.; now in the Indian Museum) bearing the inscription *Srī Nāiṇi* on the pedestal. Incidentally, the figure of a seven-hooded Nāginī playing on a *vīṇā* discovered at Khiching and identified by Banerjea with Sarasvatī (*DHI*, p. 378, pl. XX, 2) seems to represent Manasā whose affinity with Sarasvatī is articulate in the *dhyānas* of the former (e.g., like Sarasvatī she rides on a swan and carries a *pustaka*).

122 Most of these Mother-and-child compositions belong to the eleventh-thirteenth centuries. Kārttikeya, Gaṇeśa, Navagrahas and a Śivaliṅga do not always simultaneously occur in these slabs. Bhattasali recognises in the relevant scene the representation of the Sadyojāta aspect of Śiva, *op. cit.*, pp. 134 ff. For reproductions of some specimens, see *EISMS*, pls. XLIX b, L, a-d, *JBRS*, XLV, p. 481, *IBBSDM* pl. LIII b. I have traced a good example in the collection of the Mohant of Bodhgaya.

123 *Lalit Kala*, 1-2, 1955-56, pp. 73-74 and pl. XVIII, 1. A few more examples of this type have been recovered from Nagar, the findspot thus presumably being an area of the cult of Mahishamardinī. Similar representations of the divinity of the Kushāṇa age have been found at Mathura and Besnagar (see *JUPHS*, XXII, 1949, pp. 152-59; *PIHC*, 1948, pp. 96-100). All these pre-Gupta icons therefore necessitate the modification of Banerjea's remark that "extant Mahishamardinī images... can hardly be dated before the Gupta period" (*HCIP*, IV, p. 442).

and a few terracotta figurines from Ahichchhatra, all datable to the Gupta period. Thematically, the large number of Mahishamardinī icons found in different parts of India and belonging to different culture-epochs, are divisible into three types: in the first, the buffalo-demon is shown theriomorphically; in the second, in hybrid form; and in the last, in human form. In respect of the expression of the goddess too, such images may be divided into three groups: the first group consists of examples which show the goddess as killing the buffalo-demon either by uplifting him on to her knees and squeezing him by his throat (as in the case of the aforesaid Nagar plaque where the demon is represented in his zoomorphic form) or by thrusting her trident into the body of Mahishāsura (usually in such cases the demon is seen coming out of the decapitated body of the animal); in the second group the deity is portrayed as vigorously fighting with Mahishāsura; and the third group, which comprises sculptures hailing from Tāmilnāḍu, depicts the goddess as standing on the severed head of the buffalo. The number of hands of Devī also vary from two to thirty-two, though images endowed with more than twelve hands are of a late period (see Vol. IV). The extension of the Nagar type is recognised, *inter alia*, in a panel of the Bhumara temple of the Gupta period; here the four-armed goddess has been shown as thrusting the trident into the body of the animal by her front right hand and lifting it by the hind leg with the left; she is carrying a sword and a shield in her rear right and left hands respectively.[124] She has been depicted in a similar manner in the Udayagiri relief, supposedly of the same period, but the artist of this sculpture endowed the goddess with as many as twelve arms with attributes like sword, shield, bow, arrow, club, discus, iguana etc. held in them.[125] Compositions portraying the buffalo-demon in hybrid form constitute the commonest type. Two early and well-known examples of this type are furnished by the Ellora repertory; in one of them Devī is pressing the buffalo with her right foot and thrusting the *triśūla* into its chest, while in the other she has caught the emerging Asura from the severed neck of the buffalo by the

124 Banerjee, R. D., *Siva Temple of Bhumara*, pl. XIV *b*. This relief was once believed to be the oldest representation of Mahishamardinī (*IHQ*, 1945, XXI, pp. 228-29; *ibid.*, 1946, XXII, p. 154).

125 *CASR*, X. The relief, though believed by most scholars as a work of the Gupta period on account of its occurrence in the cave of Chandragupta II (on its wall is inscribed his epigraph), we are inclined to place it in the early mediaeval period. Such multi-armed divine figures in the Gupta or pre-Gupta periods are unknown. The appearance of this sculpture also does not necessarily imply its synchronisation or proximity with the Chandragupta inscription in point of date.

tuft.[126] In a relief of the eighth-century Vaital Deul at Bhuvaneswar the eight-armed Devī is seen chastising the demon by pressing his snout by one of her left hands; her right foot rests on the shoulder of the demon and her lion-mount is biting the right elbow of Mahishāsura.[127] The actual fight between the great goddess and Mahishāsura has been depicted with a dynamic naturalism by an unknown master-sculptor of the Pallava age.[128] The other iconic type showing the goddess as standing on the severed head of buffalo is illustrated by numerous sculptures of the Pallava period, mostly encountered at the rock-cut shrines of Mamallapuram, as for instance, at the Ādivarāha and Trimūrti caves.[129] Significantly, in all these examples Devī holds the Vaishṇava emblems like *śaṅkha* and *chakra* which is only reminiscent of the tradition of her being the younger sister of Vishṇu (*Śilappadikāram*, VI. 59). And this is further corroborated, for instance, by her appearance with Anantaśāyī Vishṇu in the Mahishamardinī cave at Mahabalipuram and the Raṅganātha cave at Singavaram. Another interesting fact deserving notice in this connection is that though such images apparently originated in the South during the Pallava period and continued to be popular in the succeeding culture-epochs in Tamilnāḍu, they were perhaps initially modelled on similar examples, once popular but later disfavoured, in Āryāvarta. The suggestion is made on the basis of a colossal stone image found at Besnagar which shows the six-armed Devī as standing on the severed head of the animal, between two seated lions facing each other in the opposite directions; stylistically this statue belongs to the fifth-sixth century A.D.[130] Another interesting specimen portraying the goddess as chastising the demon in his full human form hails from Jagat (Rajasthan) and has been noted in the next volume.

The present discussion on Devī would be incomplete without a reference to the deities styled Mātṛikās, who happen to constitute a distinct group. Conventionally their number is seven.[131] The Sap-

126 The sculptures are met with at the Kailāsa and Laṅkeśvara cave.

127 *ARB*, fig. 112. Also *HIIA*, fig. 218

128 *AIA*, pl. 284; *HIIA*, fig. 208 A similar sculpture, with minor differences, is encountered at Kailāsa at Ellora, see *AIA*, pl. 210.

129 For some such illustrations, see *EHI*, I, pls. XCIX, CI. There is a fine specimen in the collection of the Boston Museum, see *AIA*, pl. 288.

130 H. N. Dvivedi, *Gwalior Rājya Me Mūrtikalā* (in Hindi), p. 36, fig. 47. The assignment of this sculpture to the Kushāṇa period (*PIHC*. 1948, pp. 96-109) appears to be incorrect.

131 In the Kushāna or the early Gupta period the number of the Mātṛikās was elastic, as Dvi- or Tri Mātṛikā panels would show. It appears to have been stereotyped as seven in the sixth-seventh century A.D. The early Chālukya inscriptions of this period

tamātrikās are the *śaktis* (consorts or energies) of different male deities (sometimes in their different forms as well) like Brahmā, Indra, Skanda-Kumāra, Vishṇu and Śiva (in different aspects of the last two divinities as well). Accordingly they are recognisable by the attributes, mounts and other characteristics of their respective consorts The full-fledged iconic type of the Saptamātṛikā group shows the Mothers each with a baby in her lap (indicative of her Mother aspect), apart from her usual cognisances and *vāhanas*, and the entire group is flanked by Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa on either side. A typical Saptamātṛikā panel consists of the effigies of Brahmāṇī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaishṇavī, Vārāhī, Indrāṇī and Chāmuṇḍā, apart from the aforesaid figures of Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa. It is significant to note here that the earliest illustrations of Saptamātṛikās are without their characteristic faces, attributes and *vāhanas*. This is attested by two panels of the early Kushāṇa period, now on display in the Mathurā Museum; one of them (F. 38) shows the Mothers standing side by side, each exhibiting the *abhayamudrā* and headed by a male attendant to the left, who may be identified with Skanda on account of his long spear (*śakti*); the other specimen (F. 39) portrays five instead of seven Mothers, all seated in *bhadrāsana*, with the right hand of each of them disposed in the *abhayamudrā* and an indistinct object in the left; in this instance also the Mātṛikās are attended by the standing Skanda.[132] Both these specimens thus omit the figure of a child in the lap of each of the Mātṛikās which became a characteristic feature of the Mātṛikā iconography in later days. The earliest illustration of Mātṛikās each with a child is provided by a few fragmentary reliefs (e.g., F. 31 and 34) of the Kushāṇa culture-epoch, now preserved in the Mathurā Museum.[133] A panel of the late Gupta period, also an exhibit (no. 552) of the same museum, depicts Saptamātṛikās standing in a row with legs crossed (an unusual pose); each of them has a child in her left arm, cha-

represent the members of this dynasty as nurtured by the seven Mothers (see *IA*, VI, p. 74; VII, p. 162; XIII, pp. 137 ff). The early Kadambas also worshipped them (see *IA*, VI, p. 27). Neither the author of the Gangdhar inscription of Viśvavarman (A.D. 423-25) nor Varāhamihira, who refers to the Divine Mothers, mentions their number. Utpala, who glossed on Varāhamihira's *Bṛihasaṁhita* in the ninth century; first enumerates Brahmī, Vaishṇavī, Raudrī (i.e., Māheśvari), Kaumārī, Aindrī, Yāmī, Vāruṇī and Kauverī and then alludes to Nārasiṁhī, Vārāhi and Vaināyakī. According to Varāhamihira, 'the Mothers should be shown with the emblems of the gods corresponding to their names'.

132 For illustrations of the slabs (F. 38-39), see *East and West*, 1971, 21, nos. 1-2. figs. 1-2. F. 39 is a Pañchamātṛikā panel.

133 F. 34 which shows the Mothers each with a child is a Trimātṛikā specimen; for its reproduction, *ibid.*, fig. 6.

racterised by her distinctive face, emblems and mounts: Brahmāṇī with three heads (the panel being a relief, the fourth head is absent), a ladle in her right hand and the swan-mount; Māheśvarī with a *triśūla* and her bull-mount; Kaumārī with a *śakti* and her peacock-mount; Vaishṇavī with a mace and a kneeling Garuḍa as her vehicle. Vārāhī with a staff (broken) and a buffalo as her *vāhana* (the concept of Yāmī seemingly coalesced with that of this deity as indicated by the *vāhana* and emblem), Indrāṇī with her elephant-mount, the damaged object in her hand probably being a *vajra;* and lastly Chāmuṇḍā with the figure of a corpse below her seat, a garland of skulls, and emaciated body and sunken belly; Vīrabhadra and Gaṇapati are seen respectively on proper right and left of the Mothers as required by the texts; and thus this relief conforming to the textual prescriptions may be treated as one of the earliest specimens illustrating the full-fledged iconic type of Saptamātṛikās.[134] While in the earlier instances the Mātṛikās appeared in the *sthānaka* or *āsana* poses, in the mediaeval repertoire they are sometimes portrayed as dancing. An eighth-century panel depicting the Mothers as dancing, now on display in the Jaipur Museum, is a relevant example.[135] The earliest representation of the Mātṛikās in the South is met with in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchipuram.[135a]

Independent dancing figures of the Mātṛikās like Vārāhī (in the Udaipur Museum) and Kaumārī (in the Baroda Museum) are not unknown. Attention may also be drawn to a class of Vārāhī images of the early mediaeval period, encountered mostly in Eastern India and occasionally in Rajasthan and Madhyapradesh; in these examples the goddess is significantly characterised by a fish as one of her attributes, the fish being a manifestly Tantric trait (one of the *pañcha makāras* i.e., 'five ecstatic enjoyments' of the Tantric cult, such as *matsya, madya, mudrā* etc.). The colossal image of the two-armed Vārāhī enshrined in the main sanctum of the temple named after her at Chaurasi (Orissa) shows the goddess as carrying in her right hand a fish and in her left hand a wine-cup or *kapāla* (indicative of another *makāra,* viz., *madya*) and as sitting on the back of a crouching buffalo; the image belongs to the tenth century. Similarly, reference may be made to an interesting statue of Indrāṇī, now in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Benares), which shows two rows of eyes above her prominent breast, and it thus answers to her description in texts

134 *Ibid.*, fig. 16.

135 *Ibid.*, fig. 18.

135a A separate shrine in honour of the Saptamātṛikās was erected at Alambakkam, in the Thiruchchirapalli district during the reign of the Pallava King Dantivarman (795-846), see *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1909, no. 705.

as several-eyed (*bahulochanā*) like her spouse. As regards Chāmuṇḍā,[136] it may be mentioned that South Indian icons of the goddess are benign in expression and portray the deity with a well-proportioned body and a *pretakuṇḍala* in her ear. Dancing images of Chāmuṇḍā, like those of Vārāhī and Kaumārī, are also not rare.

GAṆEŚA

Gaṇeśa, variantly, known as Gaṇapati and Vināyaka, is one of the five principal gods of the Hindu pantheon on account of his two-fold aspect: Vighneśvara and Siddhidātā. In the first aspect he creates obstacles (*vighna*), if displeased; while in the second, he bestows success, if propitiated. Hence the Hindus irrespective of caste and creed, invoke him at the beginning of every religious ceremony and on auspicious occasions. The Buddhist and the Jainas also reserve their veneration for the god.

The career of Gaṇeśa seems to have had an humble beginning. The concept and iconic form of the pot-bellied (*lambodara*) and elephant-faced (*gajānana*) Gaṇeśa seem to have grown out of the fusion of cults of an elephant-deity and the pot-bellied Yaksha, which were presumably current among the pre-Aryan and non-Aryan peoples. Incidentally, an old Buddhist text called *Niddesa* alludes to an elephant-deity and the Yakshas named Maṇibhadda, Puṇṇabhadda etc.[136a]

The earliest mention of the word *Gaṇapati* is found in the *Ṛigveda* (II. 23.1), but the word may have been then used in a different sense. The name *Vināyaka* used as a synonym of Gaṇeśa appears in the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* (I. 4.18), a text of the sixth or fifth century B.C.; it refers to the propitiation of Vināyaka through the application of the *Vaināyakī Saṁhitā*. This Vināyaka was probably a deity and not an evil spirit, though his identification with Ganeśa of later times is not certain. The Vināyakas or Gaṇeśvaras, figured in the *Mahābhārata* (XIII. 150.25) and elsewhere, may signify malevolent deities, and the malignant aspects of Pauranic Gaṇeśa as a creator of obstacles appears to be a clear borrowal from the concept of such deities. The Pauranic mythology making Gaṇeśa as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī must have drawn upon earlier sources like the *Atharvaśiras Upanis-*

136 For Chāmuṇḍā and her different forms, see Volume IV.

136a. My contention about the connection of Gaṇeśa with the cult of Yaksha has recently received support from the findings of M. N. Deshpande. In an article in Marathi, published in *Deepavali* (Bombay), 1980, Sri Deshpande has shown that Gaṇapati took the place of Yaksha who was the god of the *sārthavāhas* (traders) and assumed the protective role of the Yaksha and therefore came to be worshipped as *riddhidātā* (bestower of riches) and *siddhidātā* (bestower of success). I am thankful to him for supplying a summary in English of his paper.

had, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Yājñavalkyasmriti* and others which associate Rudra with Vināyaka. The allusion to Rudra as Gaṇapati, that is *pati* or lord of the *gaṇas* or hordes of malignant deities called Maruts in the Vedic literature, may be recalled in this connection. Gaṇeśa-Gaṇapati is thus found to have represented a fusion of diverse elements, some of them being primitive, tribal and certainly age-old.

When exactly the idea of a single god called Gaṇeśa, Gaṇapati or Vināyaka emerged cannot be definitely said. It can be presumed, however, that Ganeśa in some form or other was known at least before the beginning of the Christian era. The prototype of Gaṇeśa, if not the representation of his full-fledged form, is encountered in a freize of Ganas on the Kantaka Chetinga Stūpa near Mihintale in Śrī-laṅka of the first century A.D. One of these Gaṇas 'has the face of an elephant, complete with trunk and tusk'.[137] More complete in iconic form is a stone sculpture of the early Gupta period. Discovered at Mathurā, it shows the pot-bellied god as standing and as two-armed, the right hand probably grasping the tusk and the left one holding the bowl of cakes (*modakabhāṇḍa*).[138] A Bhitargaon terracotta plaque of the sixth century A.D. depicts Gaṇeśa as a flying figure, holding *modakabhāṇḍa* in one of his hands and touching it with his trunk.[139] The two Bhumara sculptures are of much iconographic interest. In one of them Gaṇeśa, seated, wears a chain of bells, besides other ornaments like armlets, bracelets and anklets, also made of bells; one of his hands is broken, the other seems to be in the attitude of holding the usual bowl, now lost.[140] The other sculpture, presumably inspired by contemporary Umā-Maheśvara reliefs, depicts the god with his consort seated on his left lap; of his four hands the upper right carries an axe, the lower right grasps the tusk, the upper left holds a sceptre and the lower left is around the consort.[141] This image is of about the sixth century and is the earliest representation of Gaṇeśa showing him in the company of his consort, probably betraying the influence of Śaktism on it. Together, these two Bhumara sculptures offer a clear articulation of the iconography of the divinity more completely than most other earlier or contemporary images.

Early images of Gaṇesa, except the Bhitargaon example, are divi-

137 Alice Getty, *Gaṇeśa*, pl. 22 c.

138 Another contemporary relief will be found in the Buddhist cave at Lonad near Kalyan (Maharashtra)

139 *ASI*, AR, 1908-09, pp. 10-11, fig. 2.

140 Banerjee, R. D., *Śiva Temple of Bhumara*, pl. XV *a-b*.

141 Getty, *op. cit.*, pl. 3, fig. *a*.

ded into two classes: standing (*sthānaka*) and seated (*āsana*). Later on another class consisting of images depicted in dancing (*nṛitya*) pose, obviously inspired by dancing figures of Śiva, emerged. A fine four-handed statue discovered at Khitching (Orissa) and a two-armed image at Udayagiri (Madhyapradesh) may be reckoned as notable specimens of the *sthānaka* and *āsana* types.[142] The *nṛitya* variety is represented, among others, by an eight-handed image found at Khitching; the front right hand of this dancing image is in the *gajahasta-mudrā*, the other hands are carrying a tusk (a broken one), a rosary, an indistinct object and the *modakabhāṇḍa*, from which one *modaka* or *lauḍḍka* is seen to be lifted by his trunk.[143]

The usual iconographic traits of Gaṇeśa, besides his elephant-face and pot-belly, are two (rarely three) eyes, snake-thread and snake-girdles and the attributes held in different hands, numbering normally four, such as bowl of sweetmeats, axe, rosary, radish, tusk, sceptre, noose, goad, trident, serpent, lotus, bow and arrow. The usual *mudrās* displayed by him are *tarjanī* and *gajahasta*. Radish, tusk, noose, trident, serpent, lotus, bow and arrow are usually found in comparatively late images. To this list of attributes may be added manuscript, which appeared in a period even later, when there was a confusion of the Pauranic Gaṇeśa with the Vedic Gaṇapati-Brihaspati. It is interesting to note here that the malevolent Maruts of the Vedic texts forming a *gaṇa* have axe as a weapon which is also an attribute of Gaṇeśa.

In a full-fledged iconic type, the rat is an almost invariable concomitant of Gaṇeśa. But in all the early images, for instance the Bhumara and the Udayagiri examples, the rat is absent. The rat is a late feature, though here again the inspiration to associate the animal on account of its supposedly venerable character, which is indicated in a tradition recorded in the *Arthaśāstra* (IV. 3), may have been derived from a primitive source. The rat, evidently a totem, was thus adopted. Gaṇeśa's association with the rat, known for its mischievous character, was perhaps suitable to explain the epithet *vighnarāja* applied to the god. By the close of the tenth century the iconography of Gaṇeśa became clear and systematic. In the late mediaeval period variations which occurred were mainly in respect of the number of hands or emblems, or features connected with Tantric ideology.

142 For the Khitching image, *DHI*, frontispiece, and for the Udayagiri specimen, *ibid.*, pl. XV, 1.

143 *Ibid.*, pl. XV

MINOR DEITIES

Brahmā: Brahmā, a Vedic god of great renown, lost his importance and popularity being relegated to the position of a minor deity. Some of the earliest representations of Brahmā are found in the Buddhist reliefs of Gandhāra where he appears either in the Nativity scene of Buddha or independently as one with dishevelled hair, beard and moustache, dressed as a Brahman, carrying a water-vessel in one of his hands. In the Jaina iconography too Brahmā is present as a *Dikpāla* or as a *Yaksha* attendant of the Jina Śītalanātha.

As regards the representation of Brahmā of the Pauranic Brahmanism dating from the third-fourth centuries A.D., mention may be made of a few figures belonging to the Mathurā Museum. These have four- or three- bearded faces. There is, however, a stone image in the same museum which shows the faces without beard; of the faces, three are placed in one line, and the fourth over the central head. A standing image of the god belonging to the same museum shows the god with two hands and three faces, its middle face only being bearded, one of the hands exhibits the *abhayamudrā*.[144] While the Ellora repertory supplies examples of the standing and seated types of the god,[145] an image of the Chālukya period at Aihole shows him as seated astride on the back of a swan (an unusual sitting posture); in the latter he holds a rosary and a manuscript in his two hands (the objects held in the two remaining hands being indistinct) and he is attended by a number of bearded *rishis*, all in bowing and praising poses.[146] A metal image of the sixth or seventh century A.D. from Mirpur Khas in Sind (now in the Karachi Museum) shows all the four faces of the god as beardless; the right hand of the god is bent with the palm turned inwards as if holding a book, the left hand carrying probably a water-vessel as is suggested by a handle.[147] Due to the decline in his position, as already mentioned, Brahmā began to be represented either as an *Āvaraṇa-devatā* or as an attendant in the shrines of Vishṇu and Śiva. Thus figures of Brahmā are found in Vaishnavite and Saivite sculptures such as those illustrated by the Vishṇu-Anantaśayana reliefs or the Liṅgodbhavamūrtis of Śiva.

Kārttikeya: Kārttikeya, also known as Skanda, Kumāra and Subrahmaṇya, could not attain wide popularity and have had a sect of his own. His earliest mention under the name 'Skanda' is perhaps

144 V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art* (Varanasi, 1965), fig. 169.

145 Kailāsa temple, cave 16.

146 *EHI*, II, pl. CXLIV. Another good specimen of the seated variety showing the god with four heads and four arms hails from the Bhumara temple. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, pl. XII b.

147 *DHI*, pl. XLV, 3.

met with in the *Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa* (I.4.18) of the sixth or fifth century B.C. Of his several names as known from subsequent lists, he seems to have been alluded to also in the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* (VII. 26.2) where Sanatkumāra, the counsel of Nārada, has been identified with Skanda. Skanda and Viśākha find separate mention in Patañjali's *Mahābhāshya*, the names apparently representing two different aspects of the same god. A study of different legends about the origin of Skanda-Kārttikeya seems to indicate that a single god emerged out of the fusion of concepts of different gods or godlings of an allied character, mostly belonging to the primitive and tribal world. And with such an unorthodox background Skanda-Kārttikeya also entered the Buddhist and the Jain mythologies and pantheons.

The earliest plastic representation of the god is found on the reverse of a few gold coins of Huvishka with names of Skanda-Kumāra and Viśākha (*Vizago*); while one coin of the same king bear three figures within a frame with the inscription Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena, on others a figure of a two-armed deity carrying a sword and a peacock-standard in its hands, is described as Mahāsena.[148] It therefore stands to reason that Skanda-Kārttikeya is a composite god and in the early part of the second century A.D., or earlier, his different aspects or constituents being in worship in Northern India. To more or less of the same period belong some copper coins found at Ayodhya bearing the motif of a cock-crested column,[149] and a red sandstone cock carved in the round discovered at Lala Bhagat (Kanpur Dt, U.P.).[150] While these antiquities corroborate the literary evidence relating to the connection between the cock and Kārttikeya, it is to be noted that cock or peacock is one of the main cognizances of the god and in later sculptures he is usually found as seated on a peacock.[151] Another special attribute of Kārttikeya is his spear (*śakti*). Thus his effigies with spear and

148 Percy Gardner, *CCBM* (GSK), pl. XXVIII, 22; Whitehead, *CCPM*, p. 207. D. R. Bhandarkar's remark that there were four figures corresponding to four different deities (Carmichael Lectures, 1921, pp. 22-3) does not bear scrutiny. J. N. Banerjea has rightly pointed out that 'if these coins prove anything, they prove that there were three gods—or rather three aspects of the same god—viz., Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena.' *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

149 Smith, *CCIM*, p. 151, nos. 29, 31, 32; Allan, *CCBM*, pl. XVII, 22.

150 For details, see P. K. Agrawala, *Skanda-Kārttikeya* (Varanasi, 1967), pp. 45-46, pls. III-VI. The column with a cock-capital bears on it, among others, the figure of the Sun-god riding on a quadriga, thus emphasising the solar association of Skanda. According to the *Mahābhārata* story (Vanaparva) Skanda came out of the solar orb and was born with the sun-like effulgence.

151 For a discussion on Skanda-Kārttikeya's association with cock and peacock, see Dasgupta, *THAI*, pp. 220-21.

peacock are found on some coins issued by the Yaudheyas and Kumāragupta I. On the specie of this Gupta monarch the god is seated on his mount. But iconographically most interesting representation of Kārttikeya is seen in his six-headed figure appearing on a series of coins of the Yaudheyas, a tribe traditionally known as votaries of the god. The legend on those coins has been read as *Bhagavato svāmino Brahmaṇyadevasya Kumārasya*, '(coin of) Brahmaṇyadeva Kumāra, the worshipful lord.'[152] The six heads of Kārttikeya as found on these coins, as well as in a few sculptures answer to the description of the god with six heads as found in the *Mahābhārata* and elsewhere. As to the other sculptures depicting Kārttikeya, with six heads, mention may be made of a post-Gupta bronze statue, now in the National Museum; in it five heads have been arranged along the borderline of the halo of the central head, all the heads having matted locks.[153] Images of Kārttikeya with one head, either standing or seated, are abundant. Of the standing type, reference may be made to a tenth-century image originally belonging to a Puri temple. This beautiful sculpture shows the god standing in a slightly bent graceful pose, his left hand is placed on a cock (partly broken) which is held upwards by the female attendants on the god's left side, his broken right hand possibly holding a spear; the peacock has turned his head back striding to left.[154] Though normally Kārttikeya is found with two hands, his four-armed figures are also not unknown. An example is furnished by a relief at Ellora which is specially interesting on account of the presence of two animal-headed human figures as the god's attendants—the one on the right being goat-headed standing for the *Chhāgavaktra* aspect of the god, the other on his left possibly bearing the head of a donkey being a *Skanda-Pārishada*.[155] As regards the consort of Kārttikeya, Devasenā or Shashthī is also represented on the coins of the Yaudheyas with six heads like her husband.[156] The one-headed female deity appearing on the Yaudheya coins may also be regarded as the consort of Kārttikeya.[157]

Dikpālas: Next comes a group of deities known as the Dikpālas or Lokapālas ('guardians of the quarters of the world'). Originally their number appears to be four but later on the number was raised

152 For details about these coins, see *THAI*, pp. 202ff, 216ff, 219ff.
153 *East and West*, XVIII, nos. 3-4, 1968, p. 319, fig. 1.
154 *DHI*, pl. XVII, 1.
155 *Ibid.*, p. 367.
156 For the illustration of the six-headed Devasenā, see *THAI*, pp. 203-04, CN 112-18, and for a discussion on her identity, *ibid.*, pp. 221-22.
157 *THAI*, pp. 209-10, CN 128-31.

to eight. These Dikpālas are: Indra, the lord of the east; Agni, of the south-east: Yama, of the south; Nirriti, of the south-west; Varuṇa, of the west; Vāyu, of the north-west; Kubera, of the north and Īśāna, of the north east. Kubera and Īśāna, apparently alluded to in the *Mahābhāshya* under the names *Vaiśravaṇa* and *Śiva* and described as *laukika devatās* (folk gods) therein, may be regarded as deities who came to limelight towards the close of the second century B.C. Barring them the rest find mention in the Vedic literature and of them again Indra, Agni and Vāyu constituted the Trinity in the *Rigveda.* In the Buddhist and Jain traditions too there is a place for the Dikpālas, the number varying in different texts of the respective sects

As in the case of other divinities, the number of hands and the attributes of the eight Dikpālas (*ashṭadikpālas*) vary in different texts. Though mostly the animal-mounts were assigned to them in a late period, each of them has, however, his own special mount. From the textual evidence the Dikpālas are found to have had their respective attributes, mounts and *mudrās*. Indra has the elephant as his *vāhana,* thunderbolt, goad and *kuṇḍi* as attributes, and *abhaya* and *varada* as *mudrās*; Agni's *vāhana* is the ram, and his attributes are *śakti*, lotus and *kamaṇḍalu* and his *mudrā* is *varada;* Yama rides on the buffalo and his attributes are pen, manuscript, cock, staff and noose; Nirriti's *vāhana* is the monkey and he carries *khaḍga, kheṭaka, katri* etc.; Varuna rides on the crocodile and has noose, lotus and *kamaṇḍalu* as attributes and *varada* as *mudrā*; Vāyu's *vāhana* is the antelope and he holds a flag; Kubera has the elephant as his *vāhana* and *gadā, nidhi, bījapura* and *kamaṇḍalu* as his attributes; and lastly, Īśāna, riding on bull, holds *gadā, triśūla*, serpent and *bījapuram.*

One of the earliest representations of Indra has been recognised on a railling at Bhaja where the deity seated on his mount wears a turban.[158] A similar turbaned figure is also depicted in the art of Sanchi. In the arts of Gandhara and Mathurā Indra appears along with Brahmā as an acolyte of Buddha. The trend to illustrate the scene of Indra's visit to Buddha in the Indraśālaguhā and thereby to associate him with Buddha in these arts may also be mentioned in this connection. Indra along with a few other Dikpālas make their appearance on the basement wall of the monument at Paharpur[159] where he is seen standing before his elephant-mount, and is exhibiting *vara* in his right hand and an indistinct object (citrus?) in the left; he is endowed with his characteristic third eye placed hori-

158 *AIA*, fig. 42.

159 K. N. Dikshit, *Excavation at Paharpur* (*MASI*, 55), pl. XXVII d. It is to be noted that at Paharpur the Dikpālas are not always seen in their respective canonical

zontally on the forehead. Agni, whose earliest representation is figured on the coins of the Pañchāla ruler named Agnimitra of the first century B.C.[160], appears at Paharpur with an *aksha-sūtra* and a *kuṇḍikā* in his hands and with flames surrounding his body; like Indra he is also standing, but his *vāhana* is absent.[161] In a medallion from the Bhumara temple Yama appears with his *daṇḍa,* though his *vāhana* is absent.[162] Another figure on the Paharpur basement wall, usually identified with Varuṇa, is actually a representation of Vāyu, since what is regarded as the *pāśa* is the characteristic bellowing scarf of Vāyu, the ends of which he is holding in his two hands.[163] Incidentally, the manner in which the deity holds the ends of his bellowing scarf is reminiscent of that of the Zoroastrian wind-god, Vāta (OADO), who is figured on the coins of Kaṇishka and Huvishka.[164] In Orissa the Dikpālas first appear on the *jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvneswar, each in an independent panel, though not in their respective positions.[165] They are sculptured in their appropriate positions and with their characteristic attributes and *vāhanas* in later temples, such as the Rājarāṇī and the Brahmeśvara (see Vol. IV).

The Navagrahas, who are still venerated in different parts of India, are Sūrya (Sun), Soma (Moon), Maṅgala (Mars), Budha (Mercury), Brihaspati (Jupiter), Śukra (Venus), Śani (Saturn), Rāhu and Ketu. In some texts[166] they have been assigned chariots and/or animal-mounts. Their attributes and other characteristics also vary in different texts. One of them prescribes the following attributes in

positions. The image of Indra has thus been put on the basement of the south-eastern side. At Bhumara the deity appears in his appropriate position. For a noteworthy seated specimen of Indra, see *AIA*, pl. 242.

160 *Comp. History of India*, II, pl. VII, fig. 3; *CCBM*, AI, pl. XXVIII, 8, 13, 14, etc; *CCIM*, pl. XXII.1. Mme. Bazin Foucher interprets this figure as Bhūmināga and recognises him also on the coins of Bhūmimitra of Pañchāla. *Etudes d'Orientalisme*, Musee Guimet, I, p. 145.

161 Dikshit, K. N., *op. cit.*, pl. XXXII b. Here Agni appears on the south-eastern wall in keeping with the textual prescription. The mutilated figure to his right may be identified with his consort Svāhā.

162 Banerjee, R. D., *Śiva Temple at Bhumara* (*MASI*, 16), pl. XII c.

163 K. N. Dikshit, op. cit., pl. XXXII a. Dikshit identified this figure with Yama and S. K. Saraswati (*Early Sculpture of Bengal,* Calcutta, 1962, p. 72) with Varuṇa. The *Vishṇudharmottaram* (III. 58. 1-2) passage on which our identification is based runs as follows : *Vāyava-pūritavastraścha dvidbhuja rūpa saṁyutah kāryo gṛhīta-vastrāntah karābhyāṁ pavano dvija.*

164 *CCBM*, GSK, pl. XXVII, 6; *CCPM*, pls. XVIII, 83, 91, X-XX, 155.

165 *ARB*, pp. 70-71.

166 Cf. the *Matsya-* and *Vishṇudharmottara -purāṇas* and the *Aparājita-prichchhā* and *Silparatna.*

the hands of the Planets:[167] *padma* and *khadga* of Ravi, *kuṇḍikā* and *japamālā* of Soma, *śakti* and *akshamālā* of Maṅgala, *chāpa* and *aksha* of Budha, *kuṇḍi* and *akshamālā* of Bṛihaspati and Śukra, *kiṅkiṇī* and *sūtra* of Śani, *ardhachandra* of Rāhu, and *khaḍga* and *dīpa* of Ketu. Representations of Navagrahas are usually encountered on the lintels or architraves above the doorways of the temples. A fragmentary panel from Sarnath, now in the Indian Museum, is perhaps the earliest representation of these Grahas. Assignable to the Gupta period, it now contains the figures of Bṛihaspati, Śukra, Śani and Rāhu, all being two-armed; the first three of them are seen gracefully standing, each having a halo behind his head and an *akshamālā* in his right hand; the left hands of Bṛihaspati and Śukra carry in each case a water-vessel, while that of Śani, being broken, makes it impossible to determine the emblem held in his relevant hand; the awe-inspiring Rāhu has been shown only up to the breast and his hands are disposed in the *tarpaṇa-* or *añjali- mudrā*, the relief ends with Rāhu and hence it is presumable that Ketu lately appeared in the group, at least icono-plastically.[168] That the representation of Navagrahas in art is later than the Ashṭagrahas seems to be borne out, *inter alia*, by the Orissan examples, the earlier of which omit Ketu. The slabs of the Śatrūghneśvara and Paraśurāmésvara temples carrying the effigies of eight Planets which antedate the Navagraha panels of the eleventh century Liṅgarāja temple, for instance, will substantiate the point.[169] Another interesting fact is that in some mediaeval illustrations the Navagrahas are preceded by Gaṇapati (e.g., the relief found at Kankanadighi, 24 Parganas, now in the Asutosh Museum, cf. Vol. IV). As regards their stance, the Planets are usually shown as standing, though specimens depicting them as seated are not altogether rare.[170] Similarly, panels showing the Planets with mounts, which are later than those without *vāhanas*, are also known.

Mention may be made of a few other groups of deities like the Ashṭa Vasus, Ekādaśa Rudras and Dvādaśādityas. The earliest representation of all these three groups are met with in the famous Varāhāvatāra relief at Udayagiri. All of them have been recognised among the figures arranged in three registers on Varāha-Vishṇu's left. The top register consists of twenty-two figures, of which the first two are Brahmā and Śiva, while the twelve reliefs immediatly follow-

167 *Agnipurāṇa* (Vaugavasi edition), ch. 51.

168 *DHI*. pl. XXXI. fig. 1.

169 *ARB*, pp. 26-28. Ashtagraha slab of the Śatrūghneśvara temple is now in the Orissa State Museum.

170 Cf. the aforesaid Ashṭagraha slab of the Śatrūghneśvara where the deities have been shown as seated.

ing them and showing circular halos with a row of radiating lines near the edge signify sun's rays and thus represent Dvādaśādityas; while the remaining eight figures of this first register may be identified with Ashṭa-Vasus, the first eleven figures in the second row, all ithyphallic and distinguished from the remaining nine of the line, collectively stand for Ekādaśa Rudras.[171] Aja-Ekapāda, one of these Rudras, appears not unoften in the mediaeval art. One of his earliest representations is supplied by a rare terracotta relief recovered from Rangmahal (Rajasthan), now on display in the Bikaner Museum; in this early Gupta relief the deity is shown as one-legged and goat-headed and as carrying a basket of flowers in his left hand and raising his right hand upwards.[172] Separate images of Ādityas are rare, but examples showing eleven Ādityas together with Sūrya, also an Aditya, thus making up the requisite number, have been reported from different parts of India.

Before we pass on to the semi-divine beings like Yakshas, Nāgas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras etc., mention may be made of two deities of lesser note. Images of Revanta, the son of Sūrya and Saṁjñā, and also the king of the Guhyakas (hosts), are encountered in different parts of India. A fifth-century headless image of the god from Nagari (Rajasthan) shows him on a horse-back with his left hand pulling the bridle and the right bearing a cup of wine; he is accompanied by his attendants (one of them is holding an umbrella over him) and a dog is seen near his right foot.[173] Another example of about the seventh century, found at Tumain, depicts, in addition to the usual features, flying celestials, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and other divinities on either side of Revanta.[174] Kāmadeva, the god of love, perhaps appeared for the first time in a terracotta plaque (now in the Mathura Museum) of the first century A.D., in it he is seen standing in a flowery field with a sheaf of arrows in the right hand and a long sugarcane bow in the left;[175] later he usually appeared with his consorts, Rati and Trishṇā, as instanced by a Patna Museum specimen (exhibit no. 6046) of about the tenth century, where these ladies are depicted as dancing with their hands locked above their heads.

171 *JAS*, V, 1963, pp. 100 ff.

172 *Lalitkala*, 8, pl. 24, fig. 15. Also *Bharatiya Vidya*, XX-XXI, 1960-61, pp. 306-07 pl. VIII.

173 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Archaeological Remains and Excavations at Nagari* (*MASI*, IV), 1920, pp. 125-26, pl. XV b. The absence of any figure in Rao's book may be explained by the extreme paucity of images of Revanta in South India.

174 *East and West*, nos. 1-2, March-June, 1973, p. 161, fig. 14.

175 For this terracotta figure, see V. S. Agrawala, *Indian* Art, p. 316, fig. 241. Kāmadeva appears with his consorts, for instance, on the walls of the Śiśireśvara and Uttareśvara temples at Bhuvaneswar.

The Hindus have also reserved their veneration for the Nāgas and demi-gods (*devayoni*) like the Yakshas, Vidyādharas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras and Apsaras. They even respect Rākshasas and imps and evil spirits like Kabandhas and Kumbhāṇḍas, all of whom figure not infrequently in early Indian literature and can be collectively described as Vyantara Devatās (intermediate divinities), to borrow an expression from the Jaina canonical literature.[176] The worship of such Vyantara Devatās was widespread before the systematisation of the Brahmanical pantheon and the Buddhists and Jainas also held them in esteem. Of them the Yakshas and Nāgas appear to have constituted the most important group. A typical Yaksha is pot-bellied (*tuṇḍila*) and wears long waist and chest-bands and broad breast-chain (*graiveyaka*), among others; and as illustrations mention may be made of statues discovered at Parkham (near Mathura), Patna and Pawaya (near Gwalior); carved in the round, these massive and noteworthy sculptures belong to the Maurya-Śuṅga period.[177] Yakshas also appear in early Buddhist art of India as represented by the relics of Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati and the accompanying identificatory labels give their names, such as Virūḍhaka, Kubera, Gāṅgeya, Supravāsa, Sūchīloma and Chandramukha. Yakshiṇīs, like their consorts, were also depicted in early Indian art, representative examples being the free-standing sculptures discovered at Besnagar and Didarganj (near Patna); datable to the Śuṅga period they express charmingly the female beauty and feminine qualities, and of them the Didarganj statue, which is much better preserved, shows the Yakshiṇi with a *chowri* in her left hand[178] Many terracotta figurines of the Maurya-Śunga period unearthed at various sites also portray the Yakshiṇīs, one of the best hailing from Tamluk (West Bengal),

176 The Vyantara Devatās of the Jaina texts are Piśāchas, Bhūtas, Yakshas, Rākshasas, Kimpurushas, Mahoragas (Nāgas) and Gandharvas. The Buddhist works (e.g., the *Niddesa*) also refer to most of them, in addition to Vāsudeva, Baladeva, Agni, Chandra, Sūrya etc. In the *mantra* which the Hindus recite in the *tarpaṇa* and *śraddha* homage is paid to most of these semi-divine beings.

177 Figures of these Yakshas are reproduced in many books on Indian art. For Parkham Yaksha, *Comp. History of India*, II, pl. XXXVII, Patna Yaksha, *ibid.*, Pawaya Yaksha, *ibid.*, pl XL. Reference may be made to a Trimukha Yaksha found at Rajghat and now on display at Bharat Kala Bhavan. cf. *Chhavi* (Golden Jubilee Volume of the Museum), p. 342, figs. 491-94. For a few other Yaksha figures see Agrawala, *SIA*, pp. 133-36.

178 Like the above-noted Yaksha sculptures the present Yakshiṇī figures are also reproduced in many works on Indian art. However, for Besnagar Yakshiṇi see *Comp. History of India*. II, pl. XXXVIII, and Didarganj Yakshini, *ibid.*, pl. XLI There is a Śālabhañjikā type of Yakshiṇī sculpture in the National Museum; found at Meharauli, this is contemporaneous with the Besnagar and Didarganj Yakshiṇīs.

now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.[179] As in the case of Yakshas, the art of Bharhut and cognate repertories has supplied us with names of several Yakshiṇīs, such as Chandrā, Sudarśanā, Kshudrakokā, Mahākokā and Śrīmā (the prototype of Śrī-Lakshmī *ante*, p. 890); each of them has distinctive traits, as for instance, Chandrā stands on a horse-faced *makara* and Sudarśanā on a *makara* with a rhinoceros-face.

The earliest evidence of the age-old Nāga cult is perhaps furnished by two seals unearthed at Mohenjo-daro. Both of them bear figures of a deity seated in the *yoga* posture flanked by two kneeling figures with serpentine features, though it is not clear whether the snake-body is attached to their back.[180] Some of the early representations of the Nāgas of the historic period include the figures mentioned as Elāpatra and Chakravāka in the accompanying inscriptions on the Bharhut railings; both of them are all human, except the five snake-hoods attached behind their heads and they have been shown in the *namaskāra mudrā* in honour of the Buddha.[181] Of the several Nāga images, hailing mostly from the Mathurā region and datable to the Kushāṇa period, that from Chhargaon is justly famous; in it the seven hoods of the serpent form a part of a complete serpent whose coils can be seen at the front and at the back of the sculpture; the dual nature of the serpent-deity is manifest in the human figure standing in front of a polycephalous serpent.[182] Nāginīs are seen not unoften with the Nāgas and as illustrations mention may be made of the queen and daughter of Elāpatra depicted in the aforesaid Bharhut relief; like Elāpatra they are all human, but each with only one hood. That the Nāga cult lately dwindled in importance is apparent from the fact that in the Gupta and later periods the Nāgas and Nāginīs appeared in the role of accessories to the higher cult-gods, specially Vishṇu. Śesha, the chief of the Nāgas, and/or his consort are portrayed in the Varāhāvatāra representations, each with his and/or her upper part as that of a human being and the lower that of a serpent.[183]

179 *JISOA*, X, 1942, pp. 94-102, pl. IX. Saraswati, *ESB*; pp. 98 ff; 110 ff; fig. 38.

180 Marshall, *MIC*, III, pls. CXVI, fig. 29 and CXVIII, fig. 11.

181 Barua, *Bharhut*, III, pl. LXI, fig. 69. Also *Comp. History of India*, II, pl. X, middle register of the first slab.

182 J. Ph. Vogel, *Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, pp. 88-89; also Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, p. 42, pl. V a-b. The sculpture was carved in the 40th year of the Kushāṇa king Huvishka. For a similar Nāga image found at Nagaria near Mathura, see Agrawala, *SIA*, p. 173. It may be noted that Mathurā was a very important centre of the Nāga cult, which was widespread in the centuries immediately preceding and succeeding the Christian era.

183 Cf. the Udayagiri Varāhāvatāra relief, *AIA*, pl. 109.

The Vidyādharas, Gandharvas and Kinnaras constitute a group, as it were. Generally the Vidyādharas are human in appearance, whereas the Gandharvas are hybrid; the upper half of the Gandharvas are human with wings attached to their shoulders and the lower half bird-like. They appear as attendants of the central cult-deity (or his emblem) either with garlands in their hands or in the act of throwing flowers on him. They are encountered in the art of Bharhut, Sanchi and Amaravati of the second-first century B.C., as well as in the Mathurā repertory of the early centuries of the Christian era. In the Mathurā art of the Kushāṇa age the Vidyādharas have been sought to be distinguished from the Gandharvas, as exemplified by the figuration of the Vidyādharas on the top portion of the *prabhāvali* of the Katra Buddha.[184] The same practice was followed in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, when, however, an advancement was noticed in the simultaneous depiction of the male and female Vidyādharas, the male ones occasionally carrying swords in their hands.[185] The artists of the Gupta and the post-Gupta periods portrayed the Gandharvas as well; instead of showing them in the flying pose they depicted the hybrid Gandharvas as playing on musical instruments just above the *makara* motif on either side of the principal figure. Such male and female Gandharvas are often seen in the art of the times, as for instance in the frescoes of Ajanta. Mythologically, the Kinnaras are, like the Gandharvas, divine musicians and they have either a horse's head with a human body or a human bust with a horse's body. And with Gandharvas and other demi-gods they figure in early Indian art of Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodh-gaya etc.[186] A noteworthy specimen of a Kinnara couple is furnished by a medallion from the Deogarh temple in which each of them is human, except the bird-like feet and the wings attached to the upper part of the human body; besides they have interesting goggle eyes.[187] The Apsarās have no distinctive characteristics and they are sought to be depicted as exquisite damsels in Indian art from early times. Names of some of these Apsarās have come down to us from the inscriptions which accompany their dancing figures in the art of Bharhut, as for instance, Miśrakeśī, Alambushā, Subhadrā and Padmāvatī. Impish spirits like the Kabandhas and Kumbhāndas (Kushmāṇdas?) are also met with in early Indian art, as for instance, in the arts of Amarāvatī, Gandhāra and Mathurā. Kabandhas are endowed with an additional head on their belly, while the Kumbhāṇdas have testicles like pitchers (*kumbha-mushka*). The latter are found in

184 *Ibid.*, pl. 71.
185 Cf. a ceiling medallion at Badami datable to the 6th-7th century, *AIA*, pl. 135.
186 Agrawala, V. S., *Indian Art*, figs. 27 b-d. 187 *DHI*, pl. XVI, fig. 1.

the Mathurā art in particular. Garuḍa, the mount of Vishṇu, may also be assigned to the class of the demi-gods, but for his esteemed position on account of his close association with a major Hindu god, he has been discussed along with Vishṇu (*supra*, p. 872).

The practice of worshipping village godlings is seemingly of a remote antiquity. It is as old as the Indus civilization, as far as can be reasonably conjectured. Numerous images of such village deities are encountered even now and one of these deities, once widely worshipped in the South, was Jyeshṭhā and in respect of popularity she came close to other divinities of the orthodox pantheon (*ante*, p. 892). As the effigies of these village godlings are mostly late, they need not be discussed here. Images of a few other semi-divine beings includes the figures of the Dvārapālas (under the names such as Chaṇḍa, Prachaṇḍa, Jaya, Vijaya etc.) and Dvārapālikās, carved on the walls of the entrances into the shrines of the male and female deities respectively; they display the characteristics of the respective principal divinities, whose temples they guard. Apart from saints and sages, such as Agastya, Nārada, Bhṛigu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vaśishṭha and Viśvāmitra (the last-named one is distinctively figured on some coins of the Audumbara tribe of the first century A.D.), who mostly appear as attendants of the central deities like Vishṇu and Śiva, cult-icons of eminent religious reformers like Śaṅkarāchārya, Rāmānujāchārya, Mādhavāchārya and Śrī-Chaitanya, who are also available.

SYNCRETISTIC DEITIES

The present discussion on Brahmanical iconography would be incomplete without a reference to the group of composite and syncretistic icons illustrating the rapprochement among different Brahmanical sects themselves as well as between Brahmanical creeds and Buddhism or Jainism. Thus in spite of occasional rivalry and jealousy among the Brahmanical cults or among the Brahmanical and Buddhist sects, which finds expression in some Brahmanical and Buddhist icons such as Nṛisiṁhāvatāra, Śarabhesha, Ekapāda, Trimūrti and Hari-Hari-Hari-vāhanodbhava Lokeśvara, followers of diverse sects maintained in general cordial relations among themselves.[188] This spirit of reconciliation was but natural in the thought-life of a people which was permeated by an underlying monotheism going back to the age of the *Rigveda* (cf. the observation *ekaṁ sat viprā bahudhā vadanti*, I. 164. 46: that is, the sages call him—the sun-god in the present context—under different names). The elemental cult-syncretism manifest in the system of worship known as Pañchāyatana pūjā

188 For discussion on Śarabheśa, Trimūrti and Hari-Hari-Hari-Vāhanodbhava, see Volume IV.

which was evolved by the Smārta Hindus in the early centuries of the Christian era received an impetus from the early immigrants into India, such as the Śakas, Pahlavas, Kushāṇas and Hūṇas, all of whom had an eclectic bent of mind. In fact, some of the earliest examples illustrating this syncretistic tendency belong to them. In this connection mention may be made of a gold coin of Huvishka which bears on its obverse the figure of the three-headed and ithyphallic Śiva with the *chakra* of Vishṇu held in one of its hands and thus it may be justly described as the prototype of the composite Hari-Hara icons of later days.[189] A noteworthy representation of Hari-Hara of about five centuries later has been met with at Badami; in it the composite god carries a battle-axe with a snake entwined round it and a conch-shell (the respective *lāñchhanas* of Śiva and Vishṇu) in his rear hands and places his front left hand on hip (the front right hand is damaged); the Hari (left) and Hara (right) halves appear to have been clearly demarcated by the *jaṭā*-and *kirīṭa mukuṭas* as well as the *sarpa-* and *makara- kuṇḍalas* respectively and this demarcation is further accentuated by the presence of the bull-faced Nandī and Pārvatī on the right and Garuḍa and Lakshmī on the left.[190] One of the earliest effigies of Ardhanārīśvara, now in the Mathurā Museum, illustrative of the combination of the Śiva and Pārvatī (i.e., of Śaivism and Śāktism), shows the composite divinity holding a round mirror in the left hand and exhibiting the *abhayamudrā* in the right, the Pārvati or the female half having been expressed in the swollen bosom. The Ardhanārīśvara figures at the caves of Badami and Ellora are four-armed, carrying attributes like *paraśu, kamala, darpaṇa* etc. It may be noted incidentally that in examples obtained from Northern and Eastern India the composite deity is characterised by the *ūrdhva-liṅga* (*penis erect*) feature; one of the earliest of them is carved on the north wall of the Siṁhanātha temple at Baramba (Cuttack, Orissa).[191] Iconographically the most notable Ardhanārīśvara type is perhaps represented by the so-called Trimūrti icons, of which the most eminent is encountered at the Elephanta; this eighth-century example portrays the placid and terrific aspects (the front and right faces respectively) of Śiva as well as the face of Pārvatī (the left one); the composite god holds serpent rosary, *mātuluṅga* and a lotus in the

189 *CCBM*, GSK, pl. XXVIII, 16.

190 *DHI*, p. 546, pl. XLVI, fig. 3.

191 Ardhanārīśvara seems to have been alluded to in the *Vishṇudharmottaram* (III. 55-58) as Gaurīśvara. South Indian images like those of the Mahabalipuram and Kanchipuram do not show the *ūrdhavaliṅga* feature. In some later specimens (e.g., one at Kumbhakonam) the composite deity in endowed with three instead of four or more than four hands. An interesting dancing Ardhanārīśvara image can be seen at the base of the *Jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneswar.

four out of his six hands, the objects held in his other two hands being indistinct.[192] A similar image, but smaller in dimension, is encountered in a niche on the eastern wall of the Mukhalingeśvara temple at Mukhalingam (Srikakulam, Andhra Pradesh); this also belongs to the eighth century. The positions of the *ghora* face of Śiva and the face of Pārvatī are reversed in some instances, one of which has been found at Dandan-uiliq (Khotan); the Khotanese piece represents the painted version of the Ardhanārīśvara theme.[193] Images illustrating the combination of Śiva and Sūrya are also available, though they are not as prolific as the Hari-Hara and Ardhanārīśvara figures. Usually known as Mārttaṇḍa-Bhairava, the composite god is represented by a few such examples, most of which, being late, are reserved for discussion in the next Volume. Similarly, icons illustrating the syncretism between Sūrya and Vishṇu and Sūrya and Brahmā are also available and they will also be discussed in the succeeding Volume.

Before closing this section, mention may be made of the specimens exemplifying the syncretism between the cults associated with more than two divinities. In some of them Hari-Hara and Pitāmaha (i.e., Brahmā) are portrayed together, while in others either four or all the five deities of the Brahmanical pentad are represented. Dattātreya, the other name of the combined form of Hari, Hara and Pitāmaha, figures in the elaborate list of the Avatāras of Vishṇu and is represented, *inter alia*, by two sculptures. Of them the first, obtained from Katara (Rajasthan) and now on display in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, shows Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva with his consort Pārvatī in one line, all being seated: the three-faced Brahmā (his back face is invisible in the relief) is carrying a manuscript and a vessel in his left hands while his right hands are broken and below his seat is a couple of swans; the central figure is of Vishṇu who is being seen uplifted by his mount, Garuḍa, and of his four hands the only surviving upper left holds a *chakra*; the remaining left portion of the slab is occupied by Śiva along with his consort sitting on his left thigh and the divine couple is seated on the bull-mount, the upper left hand

192 *AIA*, pls. 253-55. Rao described this image as Sadāśiva-mūrti (*op. cit.*, II, pp. 382-83). For its correct description credit goes to J. N. Banerjea (*Arts Asiatiques*, II, 2, 1955, pp. 120-26; *Sundaram*, a now-defunct Bengali art journal, 1957-58, special number, pp. 163-68). For a slightly earlier image of similar nature at Ellora, see Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pl. LXXV, fig. 2.

193 Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia*, I, p. 129; *HIIA*, fig. 285. Now in the British Museum, this painted panel shows the four-armed composite deity as ithyphallic and as seated on a cushion which rests on a couple of bulls; the central face of the god which is moustached is blue, the right face white and the left face yellow.

of Śiva going round the neck of his spouse (his other hands are damaged); the bottom register of this composition of the ninth-tenth century contains six figures of which Gaṇeśa and Bhriṅgi are recognisable.[194] The second slab hailing from Jagesvar (in the Kumaon district, U.P.), more or less contemporaneous with the preceding relief, depicts the deities in the standing posture with their respective characteristics, all of them being four-armed.[195] A syncretistic icon of the tenth or perhaps of the eleventh century on the wall of a small shrine near the Lakshmaṇa temple at Khajuraho shows an eight-armed composite deity combining Sūrya, Vishṇu, Śiva and Brahmā; the emblems and the *mudrā* displayed by different hands are the twin lotuses (distinctive of Sūrya), *akshasūtra*, *sarpa*, *kamaṇḍalu*, *śaṅkha* and *varamudrā*, one of the hands being broken.[196] No less interesting are the phallic emblems which bear on them the effigies of different divinities. One of them, now in the Indian Museum, has on it the figures of Gaṇapati, Vishṇu, Pārvatī and Sūrya and thus it symbolises the syncretism of all the five major Brahmanical deities, the Śivalinga itself standing for the central god, Śiva. A similar phallic emblem, now in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, carries on it three-faced Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śiva and Sūrya; unlike the previous one it has the figures of Brahmā and Śiva in places of Gaṇapati and Pārvatī, the appearance of Śiva in his human form thus endowing the object with the character of the Mukhaliṅga as well.[197]

Syncretism took place also between Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, and images illustrating the phenomenon are not uncommon. In the statues styled Vishṇu-Lokeśvara, Śiva-Lokeśvara and Sūrya-Lokeśvara a small effigy of the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha on the top of the crown of the Brahmanical deity in each case is met

194 *CGRMA*, p. 23, pl. V. Rao who also noticed this relief describes it as a 'remarkable piece of sculpture', *op. cit.*, I, p. 254. If this sculpture is described as Dattātreya, an incarnatory form of Vishṇu (note that the principal figure is of Vishṇu), the attendant figures are to be regarded as his Brahmā and Śiva aspects. There is another specimen in the same museum in which the three god-concepts seen to have been fused into one; the figure carries in its hands the *śūla*, the *chakra*, the *kamaṇḍalu* and the *akshamālā* (?) and on its pedestal are carved the *padma*, the Garuḍa and the bull, the respective emblems of Brahmā, Vishnu and Śiva.

195 K. P. Nautiyal, *Archaeology of Kumaon*, Varanasi, 1969, fig. 67.

196 Urmila Agarwal, *Khajuraho Sculptures and their Significance*, Delhi, 1964, fig. 67.

197 *CGRMA*, p. 16, pl. II. The topmost part of this Śivaliṅga bears four busts with matted hair on four sides, the figures of Brahmā, Vishṇu, etc. are just beneath these busts. Like the Indian Museum specimen this also belongs to the late Gupta period.

with All such statues, being mostly late, are reserved for discussion in the next Volume. As Jainism is more affiliated to Hinduism than Buddhism, many of the subsidiary members of the Jaina pantheon are direct borrowals or the Jaina versions of the Brahmanical divinities. The Dikpālas, the Yaksha and Yakshiṇī attendants of the Tīrthaṅkaras and the Śruta- or Vidyā- Devīs as well as the deities like Hariṇegameshi, Ambikā and Kushmāṇḍinī articulate the syncretism between Hinduism and Jainism.

BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY

Gautama Buddha entered the Mahāparinirvāṇa in or around 486 B.C. But a few more centuries were required for the emergence of a regular cult and a system of iconography centering round him. The tradition that Buddha allowed to make his image from his shadow fallen on a piece of cloth to the painters employed by Bimbisāra is late, but it anticipates the need for a cult object to represent the living figure of the Master.[198] The first datable image of the Buddha belongs to the reign of the great Kushāṇa emperor, Kanishka (78-102) and it is reasonable to believe that the devotees of the Master, who looked on him as a transcendental being, did not like his representation in human form. Whenever they wanted to portray him, they did it by some symbol, e.g., the wheel, the *triratna*, the throne, the Bodhi tree, the *stūpa* and the footprints.[199] This is clearly attested by the remains of Bharhut, Sanchi, Bodhgayā and Amarāvatī of the second-first century B.C. Anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha does not seem to have emerged in Indian art much before the middle of the first century A.D.

Buddhist iconography was perhaps first articulated in the art of Aśoka. The free-standing pillars with animal-capitals at places to Basarh, Samkissa, Lauriya-Nandangarh, Rampurva, Sarnath etc., as well as the elephant-sculpture at Dhauli and the drawing of an

198 A similar tradition has it that a sandalwood statue of the Buddha was carved during his life-time. This image has been attributed by Fa-hien to Prasenajit of Śravastī (Legge's translation, p. 56) and by Hiuen-tsang to Udayana of Kauśāmbi, whose example was imitated by Prasenajit (Julien's translation, I. pp. 283, 296, Beal's *Records* I, pp. xliv and 235; II. p. 4).

199 Coomaraswamy has discussed the part played by symbolism in early Buddhist art in his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*. It is to be noted here that in the Jātaka illustrations, Bodhisattva appears as a human being, when the story relates to his human form in some of his previous births. This may be exemplified by a fragment of railcoping of Bharhut depicting the *Vessantara Jātaka* (*HIIA*, fig. 47). Symbolism persisted even in the iconic phase of Buddhist art in later days.

elephant on the north face of a rock at Kalsi, are confined to the depiction of four animals, viz., lion, bull, elephant and horse, all of which are mythologically connected with the Buddha. As regards the wheel, another characteristic element of Asokan art, it may be suggested that the wheels, each with 24 spokes, on the abacus of the Sarnath capital stands for *dharmachakras* which the Buddha set rolling to four quarters. Again, a big wheel originally crowning the lion capital at Sarnath consisting of 32 spokes may be regarded as symbolising the Master himself, the very embodiment of his *dharmaśarīra* endowed with 32 chief signs of the Supreman (*mahāpurushalakshaṇas*). This explanation of the character of Asokan art seems to get further support from the art of Śrī-laṅkā, origins of which are linked with Buddhism; while in Śrī-laṅkā the same animals are found carved on some early moon-stones as well as on some pillars discovered at old sites like Anuradhapura, bronze figures of these quadrupeds have been recovered at the cubical cells of the eighth-century Vijayārāma monastery. This will appear to be a natural phenomenon if viewed against the background of the religious faith of Aśoka which was undeniably Buddhism. Moreover, in consideration of the prevailing psychological climate which enjoined the presence of the Buddha in plastic activities only through symbols, the art of Aśoka characterised mainly by the said animal figures and marked conspicuously by the absence of the human figure of the Master, seems to have been the legitimate predecessor of Buddhist art of Bharhut-Sanchi-Bodhgayā-Amarāvatī.[200]

The subject-matter of the carvings on the railings and gateways of the stūpas at Bharhut, Sanchi etc., includes, *inter alia*, scenes from the Jātakas and from the life of the Blessed One as well as the symbolic representations of the Mānushī Buddhas who flourished before Gautama Buddha. The stories of the Jātakas dwelling on the numerous previous births of Gautama either as a man or as a lower animal appear to have been popular with the common masses, as evidenced by their depiction in the art of Bharhut-Sanchi-Bodhgayā-Amarāvatī. Some of these Jātakas, as for example, the Vessantara Jātaka, earned popularity even outside India. The tone of the Jātakas is edifying: Gautama in each of his previous births as Bodhisattva (one who possesses the essence of Buddha and is in process of ob-

200 See the author's article, 'Asokan Art—why and how far Buddhist', *PIHC*, XXX, 1969, pp. 56-60. Evidence of Buddhist art of pre-Aśokan days is untraceable, presumably because plastic efforts in those days were made in perishable media like wood, clay, cloth etc. During the reign of Aśoka, too, such impermanent materials were in use, particularly among the masses.

taining Buddhahood), whether in the form of a man or of a bird or of a beast, spared no pains to qualify himself for the attainment of Buddhahood by performing noble deeds, sometimes even at the cost of his life. Thus in the *Mahākapi Jātaka*[201] the Bodhisattva, is portrayed as making a great sacrifice by forming with the help of his body a bridge over the Gaṅgā for the escape of his fellow monkeys, when they were attacked by the king of Vārāṇasī and his retinue; as the story goes, the monkeys safely landed on the other bank, but the last one (his rival Devadatta in previous birth), out of animosity, violently jumped on his back and thus killed him. As a six-tusked elephant, in the *Chhaddanta Jātaka*,[202] Bodhisattva gave his life out of compassion for the royal hunter by allowing the latter to saw off his own tusks. In the *Vessantara Jātaka*[203] the Bodhisattva appears as a generous prince of the Śibi kingdom, who not only gave away the rain-producing elephant to the drought-stricken people of Kaliṅga, but also went to the extent of sacrificing his wife and children to the supplicants. All such popular Jātakas are depicted in the art of Bharhut, Sanchi etc., with varying degrees of details. The Jātakas, in the Sanchi art, for instance, are treated in some detail and not summarily as in the representations at Bharhut. The Sanchi and Bodhgaya reliefs are mostly without any identificatory labels, while the majority of the Bharhut representations are accompanied by such labels. In the art of Amarāvatī some of the Jātaka scenes, are condensed, some are detailed Quantitatively, the representations of the Jātakas at Bharhut are more prolific than at Sanchi, Bodhgayā and Amarāvatī. The Jātakas are also found as forming an important subject-matter of the art of later period, as exemplified by the Gandhāra sculptures and the paintings at Ajanta and more, they are not of uncommon occurrence in the Buddhist art of countries outside India.[204]

201 *AIA*, pl. 31b and N. G. Majumdar, *Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, pt. I (Delhi 1937) pl. Xa, for the Bharhut relief; Debala Mitra, *Sanchi*, New Delhi, 1957, pl. IVa for the Sanchi relief; C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, pl. LXXXIII, 122, for the representation at Amaravati, etc., etc.

202 For the representation of the *Chhaddanta Jātaka* at Bharhut, see Majumdar, *Guide*, pl. IX a; at Amaravati, see Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.*, pl. LXXXVII, 128; at Gandhāra, see Harold Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, pl. I, fig. 1, etc; etc.

203 See Coomaraswamy, *HIIA*, fig. 47 (for the fragmentary relief of Bharhut), Sivaramamurti *op. cit.*, pl. LXIII, fig 5; at Goli in Andhra Pradesh, see Debala Mitra, *Buddhist Monuments* (henceforth BM), photo 127; at Gandhāra, *HIIA*, fig. 93.

204 As for example, the representation of the *Chhaddanta Jātaka* in the painting of Ajanta, see A. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1914, pl. XXX;

Like the Jātakas events of the life of Gautama Buddha find depiction in the repertory of the above-noted places and obviously in these life-scenes the Master is never seen in his human form. His presence is invariably indicated by means of symbols, as for instance, a throne under a tree (the *bodhi-druma,* i.e., the *aśvattha* tree under which Gautama attained enlightenment) and a *stūpa* symbolise respectively his *sambodhi* and *parinirvāṇa.* Traditionally, the main incidents of the life of the Buddha are known as Eight Great Miracles (*ashṭa-mahā-prātihārya*) and the places where they occurred are called Eight Great Places (*ashṭa-mahā-sthānāni*).[205] These eight sites, all located in Majjhimadeśa, the Buddhist land *par excellence,* not only divided the relics of the Blessed One, but also his legends, among themselves. The Master was born at Lumbini (Rummindei, 2 miles north of Bhagwanpur in the Nepalese *tahsil* of that name), attained his Enlightenment at Gayā (Bodhgayā in the Gayā district, Bihar), delivered his First Sermon at Mṛigadāva (Ṛishipattana or modern Sarnath, near Benares) and passed away at Kuśinagara (Kasia in the Deoria district of U.P.). To this list of four major sites was subsequently added four more: at Śrāvastī (Saheth-Maheth on the borders of the Gonda and Baharaich districts of U.P.) Gautama performed a series of miracles (e.g., fire and water coming out alternately from the upper and lower parts of his body, multiplication of his own image etc.) in order to confound the six heretical teachers, at Saṅkāśya (Sankissa in the Farrukhabad district of U.P.) he descended from the Trayastriṁśa heaven to earth in company of Śakra and Brahmā by means of a staircase of beryl provided by Śakra, at Rājagṛiha (Rajgir in Bihar) he tamed the mad elephant named Nālagiri which was let loose by Devadatta for killing him and at Vaiśāli (Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar) he received a bowl of honey from a monkey. Apart from these eight miracles, other episodes of the life of the Buddha were also chosen by the artists of the period under review. These incidents include, *inter alia,* the Dream of Māyādevī, the Great Departure of Gautama (*mahābhinishkramaṇa*) from the palace, the offer of boiled and swee-

fig. 2; that of the *Vessantara Jātaka* in the painting of Miran in Central Asia, see *HIIA,* fig. 284, in Ceylonese art, Coomaraswamy, *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art,* London; 1908, pl. I.

205 The relative importance of, Lumbini, Bodhgaya, Sarnath and Kusinagara, is apparent from the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (V. 16-22) which recommends them to be places of pilgrimage. The square bases of the little *stūpas* of Gandhāra as well as the stelae of Amaravati bear representations of the miracles associated with them. The Nativity scene is substituted by the Great Departure (*mahābhinishkramaṇa*) scene in the Amaravati stelae.

tened milk-rice to him by Sujātā, the royal visits of Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit and the offering of homage by the Nāga king Erāpatra.

From the second century B.C. onwards all such events of the life of Gautama Buddha came to be depicted in art and, as said above, in the art of Bharhut, Sanchi etc. the presence of the Master in every instance was indicated by means of one or more symbols. Witness on a Bharhut rail-pillar the depiction of the Enlightenment scene; a throne, surmounted by two *triratna* symbols placed under a *bodhi* tree and flanked by two worshippers and viewed by two deities above who are whistling with joy and waving their upper garments, symbolises the great incident; the panel contains the identificatory label.[206] Similarly, the descent at Saṅkāśya by a triple ladder has been symbolised by a footprint marked on the topmost step and another on the lowermost one (the central ladder for the Buddha and the side ones for Śakra and Brahmā).[207] In the Vaiśāli miracle represented at Sanchi the presence of Tathāgata is indicated by a vacant seat below his *bodhi* tree a monkey with a honey-bowl approaching that seat.[208] With the overcoming of injunction regarding the depiction of the Master in human form in the first century A.D. there appeared a tendency to portray the miracles in a group. A sandstone relief found at Mathura (now in the Mathura Museum) and assignable to the second century A.D., depicts among others, the five scenes from the life of the Blessed One; from left to right (from viewer's point) they include *parinirvāṇa*, First Sermon, descent from Trayastriṁśa heaven, Māradharshaṇa (assault of Māra who attacked him) and Nativity; understandably in all these scenes Gautama is represented in human form.[209] A sculptured panel[210] of about the fifth century, now in the Sarnath Museum, bears the representations of the major Miracles, viz., Birth, Enlightenment, First Sermon and Demise. Another panel[211] of the collection of the same museum and of the same time portrays all the Eight Miracles. Though stereotyped stelae compositions portraying the Miracles tended to be popular in the Gupta and early mediaeval periods, single-incident examples

206 Majumdar, *Guide*, pl. VIII b. For this scene at Sanchi, see Foucher, *op. cit.*, pl. II B.

207 Barua, *Bharhut*, III. pl. XLVIII, fig. 48; *AIA*, pl. 32. fig. b (below). In the representation of the scene at Sanchi (Mitra, *Sanchi*, pl. IV B) the footprint is substituted by a *bodhi* tree. For a Gandhāra specimen, see Ingholt, *op. cit.*, fig. 116.

208 *BM*, photo 15. For a Gandhāra instance. Ingholt *op. cit.*, fig. 115.

209 *HIIA*, fig. 104. For another contemporaneous relief from Gandhāra, *ibid*, fig. 91.

210 Dayaram Sahni, *Catalogue of the Sarnath Museum*, pl. XIX, fig. *a*.

211 *Ibid.*, pl. XIX, fig. *b*.

were also not unknown. Miracles of Śrāvasti and Saṅkāśya, for instance, appear to be the favourite themes of the artists of the period.[212]

Gautama Buddha was preceded by six Buddhas, viz., Vipaśyī, Śikhī, Viśvabhū, Krakuchchhanda, Kanakamuni and Kāśyapa and the prevalence of their worship among the Buddhists is confirmed by their representations in Buddhist art. Further support to this contention is provided by the Nigali Sagar edict of Aśoka which refers to the enlargement of a *stūpa* erected in honour of Kanakamuni by the Mauryan monarch. Five of these past Buddhas, except Śikhī, are represented in the art of Bharhut, understandably by means of their characteristic tree-symbols along with identificatory labels.[213] In the art of later days some times all the seven Buddhas, including Gautama, are found represented, evidently in anthropomorphic form (*infra*, p. 931).[214]

Conceptually and icono-plastically, Gautama Buddha, the Buddha of the present age, is an ideal great man who possesses as many as thirty-two auspicious physical marks (*dvātriṁśa mahāpurushalakshaṇāni*).[215] These signs of greatness include a top-knot on the head (*ushṇīsha*), a tuft of fine hair between the eye-brows (*ūrṇā*), long arms reaching up to the knees (*ājānu-bāhu*) and webbed fingers of hands and feet (*jālāṅguli-pāṇi-pada*). Artists of Gandhāra and Mathurā who first carved the anthropomorphic representation of the Master, appear to have conformed to this ideal of great man. Conceptual and stylistic reorientations of subsequent days discarded, however, some of these marks of greatness, such as the tuft of hair and the webbed fingers.

From the point of view of stance, the Buddha images are divisible into three classes: standing (*sthānaka*), seated (*āsana*) and recumbent (*śayana*). The Blessed One, while standing, usually dis-

212 For the Śrāvastī Miracle Scene, see *BM*, photo 14 (also the *Way of the Buddha*, Government of India, New Delhi, 1957, section III, fig. 30); the Saṅkāśya Miracle scene, The *Way of the Buddha*, section III, fig 33 (it is a relief of the ninth-tenth century and is now in the Patna Museum).

213 For the Bharhut medallion of Viśvabhū, for example, see *AIA*, pl. 32, fig. *b* (above).

214 For a specimen of about the ninth century, now in the Indian Museum, see *The Way of the Buddha*, section V, fig. 72.

215 The 'Mahāpadāna' and 'Lakkhaṇasuttantas' of the *Dīghanikāya* enumerate these thirty-two major signs (*dvātriṁśa Mahāpurushalakshaṇas*), later eighty smaller signs (*anuvyañjana lakshaṇas*) were added to the list. For a list of all these *lakshaṇas*, see Albert Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India* (London, 1901), pp. 161-62. Not a few of these signs are also extolled in Brahmanical works. A late text like the *Sambuddha-bhāsita-pratimā-lakshaṇa* mention all these signs as well as anatomical measurements of the ideal figure of Gautama Buddha.

plays the *abhaya* in the right hand, holding the folds of the robe in the left; and occasionally shows both the *abhaya-* and *varada- mudrās*. In his seated representation the Tathāgata may exhibit in addition to the *abhaya* and *varada* three more *mudrās*, viz., *bhūsparśa*, *samādhi* and *dharmachakra*. In both the standing and seated images an upper garment (originally a *shawl*-like piece) is generally draped over the left shoulder, leaving the right bare and sometime this robe is found to cover both shoulders; the drapery clings closely to the body. In the reclining form the Great Teacher is shown as passing away, lying sideways on a couch between two *śāla* trees with attendants like Ānanda, Kāśyapa and Vajrapāṇi; in later times these accessory figures were either curtailed or totally omitted (e.g., in the Miracle compositions).

Portrait statues of the Master emerged simultaneously in Gandhāra and Mathurā, presumably in response to the popular impulse which demanded the creation of a tangible form of the Buddha. Not only the common masses, but the Sarvāstivādī Buddhists as well who were in prominence both in Gandhāra and Mathurā, postulated the necessity of the Buddha image. The demand was seemingly supported by Kanishka the Great, since the first unmistakable and datable image of the Master appears on his coins with the identificatory legend in the Greek characters *Boddo*.[216] Though the problem of the relative priority of the Gandhāra and Mathurā Buddha figures has not yet been decidedly resolved, earliest specimens of the respective ateliers have proved beyond doubt that they were created independently. The stylistic differences between the Gandhāra and Mathurā types are indeed obvious. Thus the halo in the Gandhāra figures is plain, while it is scalloped at the edge in the Mathurā specimens. The Gandhāra Buddha is occasionally moustached, while the Master never appears with moustache in the Mathurā art. The seat of the Great Teacher in Gandhāra is a lotus, whereas it is a lion-throne (*siṁhāsana*) in Mathurā. In other words, the first images of the Buddha were fashioned by the artists of Mathurā independent of the Gandhāra tradition.

Yet these palpable icono-plastic differences between the Buddha figures of Gandhāra and Mathurā were missed or ignored by earlier scholars like Foucher and Grünwedel who laid claim for the Gandhāra artists to have turned out the first image of the Buddha.[217]

216 *HIIA*, pl. XXX, fig. 123, Gardner, *CCBM*, *CSK*, pl. XVII, 2, for the seated Buddha figure on the coins of Kanishka, see Whitehead, *CCPM*, pl. XX, viii.

217 Foucher, *L' art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, also his essay 'Greek origin of the Buddha type' in *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 111 ff; Grünwedel, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

They based their theory on the Apollo-like figures of the Blessed One and the general Hellenestic tenor of the cognate productions of the early phase of the Gandhāra School. Challenging this Western origin theory Coomaraswamy maintained that the characteristic iconographic features such as the posture, the nimbus and the *mudrās* of the Buddha-Bodhisattva figures (the Mathurā people hesitantly called the Buddha images as the Bodhisattvas)[217a] are traceable in early Indian art before the emergence of the Buddha image in the art of Gandhāra and Mathurā.[218] According to him, the standing Buddha is derived from the standing Yaksha primitives of the type of Parkham, Patna and Deoriya of a date earlier than the Buddha statues of Gandhāra and Mathurā, whereas the seated image of the Master has its prototype in *yogī*-like figures in some Bharhut reliefs as well as similar effigies found on a few specie of Maues and Kadphises I and also on some early Ujjayinī coins.[219] Though Coomaraswamy did not form any theory as to the priority of either school in the absence of any precise evidence, he was inclined to presume on general grounds a priority for Mathurā.[220]

Early examples of Buddha or Buddha-Bodhisattva having a significant bearing on the question of the time and place of the origin of the Buddha image include, *inter alia*, Friar Bala's Bodhisattva at Sarnath dated in the third year of Kanishka (i.e., A.D. 80-81),[221] the Katra[222] and Anyor Buddha-Bodhisattva[223] with inscriptions palaeographically close to that of Friar Bala's specimen, the representation on the coins of Kanishka already noted, a few Buddha figures recently recovered from the stratified site of Saikhan Dheri near Charsada in Pakistan,[224] the reliquary found at Bimaran in Afghanistan[225]

217a Iconographically, the Buddha is shown in monastic gown, while the Bodhisattva in secular royal costume. In later times the Buddha also occasionally came to be portrayed in royal crown and ornaments (cf. *BM*, photo 32).

218 *Art Bulletin*, IX, 4, 1927, pp. 301 ff.

219 For the reproduction of the relevant coins of Maues and Kadphises and the Ujjayinī specie, *ibid*. figs. 6, 8, 9. The figure on these coins cannot be definitely said to be that of the Buddha.

220 Coomaraswamy, *loc. cit.*, p. 323. J. E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw in support of the view of Coomaraswamy states that the Buddha image originated not in Gandhāra, but in Mathurā. *The Scythian Period* (Leiden, 1949), pp. 154 ff.

221 *HIIA*, fig. 83.

222 Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, p. 46, pl. VII.

223 *Ibid.*, p. 48, pl. VIII.

224 For the report of the excavation at Shaikhan Dheri by A. H. Dani, see *Ancient Pakistan*, II (1965-66). For reproduction of some of the Buddha figures from Shaikhan Dheri, see K. Walton Dobbins, *The Stūpa and Vihāra of Kanishka I*, Calcutta, 1971, pls. V figs. 11-12, figs. 14-16.

225 *HIIA*, pl. XXIV, fig. 88.

and the inscribed relic casket of the time of Kanishka discovered at Shah-ji-ki Dheri.[226] To this list of finds may be added a beautiful figure of the Master recently recovered from Kunduz in Afghanistan, which also belongs to the reign of Kanishka (of the regnal year 5, i.e., A.D. 82-83).[227] Apart from Friar Bala's Bodhisattva, the representation on Kanishka's coins, the seated figure of the Buddha with his right hand raised in *abhayamudrā* borne by the lid of the Shah-ji-ki Dheri relic casket and the Kunduz example, all of which indisputably belong to the reign of Kanishka, the couple of statues of the Tathāgata encountered in the stratum II at Saikhan Dheri is also assignable to the period of the great Kushāṇa monarch. In other words, the full-fledged iconic type of the Buddha was in worship in the reign of Kanishka in the Gandhāra region, though in Mathurā and the Gangetic valley the followers of the Master still hesitantly described his images as *Bodhisattva* obviously due to the age-old injunctions forbidding the anthropomorphic representation of the Master.

If the reign of Kanishka witnessed the prevalence of the Buddha images in numbers (many Gandhāra images stylistically belong to his reign), the conventions of the anthropomorphic representation of the Blessed One were fixed prior to the accession of the Kushāṇa monarch. The Bimaran reliquary bearing the standing figure of the Buddha flanked by Indra and Brahmā (the Shah-ji-ki Dheri image is also flanked by Indra and Brahmā), found in association with the coins of Azes II, is stylistically a product of the pre-Kanishka period; it may be placed some time in the middle of the first century A.D.

Should we then give the Gandhāra artists the credit of turning out the first image of the Buddha? The answer is by no means certain. The combined testimony of the Bimaran reliquary and the datable image of Friar Bala makes out a *prima facie* case for Gandhāra, but the assumption that Friar Bala's figure or any of the extant figures carved in Mathurā was the first of its kind ever made does not seem to be valid. It is equally inconceivable that an image exported to Sarnath or Saikhan Dheri fashioned in Mathurā is one of the first Buddha images ever made. 'However quickly the fashion developed, however great the prestige of the Mathurā ateliers may already have been, some time must have elapsed between the first acceptance of the type in Mathurā and the development of a general demand for Mathurā Buddha images at other and distant sites throughout the Ganges valley.' It is reasonable to believe that the Buddha images were made in Mathurā in or soon after the mid-

226 *Ibid.*, fig. 89. Also Foucher, *BBA*, pl. XV.
227 *BEFEO*, LXI (1974), pp. 54 ff, pl. XXXI.

dle of the first century A.D. And to this period also belongs the Bimaran reliquary, at least there is no definite evidence to prove an earlier date for it The situation was indeed correctly assessed by Coomaraswamy when he pronounced that 'the earliest Buddha types in each area are in the local style'. Icono-plastically, there is hardly any difference between the early Buddha and Bodhisattva figures, whether fashioned in Gandhāra or in Mathurā. If the artists of Mathurā or their clientele described their Buddha images as the Bodhisattvas, it was due to the hangover of the old injunction forbidding the representation of the Master in human form. Relatively the artists and the followers of the Buddha were unfettered by such injunction and hence the appearance of the Buddha figure with the identificatory legend *Boddo* on the coins of Kanishka. In other words, earliest Buddha images appeared simultaneously in the ateliers of Gandhāra and Mathurā and the extant evidence is too imprecise to phrase a conclusion as to the priority of either school.

Though in respect of the Buddha image in particular and art style in general, the Gandhāra and Mathurā schools developed independently, they came in contact with each other with resultant mutual influences with the passage of time. The phenomenon was on view as early as the reign of Kanishka. Of the two Shaikhan Dheri images, as noted above, one is an import from Mathurā[228] while the other,[229] though a product of the Gandhāra, demonstrates Indian elements like the cross-legged seance and the meditative eyes. Besides the iconographic formulae (e.g., *abhayamudrā* of the Buddha and the *añjalimudrā* of Indra and Brahmā), Indian motifs like the dress of the Indian deities, the ducks in the lower relief frieze, and the top-knot in the hair-style of some of the Erotes and other figures, are also visible in the well-known Kanishka reliquary. That the Indian influence was on the increase is apparent in later examples like the Buddha figure from Mamane Dheri (near Charsada) of the year 89 (equivalent to A.D. 167, if referred to in the Kanishka era),[230] the standing Buddha figures from Loriyan Tangai and Hashtnagar (the dates recorded in the inscriptions on their pedestals are respectively 318 and 384 of an unspecified era, and if they are referred to in the Old Śaka Era of c. 170 B.C.,[231] the corresponding dates would be A.D. 148 and A.D. 214) and a standing Buddha image

228 Dobbins, *op. cit*, pl. V, fig. 12.

229 *Ibid.*, pl. V, fig. 11.

230 John Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* (henceforth *BAG*); pl. 85; fig. 120. The relief is now in the Peshawar Museum.

231 K. Walton Dobbins first suggested it in his *Saka-Pahlava Coinage* (Varanasi, 1970) pp. 130 ff and also in the *Journal of the Oriental Society of Australia*, VII,

from Jamal-Garhi of a date not far removed from that of the Hashtnagar statue.[232] The Mathurā school was also not absolutely unaffected by the Gandhāra idiom, as exemplified by some products of the second-third centuries A.D. Besides an actual Gandhāra piece found in Mathurā[233] and another showing an imitation of a Gandhāra prototype[234] also recovered from the same region, we have, among others, two reliefs portraying the Master in different positions (standing, seated and reclining).[235] In a few other specimens the Gandhāra influence is discernible in the use of the mantle covering both shoulders of the Tathāgata.[236] This mutual influence notwithstanding, 'the outstanding character of the development is one of stylistic Indianization in Gandhāra, and one of adherence to the Mathurā type in the Ganges valley, subject to the normal stylistic evolution which marks the transition from Kushāṇa to Gupta types.'[237]

The rich repertory of the Buddha images of all the three varieties (i.e., standing, seated and recumbent) of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods is a clear testimony to the increasing popularity of the icon worship which constitutes a characteristic feature of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Stylistic differences between the products of the pre-Gupta and the Gupta and post-Gupta periods are not far to seek. Aesthetically the seated Ahichchhatra Buddha (now in the National Museum) exhibiting the *abhayamudrā* belonging to the early Kushāṇa period[238] is more earth-bound than the Sarnath Buddha (in the Sarnath Museum) in the attitude of preaching his First Sermon assignable to the Gupta age;[239] while the former gives little evidence of spiritual experience, the latter transcends the physical frame as a result of inner strength and vision Icono-plastically, in the Ahichchhatra example the top-knot of hair is arranged in a distinctive snail-shell (*kaparda*), while the hair of the Sarnath Buddha is broken up

1970, pp. 29-30. that the Old Śaka Era refers to 171-70 B.C., plus or minus 10 years. Later B. N. Mukherjee has tried to pinpoint the initial year of this era to 170 B.C. on the basis of the Tochi records, see *Central and South Asian Documents on the Old Śaka Era* (Varanasi, 1973). For the Loriyan Tangai image. see Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* II. pl. XXI. no. 1; *BSOAS,* XXXIII. 1970, pl. I For the Hashtnagar sculpture see Konow, *op. cit.*, pl. XXII, no. 10.

232 *GAP,* fig. 202.

233 Now in the Mathura Museum. this was reproduced by Burgess in his *Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India* (London, 1897), pls. 56-57.

234 *ASI*, AR. 1906-7, p. 15.

235 *Art Bulletin*, IX. 4, 1927. figs. 58-59.

236 *Ibid.*. figs. 51, 52, 62, 63.

237 *Ibid.*, pp. 323-24.

238 *BM*, photo 23.

239 *Ibid.*, photo 9; also *HIIA*, pl. XLII, fig. 161 and *AIA*, pl. 103.

into rows of short peppercorn curls along the horizontal gores; and further, unlike the former the latter image is characterised by the transparent drapery. It may be noted here that these stylistic conventions regarding hair and drapery as seen in the Sarnath Buddha earned popularity not only in different art centres of India proper, but also in Gandhāra and abroad. The exceptions to these conventions are not rare altogether, as exemplified by the smooth head of the Mankuwar Buddha of A.D 448-49.[240] Of the countless elegant sculptures of the Master of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods mention may be made of the life-size bronze Buddha from Sultanganj in Bihar (now in the Birmingham Art Gallery),[241] the above-noted Sarnath Buddha and the colossal recumbent figure of Kasia dedicated by Dinna of Mathurā, all belonging to the Gupta period. Some of the prolific centres of the post-Gupta and early mediaeval periods that have yielded images of the Buddha and several other icons of Buddhistic divinities in different media like stone, metal, stucco and terracotta include Kauśāmbi, Śrāvastī and Sarnath in U.P., Nālandā, and Kurkihar in Bihar, Jhewari in Bangladesh, Ratnagiri in Orissa, Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakondā in Andhra Pradesh, Nagapattinam in Tāmilnāḍu, Devnimori in Gujarat, Mirpur Khas in Sindh (Pakistan), Taxila, Jamalgarhi and Manikyala near Rawalpindi (Pakistan).

With the Buddha is intimately associated the Bodhisattva, the Master himself being a Bodhisattva in his countless previous births as well as in the present birth till his attainment of the Enlightenment. In the early Indian art of Sanchi-Bharhut-Amarāvatī the presence of Gautama as Bodhisattva is also indicated by means of symbols. As for instance, in the scene of Great Renunciation in an Amarāvatī panel a caparisoned horse without a rider but with a parasol held above and the *bodhi* tree beneath it stand for the Bodhisattva.[242] In the iconic phase of Indian art as exemplified by the Gandhāra and Mathurā objects there is hardly any distinction between the figures of Gautama as the Buddha and Boddisattva. Artists of both the schools of Gandhāra and Mathurā appear to have focussed their attention on three Bodhisattvas: Vajrapāṇi Padmapāṇi and Maitreya Of them the first two are in reality the prototypes of the Bodhisattvas of the same names in the developed Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna pantheon. The distinguishing features of Vajrapāni and Padmapāṇi, as indicated by their names, include a *vajra* and *padma* respectively. In the Buddhist belief Maitreya is the future Buddha and in early examples he

240 *HIIA*, pl. XLIII, fig. 162.
241 *Ibid.*, pl. XLI, fig. 160; also *AIA*, pl. 103.
242 *AIA*, pl. 89.

is usually shown with a nectar-flask (*amṛita-bhāṇḍa*). While two of these three appear not unoften as acolytes of Gautama Buddha in the art of Gandhāra and Mathurā, their independent representations are also not unknown. A standing image of Maitreya, hailing from Ahichchhatra (now in the National Museum) of about the third century, showing him with his right hand disposed in the *abhayamudrā* and the left hand holding a nectar flask may be cited as a relevant instance.[243] Another Bodhisattva, who occasionally appears in the later examples of Gandhāra and of elsewhere, is Mañjuśrī. In the developed Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna pantheon Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī occupy a prominent position (see below).

Before we pass on to the elaborate hierarchy of the Mahāyāna-Vajrayāna deities reference may be made to a favourite theme of the artists of Gandhāra which was subsequently taken up by the artists of interior India. Pāñchika, the genius of riches and his consort, Hāriti, the goddess of Fertility were portrayed by the Gandhāra sculptors abundantly. One of the earliest representations of this divine pair hails from Sahri-i-Bahlol and now in the Peshawar Museum; stylistically assignable to the second century A.D., the composition shows the corpulent, well-built and richly bejewelled Pāñchika seated by the side of his spouse, the latter carrying a baby in her lap (the iconic type of Mātṛikā of the Brahmanical pantheon seems to have been inspired by the Hāritī-with-baby motif); a few more children are seen in the sculpture, thereby indicating the intimate relation of Pāñchika with the goddess of Fertility.[244] Separate representations of Pāñchika and Hāritī are also known, as exemplified by a seated image of the former from Takhal near Peshawar (now in the Lahore Museum)[245] and a standing figure of the latter from Takht-i-Bahi (now in the Peshawar Museum).[246] The divine pair is not unoften encountered in the art of the Gupta and post-Gupta period, as for instance, in the repertories of Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad.

Apart from the figures of Gautama Buddha, numerous representations of the Bodhisattvas like Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, Mañjuśrī and Maitreya were fashioned in the Gupta period. Avalokiteśvara, who refused Nirvāna till the liberation of all beings, was the most popular

243 *WB*, Section V, fig. 23.

244 *BAG*, pl. 105, fig. 144; also H. Hargreaves, *Handbook to Sculptures in Peshawar Museum*, pl. 7.

245 *Ibid.*, pl. 104, fig. 143.

246 *Ibid.*, pl. 77, fig. 112. Foucher has described the cult of Hāritī in details. See *AGBG*, II, pp. 130-42, figs. 374-78, also *BBA*; pp. 271-91; pls. XLV; XLVII-XLIX. It may be noted that Hāritī is esteemed in all Buddhist countries. In Japan she is known as Ki-si-mo-jin.

of them, and was figured in the caves of Ajanta, Ellora, Aurangabad and Kanheri; one of the famous paintings showing him as compassion incarnate is seen at Cave I of Ajanta.[247] With the emergence of the Female Principle as an invariable concomitant of the Male Principle, probably owing to the grafting of the Yoga system on the Mahāyāna School by Asaṅga sometime in the fourth-fifth century A.D., a goddess named Tārā appeared as a significant member of the Buddhist pantheon. As great as Durgā of the Hindus, Tārā came to be regarded as the consort of Avalokiteśvara.[248] As such she appears with her spouse in the well-known caves like Ajanta and Ellora, one of the representative examples being in the Cave II at Ellora.[249] And like her consort she is placid in appearance and holds a *padma*, the characteristic cognisance of Avalokiteśvara. In most of the early examples she is two-armed and seated and apart from the lotus-emblem held in the left hand, she displays the *varadamudrā;* her garments and ornaments are those of her consort and her hair is abundant and wavy.

Certain iconographic characteristics appeared in respect of Maitreya and Mañjuśrī during this period and with the passage of time both Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara, two very important Bodhisattvas, were conceived to have been endowed with numerous forms, most of which find detailed descriptions in the Buddhist texts like the *Sādhanamālā* (a compendium of 312 *sādhanas* or texts of invocations of deities), the *Guhyasamājatantra* and *Nishpannayogāvalī*, as well as several unpublished manuscripts preserved in different libraries and museums such as the Asiatic Society, Calcutta and Cambridge University. Not only these Bodhisattvas in their multifarious forms, but also their consorts figure in such published and unpublished texts. They will be mentioned in some detail along with several other deities of the elaborate pantheon of the early mediaeval period in the succeeding Volume. As regards Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, it may be

247 For some good specimens of Avalokiteśvara, see *AIA*, pls. 151 (the famous Ajanta painting), 187 (the Ellora sculpture), *BM*, photo 106 (at Kanheri, one of the attendant female figures is Tārā)

248 The etymological affiliations between Hindu 'Durgā' and Buddhist 'Tārā' is noteworthy: Durgā means 'the deity who removes dangers', while Tārā 'makes (her devotees) cross the sea (of troubles)'. The 'Durgā-stotras' of the *Mahābhārata* (IV. 6 and VI. 23) speak of her as capable of delivering her devotees from a variety of terrors, such as captivity, drowning, harassment by robbers etc. Likewise, Tārā is a saviouress of her worshippers from as many as eight types of perils, like those of lion, elephant, conflagration, drowning and robbery. See K. K. Dasgupta, 'The Cult of Tārā' in *The Sakti Cult and Tārā* (ed. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta, 1967), pp. 111-27.

249 J. Burgess, *The Caves at Elura*, Pl. XIII, fig. 1. This is a standing image. The seated variety will be found at Cave XII.

noted here that the former is represented from now on with the Nāgakeśara flower in his right hand instead of *amrita-bhāṇḍa* and usually with a small *chaitya* on his crown.[250] The other Bodhisattva, Mañjuśrī, in the extant samples of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods is normally seen as carrying a sword in the right hand and a manuscript (of the Prajñāpāramitā) in the left; sometimes these two cognisances are placed on lotuses. Apart from Maitreya, images of Mañjuśrī and Vajrapāni (the Bodhisattva of Akshobhya, see below) are encountered at Ellora and other places.[251]

With the transformation of Mahāyāna into Vajrayāna (also known as Northern Buddhism) in the seventh-eighth century, emerged a wide pantheon which was further elaborated in the tenth century. At the apex of the hierarchy of these gods and goddesses stands the divine pair of Ādi Buddha and Ādi Prajñā, the Universal Parents of Buddhism, from whom originate Five Dhyānī Buddhas.[252] These Dhyānī Buddhas represent the material elements of which the world is made, such as Air, Water, Ether, Fire and Earth and they also stand for the cosmic elements (*skandhas*) like Rūpa (form), Vedanā (sensation), Samjñā (name), Saṁskāra (conformation) and Vijñāna (consciousness). A sixth Dhyānī Buddha named Vajrasattva has also been conceived of in some quarters where he is supposed to be an embodiment of the collection of all the five material and cosmic elements

250 Cf. the examples at the Caves VI and XII of Ellora. Though the figure of a *chaitya* on his crown, is the distinguishing feature of Maitreya, exception to it is found when Sukhāvatī Lokeśvara and Ushnīshavijaya Lokeśvara, two forms of Avalokiteśvara, are said to have borne it on the top of the crown and on the crown itself of these Lokeśvaras respectively in the *Dharmakosha-saṁgraha,* preserved in the Asiatic Society (Ms. G. 8055). This unpublished manuscript, though written by a Nepalese Pandit as late as 1836, is valuable for the study of Buddhist iconography, since it contains many an earlier tradition.

251 Mañjuśrī has a variety of forms like Mañjuvara, Siddhaikavīra, Arapachana etc. For details see the next Volume. At the Caves X and XII effigies of Mañjuśrī are met with. As regards Vajrapāṇi, he is also portrayed at both these Caves at Ellora.

252 The cult of Ādi Buddha supposedly originated at the Nālandā Mahāvihāra in the tenth century. See *JASB*, II, 1833, pp. 57 ff.

Edward Conze is reluctant to use the term 'Dhyānī Buddha' chiefly on the ground of its absence in canonical literature (*Buddhism,* 2nd edition, Oxford, 1953, p. 189). But the application of this expression to Vairochana and his colleagues in the above-noted *Dharmakosha saṁgraha* (cf. fn. 250), based on earlier traditions, seems to prove the validity of its usage

Two epigraphs of the time of Huvishka, one of the regnal year 26 and the other of 48, contain references to the images of Amitābha and Sambhava (Ratnasambhava?). Thus these records indicate the emergence of the concepts of Dhyānī Buddhas, at least of one. *JAIH*, XI, pp. 82 ff.

and a priest of the Five Dhyānī Buddhas.[253] The Dhyānī Buddhas take no part in the act of creation, which task they relegate to their corresponding Bodhisattvas. The Bodhisattvas are further supposed to have been working through the Mānushī Buddhas (Mortal Buddhas) like Krakuchchhanda, Kanakamuni and Gautama, but this idea is extra-Indian. With the increasing preponderance of the Female Principle each of the Dhyānī Buddhas and Bodhisattvas was given a consort. The consorts of the Bodhisattvas are as much emanations of the Dhyānī Buddhas as their spouses are. Further, each of these Dhyānī Buddhas came to be looked upon as a Kuleśa (lord of families) of several gods and goddesses. Evidently with the introduction of new entrants of deities the Vajrayāna priests and authors began to tag them to one or more of these Dhyānī Buddhas.

The Ādi Buddha in his human form is known as Vajradhara with *vajra* as his characteristic emblem. He is represented in two forms, single and *yab-yum*. In both forms Ādi Buddha as well as his consort are richly bedecked with ornaments. Representations of Vajradhara and his consort (shown only in the *yab-yum* form) are few and mostly late. Dhyānī Buddhas rarely find individual depiction and they are figured either on the crown of their emanations or round their heads in groups of five. They are invariably seen as sitting on full-blown lotuses and in the meditative pose with legs crossed. Each of them has a cognisance symbol which is displayed by his Śakti and Bodhisattva as well. The lotus symbol, for instance, is common to the Dhyānī Buddha Amitābha, his spouse Pāṇḍarā and his Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. Each Dhyānī Buddha has again his distinctive *mudrā* and colour. Thus Akshobhya is characterised by the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* and the blue complexion. Following are the tables show-

TABLE I

Names	*Material Elements*	*Cosmic Elements*	*Mudrās*	*Colours*	*Symbols*	*Vāhanas*
Amitābha	Air	Saṁjñā	Samādhi	Red	Padma	Peacock
Akshobhya	Water	Vijñāna	Bhūsparśa	Blue	Vajra	Elephant
Vairochana	Ether	Rūpa	Dharmachakra	White	Chakra	Dragon
Ratnasambhava	Fire	Vedanā	Varada	Yellow	Ratna	Lion
Amoghasiddhi	Earth	Saṁskāra	Abhaya	Green	Viśvavajra	Garuḍa

253 Images of Vajrasattva are rare. He is also sculptured at Cave XII of Ellora In Nepal and Tibet, however, he is popular (cf. Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 6 and W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons*, II. pp. 7, 9, 59, 143, 195). The concepts of Vajradhara, the tangible form of Ādi Buddha, and Vajrasattva are inextricably mixed up.

TABLE II

Names	*Śaktis*	*Bodhisattvas*	*Mānushī Buddhas*
Amitābha	Pāṇḍarā	Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara	Gautama
Akshobhya	Māmakī	Vajrapāṇi	Kanakamuni
Vairochana	Lochanā	Samantabhadra	Krakuchchhanda
Ratnasambhava	Vajradhātvīśvarī	Ratnapāṇi	Kāśyapa
Amoghasiddhi	Tārā	Viśvapāṇi	Maitreya

ing the names of the Dhyānī Buddhas, their iconographic and other features as well as their corresponding Bodhisattvas and spouses.

Vajrasattva, the sixth Dhyānī Buddha, has been omitted in the above tables in view of the supposition that he is more a Bodhisattva than a Dhyānī Buddha proper and this seems to be supported by the royal costume of Vajrasattva in art quite in keeping with the sartorial style of a Bodhisattva. Vajrasattva has, however, his respective consort and Bodhisattva named Vajrasattvātmikā and Ghaṇṭāpāṇi respectively. As regards the Mānushī Buddhas, their number went up to thirty-two, though it eventually came to be stereotyped as seven. They are named as Vipaśvī, Śikhī, Viśvabhū, Krakuchchhanda, Kanakamuni, Kāśyapa and Gautama and each of them is supposed to have had his own distinguishing *bodhi* tree (*ante*, p. 920). But the idea that they are a sort of agents of the Divine Bodhisattvas (Table II) is, as noted above, unknown to the Indian tradition. Icono-plastically, they appear all alike: they usually sit in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana* and display the *bhūmisparśa mudrā* and in paintings they are seen with a yellow or golden complexion Hence the only possible means of identifying them is when they are found in a group of seven. A well-known example of their group representation can be seen in Cave 12 of Ellora.[254] Another good specimen of about the ninth century, now in the Indian Museum, however, shows these Buddhas in the *sthānaka* posture, each under his respective *bodhi tree* (*ante*, p. 920, fn. 214). *En passant* the cult of the Past Buddhas dwindled in popularity in the Gupta and early mediaeval period.

Like the multiple forms of the Bodhisattvas, such as Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, the offsprings of the Five Dhyānī Buddhas are numerous. The main clue of identifying them lies in the recognition of the effigies of their spiritual sires which they normally bear on their crowns. Besides, they have their respective iconographic features which have been detailed in the texts like the *Sādhanamālā*, *Nishpannayogāvalī* and *Advayavajrasaṁgraha*, not to speak of the several un-

254 *AIA*, pls. 200-201.

published manuscripts· Listed below are the names of some of the important emanations of the Five Dhyānī Buddhas.

From Amitābha emanate deities like Mahābala and Saptaśatika Hayagrīva and goddesses like Kurukullā, Bhṛikuṭī and Mahāsitavatī; Heruka, Hevajra, Sambara, Jambhala and Yamāri are the male offsprings of Akshobhya, while Jāṅgulī, Ekajaṭā, Vasudhārā and Nairātmā are some notable female divinities who originate from the said Dhyānī Buddha; Nāmasaṅgīti is the only male deity who takes rise from Vairochana, whereas Mārīchi and Chundā are two distinguished goddesses who emanate from this Dhyānī Buddha; the god Jambhala and the goddess Vasudhārā find mention in the list of offsprings of Ratnasambhava, though they recur in the list of Akshobhya as well, and other female emanations of Ratnasambhava include Mahapratisarā and Aparājitā; the only male divinity who owes his origin to Amoghasiddhi is Vajrāmrita, and Mahāmāyūrī and Parṇaśavarī are two well-known goddesses who emanate from this Dhyānī Buddha. Representations of some of them, such as Jambhala, Jāṅgulī, Chundā, Vasudhārā and Mahāmāyūrī, have been met with at Ellora. A discussion on the iconography of the noteworthy emanations of the Dhyānī Buddhas is reserved for the next Volume.

JAINA ICONOGRAPHY

The practice of worshipping images of Tīrthaṅkaras seems to be old, though at the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to trace its antiquity exactly. Ancient works like the *Āvaśyaka Chūrni*, the *Niśītha Chūrṇi* and the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* record the tradition relating to the worship of images of Jīvantasvāmī (i.e., Mahāvīra). And this tradition has been supported by a bronze image of Jīvantasvāmī from Akota of the sixth century A.D. It has also been suggested that the practice of worshipping Jina images was in vogue in the second century B.C. as is attested by the highly polished naked male torso of an image in a *Kāyotsarga*-like posture from Lohanipur near Patna.[255] It is not, however, certain whether this image represents any Tīrthaṅkara.

While the Hatigumpha inscription of Khāravela is suggestive of the prevalence of Jainism in Kaliṅga (Orissa and the cis-Godavari region) in the fourth century B.C., sculptures affiliated to Jainism in the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhuvaneswar speak of a thriving Jaina art in that region for centuries. Of them some are quite early and bear close affinity with a few figures and symbols of the Brahmanical and Buddhist art. Such figures and symbols, it may be noted, form a part of the common stock of art-motifs in Indian beliefs.

255 *SJA*, fig. 2.

Thus the figure of a female deity on the *toraṇa*-facade of a Ranigumpha cell at Udayagiri holding a pair of lotuses in hands and bathed by two elephants, interpreted as Padma-Śrī or Abhisheka-Lakshmī on the authority of the Jain texts like the *Kalpasūtra,* seems to be similar in nature and concept to Gajalakshmī and Sirimā-devatā of the Brahmanical and Buddhist art respectively. Among the common symbols mention may be made of the railed *chaitya* tree, the surmounting *triratna, svastika, śrīvatsa* etc. Again, each doorway of the Ananta cave (Udayagiri) bears the motif of a pair of three-hooded snake on its arch, thus reminding one of the association of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha with a cobra as well as the said Jina's association with Kaliṅga. The facades of the cells of the Ranigumpha are adorned with some friezes which appear to portray incidents from the life of Pārśvanātha.[256] Of more or less the same age is a bronze image (now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum) of Pārśvanātha, standing in the *kāyotsarga* pose, with the right hand and a part of its snake-hoods overhead being mutilated.[257]

The next noted Jaina art-centre is Mathurā from where have been recovered a considerable number of objects ranging from the first to the eleventh century A.D. Broadly, these may be divided into three classes: *āyāgapaṭas* ('tablets of homage') independent statues of the Tīrthaṅkaras and *chaumukhas* (quadruples), and panels with stories from the life of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Partaking of the character of dedicatory slabs an *āyāgapaṭa* bears on it some auspicious symbols, the usual number being eight (*ashṭamaṅgalas*)[257a] as well as the figure of a seated Jina at the centre. While the Mathurā *āyāgapaṭas* attest to the continuity of the symbol worship in Indian art, they also represent a transitional stage from the worship of the symbols to that of the individual images of Tīrthaṅkaras. The *āyāgapaṭas* are of three kinds: *chakrapaṭṭa, svastikapaṭṭa* and *chaityapaṭṭa.* A *chakrapaṭṭa,* now in the Lucknow Museum (J. 248), depicts a sixteen-spoked wheel (*chakra*) in the centre surrounded by three bands, the first one at the centre showing sixteen *triratna* symbols, the second one eight maidens of space (*ashṭadikkumārikā*) floating in the air and offering garlands and lotuses, and the last one showing a coiled garland. In a *svastikapaṭṭa* a prominent wavy armed *svastika* motif is found to occur round the figure of a Jina seated under an umbrella at the centre, being encircled by four *triratna* symbols; inside the four arms of the *svastika* again are auspicious symbols. viz., a pair of fish, victory standard

256 C. J. Shah, *Jainism in Northern India,* London, 1932, p. 155.

257 *SJA,* fig. 3.

257a These eight auspicious signs are: a *svastika,* a *darpaṇa,* an urn, a cane seat, two fish (*yugma-mīna*), a flower garland and a *pustaka.*

(*vaijayantī*), *a svastika* and *śrīvatsa;* in the outer circular band have been shown a *bodhi* tree in railing, a *stūpa,* a motif now obscure, and a Jina being adored by sixteen Vidyādhara couples; while at the four corners are again seen Mahoraga figures, on one side of the outer frame is found a row of eight auspicious symbols like a *svastika,* fish, *śrīvatsa* etc. Of the two *chaityapaṭṭas* found at Mathurā, one (No. J 255 in the Lucknow Museum) bears the motif of a *stūpa* or *chaitya* with gateways, flight of steps, rails and flanking pillars; the other (Q 2 in the Mathurā Museum) also depicts a *stupa* with the usual concomitants together with two flying nude figures, two *suparṇas* and two *śālabhañjikās* on each side of the *stūpa.* A fine *āyagapaṭa* of the first century A.D., not falling under the three classes mentioned above, set up by one Sīhanādika, is now preserved in the National Museum. It shows the seated Jina figure at the centre of the medallion enclosed by four *triratna* and eight auspicious symbols in two rows—a pair of fish, heavenly palace (*divyayāya*), *śrīvatsa* and receptacle of jewels (*ratnabhāṇḍa*) above, and *triratna,* the lotus, *vaijayantī* and *vessel* (*pūrṇakalaśa*) below; on its two sides there are two motifs of miniature pillars with Achaemenian features—one surmounted by a wheel (*chakra*), the other by an elephant, the surmounting members being placed on the top of lion capitals consisting of four addorsed winged lions.

The independent images of the Tīrthaṅkaras, recovered at Mathurā, may be divided into four classes according to the attitude they show: standing images in *Kāyotsarga* posture, seated images, quadruples i.e., four-fold images in standing posture and the same in seated posture. Of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras only a few are represented in the Mathurā statuary. More, their effigies except those of Ādinātha or Ṛishabhanātha and Pārśvanātha are generally recognisable by the identificatory inscriptions accompanying them; and cognisances in the form of animals peculiar to each of the Tīrthaṅkara as noticed in later art and literature, had not yet made their appearance. The iconographic features of Ādinātha and Pārśvanātha of this period consist of loose locks of hair falling on the shoulders and a canopy of serpent hoods respectively. The Tīrthaṅkara images bear on their pedestals the figures of lions, a Dharmachakra in front and sometimes figures of devotees. A special kind of statuary of the Tīrthaṅkaras consists of images of four Jinas carved on a broad obelisk. Known as *chaumukhas* and *sarvatobhadra-pratimās* ('auspicious from all sides'), these quadruples generally consist of the images of Ādinātha, the first; Supārśva, the seventh; Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third and Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara, though there

is no clear prescription regarding the selection of the particular pontiffs.

The third category of art-objects consists of panels illustrating stories from the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras. Thus Naigamesha or Harinaigamesha, who figures in the Jaina mythology as being responsible for the transference of the foetus of *Brāhmaṇī* Devanandā to that of the *Kshatriyāṇī* Triśalā, is met with in such panels with a goat's head. One of its earliest representations is now an exhibit in the Lucknow Museum; this first-century relief shows the goat-headed deity 'seated in an easy attitude on a low seat, turning his head to the proper right as if addressing another personage whose image has been lost'; to his left are three standing females and by his left knee stands a male infant.[258] It may be noted incidentally that the goat-headed Naigamesha of the Jainas is akin to Naigameya of the Brahmanical mythology who combines in himself the aspects of Devasenāpati Kārttikeya and Daksha-Prajāpati (*supra*, p. 903). A bas-relief depicting Āryāvatī in the company of females holding a fly-whisk and an umbrella of the year 42 (or 72) of Soḍāsa has been discovered at Mathurā.[259] Among a few other stray Jaina sculptures mention may be made of a figure of Sarasvatī (dated Samvat 54, i.e., A.D. 132); she carries a manuscript in her left hand, the right hand being lost.[260] The Jaina antiquities of the pre-Gupta period discovered elsewhere include, *inter alia*, a few Jaina bronzes from Chausa near Buxar (Bihar), now in the Patna Museum.

While in the Kushāṇa age the Jaina iconography began to evolve, in the Gupta period it was systematised with the formation of the hierarchy of the Jaina pantheon. Further elaborations were, however, made in the early mediaeval period, but the characteristic features of most of the Tīrthaṅkaras, the principal members of the pantheon, made their appearance during the Gupta culture-epoch. This will be borne out by many an example. Before we refer to images of some of them, it is necessary to enlist the means of their identification. Each of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras has respective cognisance, colour, tree, and attendant Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs (Śāsanadevatās). In the following table the names of the Tīrthaṅkaras and their attendants as well as other identificatory marks and emblems are listed.

258 Vincent A. Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities from Mathurā*, pl. XVIII.
259 *Ibid.*, pl. XIV.
260 *Ibid.*, pl. XCIX.

TABLE III

Names of the Tīrthankaras	*Cognisance*	*Colour*	*Tree*	*Yaksha*	*Yakshiṇī*
1. Ādinātha (Rishabhanātha)	Bull	Gold	Banyan	Gomukha	Chakreśvarī
2. Ajitanātha	Elephant	Gold	Śāl	Mahāyaksha	Ajitabalā
3. Sambhavanātha	Horse	Gold	Piyāla	Trimukha	Duritāri
4. Abhinandananātha	Monkey	Gold	Priyangu	Yakshanāyaka	Kālikā
5. Sumatinātha	Curlew (Krauñcha)	Gold	Śāl	Tamburu	Mahakālī
6. Padmaprabha	Red lotus	Red	Chhatra	Kusuma	Śyāmā
7. Supārśvanātha	Svastika	Gold	Śirīsha	Mātanga	Śāntā
8. Chandraprabha	Crescent Moon	White	Nāga	Vijaya	Bhṛikuṭī
9. Suvidhinātha	Makara	White	Śāli	Ajita	Sutārakā
10. Śītalanātha	Śrīvatsa	Gold	Priyangu	Brahmā	Aśokā
11. Śreyāṁsanātha	Rhinoceros	Gold	Tanduka	Yakshet	Mānavī
12. Vāsupūjya	Buffalo	Red	Pāṭali	Kumāra	Chaṇḍā
13. Vimalanātha	Boar	Gold	Jambo	Shaṇmukha	Viditā
14. Anantanātha	Falcon	Gold	Aśoka	Pātāla	Ankuśā
15. Dharmanātha	Thunder bolt	Gold	Dadhiparṇa	Kinnara	Kandarpā
16. Śāntinātha	Deer	Gold	Nandi	Garuḍa	Nirvāṇī
17. Kunthunātha	Goat	Gold	Bhilaka	Gandharva	Balā
18. Aranātha	Nandyāvarta	Gold	Mango	Yakshet	Dhāriṇī
19. Mallinātha	Pitcher	Blue	Aśoka	Kubera	Dharaṇapriyā
20. Munisuvrata	Tortoise	Black	Champak	Varuṇa	Naradattā
21. Naminātha	Blue lotus	Gold	Bakula	Bhṛikuṭī	Gāndhārī
22. Neminātha	Conchshell	Black	Vetasa	Gomedha	Ambikā
23. Pārśvanātha	Snake	Blue	Dhātakī	Pārśva	Padmāvatī
24. Mahāvīra	Lion	Gold	Śāl	Mātanga	Siddhāyikā

This table, chiefly based on a twelfth-century lexicon *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi* by Hemachandra, relates to the iconography of the Śvetāmbara Jains. Besides some overlappings and repetitions in the nomenclature of the individual Yakshas (cf. nos. 7 and 24, 11 and 18; in one case the name of a Yakshiṇī appears as that of a Yaksha, cf. 8 and 21), there are also variations in respect of the colours or the cognisances of the Yakshas, which were due to the traditions of the Digambara order. In other words, though the preceding table presents the Jaina iconography relating to the Śvetāmbaras as well as

the Digambaras by and large, differences in iconographic traditions are also not difficult to discern. For instance, the colour of Supārśvanātha, according to the Digambaras, is green, and not gold, as the Śvetāmbaras believe. Similarly, they designate the Yaksha of this Tīrthaṅkara as Varanandi. Again, fish appears as the emblem of Aranātha, the eighteenth Jina, in the Digambara tradition. In any case, the respective cognisances of the Tīrthaṅkaras, as listed above, are the main clues for identifying the figures of the Tīrthaṅkaras, some of whom appeared with them in the Gupta art. It may be noted in passing that the *Abhidhāna-chintāmaṇi* describes the Tīrthaṅkaras as *Devādidevas* and other deities like the Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs as *Devas* or ordinary gods. Being borrowals from the non-Jaina sources, these Devas were naturally given a position subservient to that of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

As in the preceding age, in the Gupta and early mediaeval periods the Tīrthaṅkaras were depicted like ascetics, draped (in the Śvetāmbara tradition) or naked (in the Digambara repertory) and in the *kāyotsarga* or *padmāsana* postures. Independent images of the Tīrthaṅkaras as well as Chaumukha sculptures of the period under review have been recovered from different parts of India. The earliest Jina image bearing the characteristic cognisance has been encountered in a dilapidated temple on the Vaibhāra hill at Rajgir; assignable to the age of Chandragupta II on the basis of an accompanying inscription, the sculpture shows Neminātha seated in the *padmāsana* and with hands disposed in the *samādhimudrā;* what is interesting is the presence of two conch-shells on either side of an elaborate *chakra,* the latter serving as a sort of halo, as it were, of the standing figure of a prince.[261] More or less of the same time is an image of Ajitanātha, now an exhibit in the Bharat Kala Bhavan. Mention may also be made of a bronze statue of Ādinātha found at Akota, near Baroda, showing the first Tīrthaṅkara with a face beaming with spiritual experience; despite its damaged condition, the image (now in the Baroda Museum) amply demonstrates the best of the Gupta idiom.[262] The Ellora repertoire includes a standing figure of Pārśvanātha with a seven-hooded snake behind him (his cognisance) and a seated statue of Mahāvīra in the *dhyāna-mudrā* in the Cave XXXI; they are assignable to the ninth-tenth century. One of the representative samples of a Chaumukha sculpture comes from the Sonbhandar Cave, Rajgir; it is datable to the eighth century.[263]

With the appearance of the Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs as attendants

261 *ASI*, AR, 1925-26, pp. 125 ff; *SJA*, fig. 18.
262 *SJA*, fig. 19.
263 *Ibid.*, fig. 28.

of the Tīrthaṅkaras sometime in the eighth century the iconography of the Jainas practically assumed the full-fledged form. Apparently like the Buddhists the Jainas also converted these age-old Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs, who were originally protective deities, to their faith. However, a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana* with a snake-hood-canopy behind her perhaps represents Padmāvatī, the Yakshiṇī of Pārśvanātha; of about the ninth or tenth century, the sculpture has been unearthed at Nālandā.[264] Mātaṅga and Siddhāyikā, respectively the Yaksha and Yakshiṇī of Mahāvīra, appear on their respective *Vāhanas* viz., elephant and lion, in Cave XXXII of Ellora; these sculptures are datable to the tenth century.[265] In Cave XXX of Ellora is carved a figure of twelve-handed Chakreśvarī, the Yakshiṇī of Ādinātha.[266]

Reference is to be made of Bāhubalī Gommateśvara who occupies a prominent position in the Digambara Jaina pantheon. He was the son of Ṛishabhanātha. Though only an Arhat, Bāhubalī obtained the rank of the Tīrthaṅkara by dint of his austerity of penance and the resultant Supreme Knowledge (*kevala jñāna*). He is ubiquitously present in the art of Ellora, one of his representative images being in Cave XXXII; in this specimen Bāhubalī is seen with his sisters Brāhmī and Sundarī, who as the story goes, were sent by Ṛishabhanātha to ask their brother to give up his pride and on listening to their advice Bāhubalī eventually obtained his goal of *kevala jñāna*.[267] The colossal statue of Bāhubalī at Śravaṇa Belgola in Karṇātaka is a remarkable sculpture of early mediaeval India; fifty-seven feet high, this is one of the largest free-standing images in the world.

The full-fledged Jaina pantheon is not limited to the Tīrthaṅkaras and their tutelary Yakshas and Yakshiṇīs, but it comprises a large number of divine and semi-divine beings, and quite a good number of them have been taken from the Hindu, Buddhist and folk and tribal sources. They include, among others, Nārāyaṇas, Baladevas, Manus, Rudras, Kāmadevas, Vyantara-devas, Vaimānika-devas, Vidyā-devīs, Śāśana-devatās, Mātṛikās (seven or eight) Dikpālas and semi-divine beings like Siddhas, Arhats, Āchāryas and Chakravartins.[268] The Mātṛikā group is exemplified by a row of seven

264 *Ibid.*, fig. 41. The identification is not absolutely certain.

265 R. S. Gupte and B. D. Mahajan, *Ajanta, Ellora and Aurangabad Caves*, pls. CXXXVIII, CXL.

266 *Ibid.*, pl. CXXXIV.

267 *Ibid.*, pl. CXLI, also *AIA*, pl. 254.

268 For details of these divine and semi-divine beings, see B. C. Bhattacharyya, *Jaina Iconography*, pp. 22-26.

female figures below the row of the Tīrthaṅkaras in the northernmost cave of the Khaṇḍagiri in Bhuvaneswar (the first five are affiliated to the Brahmanical Matṛikās like Brahmāṇī, Vaishṇavī, Indrāṇī etc., the sixth and seventh are Padmāvatī and Ambikā of the regular Jaina pantheon). Perhaps the most famous of all these deities is Bāhubalī Gommateśvara of the Arhat class (see above) and the sixteen Vidyādevīs (goddesses of learning). All these Vidyādevīs are headed by Sarasvatī or Śruta-devī, the goddess of learning *par excellence*. The Vidyādevīs, who constitute a special group of Yakshiṇīs, are known by the following names: Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajraśṛinkhalā, Kuliśāṅkuśā, Chakreśvarī, Naradattā, Kālī, Mahākālī, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Sarvāstramahājvālā, Mānavī, Vairoṭyā, Achchhuptā, Mānasī, Mahāmānasikā and Sarasvatī. While some of them are apparently borrowed from the Brahmanical pantheon (e.g., Kālī, Mahākālī, Gaurī etc.), a few others also occur in the list of the attendant Yakshiṇīs of the Tīrthaṅkaras (e.g., Chakreśvarī and Naradattā. As their iconic representations belong to a late date, they will be discussed in the next Volume.

Glossary

Abhaya, Abhaya-mudrā	Never-fear hand-pose showing fingers raised upwards with the palm turned to front.
Abhichārika	Malevolent. A form of Vishṇu.
Akshamālā, Akshasūtra	A string of beads or rosary. Same as *japamālā*.
Ālīḍhāsana	The posture of standing in which the right leg is outstretched while the left is slightly bent and placed behind. The proper expression is *Ālīḍha*.
Añjali-mudrā	The gesture in which two hands are clasped against the chest, palm to palm, both of which are extended upwards with all fingers erect or slightly bent.
Anugraha	Grace. Boon.
Apasmāra-purusha	Malformed dwarf who is seen in South Indian Naṭarāja bronzes.
Ardhachandra	Crescent moon.
Ardhaparyaṅkāsana	A mode of sitting in which a portion (*ardha*) of the lower part of the body rests on the seat or pedestal (*paryaṅka*). See *lalitāsana* and *mahārājalīlāsana*.
Āsana	A seat or a particular mode of sitting, e.g., *lalitāsana*.
Ashṭamaṅgala	Eight auspicious objects or motifs of Jaina art and literature.

Aśva	Horse.
Avatāra	Incarnation.
Āyāgapaṭa	A tablet of homage associated with Jainism.
Bāṇa	An arrow. Same as *śara.*
Bhadrāsana	Sitting posture in European style.
Bhoga	Material enjoyment. A form of Vishṇu.
Bhūmisparśa-mudrā	The hand-pose in which the hand with the palm turned inward and the fingers extended downward touches the earth. Same as *bhūsparśa.*
Bījapūraka	Citron.
Chakra	Discus, wheel.
Chāpa	Bow. Same as *dhanu.*
Chowry	Fly-whisk.
Ḍamaru	Kettle-drum.
Darpaṇa	Mirror.
Dhanu	Bow. Same as *chāpa.*
Dharmachakra pravartana mudrā	The gesture of hands in which the left hand is turned inward and the right is turned outward, the thumb of the right is held by that of the left. This *mudrā* was displayed by the Buddha at the time of the preaching of his first sermon.
Dhoti	Loin cloth used by a male as a lower garment.
Dhyāna mudrā	See *samādhi-mudrā.*
Dolahasta	The pose in which the arm is thrown forward. Sometimes across the body, appearing like a straight staff or the lolling trunk of an elephant. Same as *gajahasta* and *daṇḍahasta.*
Dīpa	Lamp.
Gadā	Mace.
Gajahasta	See *dolahasta.*
Ghaṇṭā	Bell.
Ghora	Fierce.
Godhā	Iguana.
Graiveyaka	Necklace.
Hala	Ploughshare.
Hāra	Necklace.
Hasti	Elephant.
Japamālā	The string of beads or rosary which is intended for counting by sages or pious persons.
Jaṭābhāra	Matted hair.
Jñāna	Knowledge.
Kamaṇḍalu	Water-pot. Same as *kuṇḍikā.*

Kaṅkāla-daṇḍa	A staff or standard made of skull.
Kapāla	Skull-cup.
Karaṇḍa	A conical basket-like crown with the narrow ends shown upwards, generally seen as Siva's head-gear.
Kartri	Chopper.
Kaṭaka	The pose in which the tips of the fingers are loosely applied to the thumb so as to form a ring or so as to resemble a lion's ear. Same as *Siṁhakarṇa.*
Kaṭihasta, Kaṭyavalamvita	The pose in which the hand (usually the left) is placed on the hip.
Kāyotsarga	The pose in which hands hang straight down the side of the body without the least bend in any of the limbs.
Khaḍga	Sword.
Khaṭvāṅga	A club made up of the bone of the forearm or the leg, to the end of which a human skull is attached through its foramen.
Kheṭaka	Shield.
Kiṅkiṇi	Tiny bell, anklet.
Kirīṭa	A basket-like crown usually worn by Vishṇu.
Kṛipāṇa	Sword.
Kumbha-mushka	Pitcher-like testicles.
Kuṇḍi, Kuṇḍikā	See *kamaṇḍalu.*
Kūrma	Tortoise.
Lalitāsana	The pose in which one of the legs dangles down the seat, the other being placed on the seat.
Lāñchchhana	Cognisance
Mahārāja-līlāsana	The pose in which one of the legs is placed on the seat and the knee of the other is raised from the seat.
Makara	A mythical crocodile-like animal.
Makāra	Powerful enjoyment, the usual number of *ma*-s being five, e.g., wine, meat, fish, sexual intercourse etc.
Maṇi	Jewel.
Mātuluṅga	Citron.
Mushala	Pestle.
Namaskāra-mudrā	In this gesture the hand, slightly bent, is raised above in a line with the shoulder with the fingers outstretched or slightly bent with the palm turned upwards.
Nidhi	Jewel.
Padmāsana	See *Vajraparyaṅkāsana.*
Pānapātra	Wine-cup.
Pāṇigrahaṇa	The acceptance of the hand of the bride by the bridegroom by his hand, symbolising the finalisation of marriage.

Padma	Lotus.
Paraśu	Axe.
Pāśa	Noose.
Pīṭhikā	Pedestal.
Prabhā, Prabhāvalī	Aureole.
Pretakuṇḍala	A type of ear-ornament from which the figure of a corpse is suspended.
Pustaka	Book, manuscript.
Ṛishi	Sage.
Śakti	Consort of a deity. It also denotes spear usually held by Kārttikeya.
Samādhi-mudrā	The gesture in which the hands with palm upwards lie upon the other on the lap. Also known as *dhyāna-mudrā*.
Samapadasthānaka	The stance in which the feet are firmly and squarely planted.
Śaṅkha	Conchshell.
Sarpa	Serpent.
Saumya	Benign, pacific.
Śayana	Recumbent.
Śrīvatsa	A kind of auspicious mark seen on the chest of Vishṇu and Jina.
Sthānaka	Standing.
Tarjanī-mudrā	The pose in which the index finger is raised, while the other fingers are locked up in the fist.
Tarpaṇa-mudrā	A gesture in which an arm is bent and is raised upward in a line with the shoulder. The palm of the hand is turned inward with fingers slightly bent and pointed towards the shoulder.
Triratha	Triple projections.
Triratna	Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha of the Buddhist faith and the art motif symbolising it.
Triśūla	Trident.
Tundila	Pot-bellied.
Ūrdhvaliṅga	Penis erect, suggesting control of senses, particularly associated with Śiva as a yogī.
Vāhana	Vehicle.
Vajra	Thunderbolt.
Vajraparyaṅkāsana	The mode of sitting in which the legs are firmly locked with the soles visible. Also known as *padmāsana*.
Vanamālā	A kind of elaborate garland made of different flowers, usually worn by Vishṇu.
Vara, Varada-mudrā	The hand-pose showing the hand with its palm outward suggesting bestowal of boon.

Viśvavajra — The double *vajra* or thunderbolt.

Vyākhyāna-mudrā — The hand-pose showing the combination of the tips of the thumb and index finger of the right hand and even occasionally of the left, while the other fingers remain erect.

Yoga — Meditation.

Yoga-mudrā — Same as *samādhi-mudrā* or *dhyāna-mudrā*.

Yab-Yum — A Tibetan word consisting of two particles *yab* and *yum*, *yab* meaning 'honorable father' and *yum* meaning 'honorable mother. The combined word hence signifies the father in the company of the mother, or in her embrace. Deities in embrace are found in Vajrayāna pantheon.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

SOCIAL LIFE AND ECONOMIC CONDITION

A. NORTHERN INDIA

I. SOCIAL LIFE

1. *Caste System*

THE OLD DIVISION OF the people into four *varṇa*s or social grades was merely theoretical, and a number of *jāti*s or castes were included in each of the *varṇa*s, at least in the period under review. The word *varṇa* (colour) is found in the oldest literature of the Indo-Aryans to indicate the social and cultural distinction between the Aryans and non-Aryans; but the expressions *ārya-varṇa* (colour of the Aryans) and *dāsa-varṇa* (colour of the non-Aryans) must have originally pointed to the fair complexion of the Aryans and the dark or brown skin colour of the aboriginal peoples of India. In later days, the connotation of the term *varṇa* expanded so as to signify the four conventional grades of the Indo-Aryan society in which non-Aryan elements were gradually being absorbed. The units comprising the social grades called *varṇa* came to be known as *jāti*; but in later literature this word is often also used in the sense of *varṇa* itself. The primary significance of the term *jāti* is birth; but we know that the early *chatur-varṇa* division of the Indo-Aryan society was not strictly dependent on birth. The word *jāti* must therefore have originally indicated tribal groups whose membership depended rigidly on birth. Numerous non-Aryan tribes of different grades of civilization were gradually imbibing, in various degrees, the culture and blood of the Aryans; but most of them must have still retained their tribal names and also certain social customs and prejudices. These elements of the mixed society of the Aryan and non-Aryan peoples of India had many characteristics dependent on birth and were *jāti*s in the real sense of the term. The incorporation of these tribes in the Indo-Aryan social system seems to have popularised the word *jāti* in the sense of a caste and later also of a *varṇa*.

The formation of castes from tribal groups is a characteristic of

all periods of Indian history, and the period under survey is no exception. We know how the *Manu-smṛiti* (which in its present form is not much earlier than A.D. 300) and other works on law are eager to include all Aryan, non-Aryan, and foreign tribes and communities of various grades of culture in the theoretical scheme of the *chatur-varṇa*. The attempt was chiefly to represent a tribe or class of non-Aryan of foreign origin, and even the various professional groups, as a *vrātya* or degraded class of Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, or Vaiśya, or as originated from an admixture of the blood of two or more of the four conventional *varṇas*. This was usually done with due regard to the primary occupation, position in the contemporary Indo-Aryan society, and the degree of Aryanisation of particular tribes or groups. There is a general agreement on this arbitrary scheme amongst authorities on law; but in many particulars there is difference. The Māhishyas, a tribal people apparently deriving their name from the land called Mahisha, are not recognised in the *Manu-smṛiti;* but they find a place in the social scheme of later writers like Yājñavalkya. The Yavanas (Greeks) and Śakas (Scythians), who came to India and settled in this country, are regarded by Patañjali, author of the *Mahābhāshya,* as *aniravasita* (pure) Śūdra, but they are included by Manu in the list of degraded Kshatriyas along with such non-Aryan peoples as the Chīnas, Lichchhavis, and Draviḍas; the social position of the 'pure Śūdra' and the 'degraded Kshatriya' appears to have been practically the same. The son of a Brāhmaṇa father and Kshatriya mother is called *Mūrdhābhishikta* by some, and Kshatriya by others, the second view being supported by several inscriptions. During the period under survey, the Hūṇas, Gurjaras and other foreign tribes were absorbed in Indian society. The Hūṇas became ultimately recognised as one of the thirty-six respectable Rājput clans. A number of other Rājput clans such as the Paramāra, Pratihāra, Chāhamāna, Chālukya (Solāṅkī), Kalachuri, etc., were also very probably of foreign origin.[1] The Pratihāras were probably a branch of the Gurjara people. The people called Kalachuri (from the Turkish title *Kulchur*) appear to have been of Turkish origin. The case of these peoples was similar to that of the Greeks, Scythians and Parthians of an earlier age. As they were fighting and ruling races, they naturally claimed, after Indianisation, the status of the Kshatriya and ultimately came to be called Rājput. The word *Rājput* (Sanskrit *Rāja-putra*) literally means 'a prince'; but ultimately it came to mean 'a cavalier' and was applied to indicate a member of the foreign (and in some cases indigenous)

1 Cf. Ch. XXV, Section I.

ruling clans settled in Western India. The same word is also found in the corrupt form of *Rāvat* which is a title of noblemen and subordinate rulers. The change in the meaning of the word is comparable to that of the word *Rāval* (Sanskrit *Rāja-kula*) which originally meant the king's family, then a member of the royal family, and ultimately became a title of noblemen.

The formation of castes out of professional communities is also in evidence from works like the *Manu-smṛiti*. But there is a more interesting historical instance in the period under review. The office of the *Kāyastha* (accountant-scribe) seems to have been instituted about the beginning of the Gupta period.[2] This, like some other professions, was not restricted to any particular *varṇa* and could be followed by people of different *varṇa*s including the Brāhmaṇas. But references such as that to the *Vālabha-Kāyastha-vaṁśa* in the Sañjan plates of A.D. 871 and the *Śrīvāstavya-kul-odbhūta-Kāyastha* in the records of the Gāhaḍavālas, and certain other evidences appear to suggest that the Kāyasthas lost their original official and professional character and became a social class or community before the end of the period under survey, at least in some parts of the country. The crystallization of the community into a caste may have been influenced by the adoption of the clerical profession by most members of an old tribe called Karaṇa, just as the organization of the professional community of the Vaidyas or physicians of Bengal into a caste at a later date seems to have been influenced by their association with a tribal people called the Ambashṭhas. Brahmanical personal names with a large number of modern Bengali Kāyastha cognomens (e.g., Datta, Ghosha, Vasu, Dāma and the like) occur in several early epigraphs discovered in the Bengali-speaking area, and it has been suggested by some scholars that there is a considerable Brāhmaṇa element in the present-day Kāyastha population of Bengal. In this connection, the evidence of the Nidhanpur inscriptions is very interesting although it can be supported by earlier epigraphs of the time of the Imperial Guptas; in this record, persons belong-

2 The Kāyasthas served kings, feudatory chiefs, petty landlords, rulers of provinces or districts, judges, etc., in various capacities such as scribe, secretary, accountant and revenue-collector. An official, who usually sat beside his master and was often the chief intermediary between his master and the latter's clients or subjects, may have been naturally called *kāyāstha* 'as if staying in the person of his master', by reason of his intimacy with or influence on the master, of his position often next to that of his master, and of his seat beside that of his master, at least when the latter was a petty land-lord or the like, see *BV*, X, pp. 280-84. Some scholars believe that the word *Kāyastha* is the Sanskritised form of a non-Aryan word, while others take *kāya* in this case as indicating 'a department of administration'. See *NIA*, VI, pp. 160-62; also I, pp. 740-43; VI. p. 49.

ing to the same *gotra* under a particular *śākhā* of a Veda have usually the same name-endings which, moreover, are now found usually as cognomens among the Bengali Kāyasthas.[2a] It may be pointed out that cognomens, unknown in the earlier period of Indian history, gradually developed in many cases in the period under review. A large number of the cognomens now prevalent among the upper caste Hindus of Bengal is derived from the name-endings of the progenitors of particular families stereotyped at a certain date prior to the late mediaeval period. This process of a name-ending becoming a cognomen began to operate in the early centuries of the Christian era. It must, however, be remembered that the process was not completed even in Eastern India till much later times. The first known king of the Gupta dynasty was Gupta whose son was Ghaṭotkacha; but when the latter's son Chandragupta founded an empire, his descendants always stuck to the name-ending *gupta* and soon the family came to be known as the Gupta dynasty. In the early part of the eighth century, there was a person named Dayitavishṇu whose son was Vapyaṭa; but when the latter's son Gopāla founded an empire, his descendants continued the use of the name-ending *pāla* and soon the family became known as the Pāla dynasty. The Kāyasthas and the Śreshṭhins, Sārthavāhas and Kulikas were the most important classes in the population of North Bengal in the Gupta period, and the headmen of these classes often constituted the administrative board. Another important class was that of the Kuṭumbins or agriculturist householders. The classification of the population based on profession, as suggested by this evidence, reminds one of a similar classification known to Megasthenes, and is possibly an index to the conventional and theoretical character of the traditional division of the Indian people into four *varṇas*.

According to later *nibandha-kāras*, such as Yama and Śātātapa,[3] the names of Brāhmaṇas should end in words like *śarman* or *deva*, those of Kshatriyas in *varman*, *trātṛi*, etc., those of the Vaiśyas in *gupta*, *datta*, *bhūti*, etc., and those of the Śūdras in *dāsa*. A tendency towards such specification can be clearly traced even in the

2a The evidence of the Nidhanpur inscription is corroborated by the Paschimbhag copper-plate grant of Śrīchandra of the tenth century. The latter record also contains names of Brāhmaṇa donees with similar cognomens. Probably many of the donees of Srichandra's grant were descendants of those mentioned in the Nidhanpur record. For the Paschimbhag copper-plate, see K. Gupta, *Copper-Plates of Sylhet*, (Sylhet, 1967), pp. 81 ff. *Ed*

3 Cf. Suc., Sat., pp. 197, 211. The *Smṛiti-nibandhas* are believed to have been written before the end of the tenth century.

Manu-smṛiti (II. 32), although in actual practice we find that the rule was not rigidly followed even down to the end of the period of our survey. To cite only one late instance, we may refer to the family of the Brāhmaṇa Pītavāsa-gupta-śarman, who was the son of Sumaṅgala-gupta, grandson of Varāha-gupta, and great-grandson of Makkaḍa-gupta and received a gift from king Śrīchandra of Bengal in the tenth century.

The son usually adopted the profession of his father; but the conventional prescription of different professions for the four *varṇas* was often not followed in practice. The Smṛitis speak of Brāhmaṇas following non-Brāhmaṇical callings, and inscriptions testify to the existence of Brāhmaṇas who were agriculturists, traders, architects, and government servants. But the member of Brāhmaṇas devoted to religious and literary pursuits was not small. They were highly respected by the kings and commoners. Their position at the head of the society was fully established. There were also many Brāhmanas who adopted a military career and made themselves rulers of kingdoms. The Kshatriyas were also a respectable class, although they sometimes took to the traditional professions of the Vaiśyas. The chief officers of a guild of oilmen at Indore in Madhya Pradesh were Kshatriyas following the prescribed profession of the Vaiśyas. In an inscription of the time of Chandra-gupta II some Kshatriyas are described as merchants. Still the Kshatriyas were enjoying the status of the *dvija* or twice-born. There were no doubt caste-groups in the Brāhmaṇa and Kshatriya communities even from early times; but this was more remarkable for the Vaiśyas and Śūdras who formed the majority of the population. Such communities as the smiths, cattle-rearers, carpenters, oil-mongers, weavers, garland-makers and others became full-fledged caste-groups. In certain areas some of these castes may have still enjoyed the status of *dvija* as Vaiśya; but in many regions they were gradually falling in line with the Śūdras and the term *dvija* came to be exclusively applied to the Brāhmaṇas. The members of such caste-groups usually took interest only in their own caste and not in the wider social group to which they belonged. Occasionally they could have changed their profession. A section of the silk-weavers of the Lāṭa country in Gujarat, after settling at Daśapura in Malwa, adopted such professions as that of an archer, a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, a warrior and an ascetic.

An important feature of the caste system in our period was the gradual elevation in the social position of the Śūdras, although the process seems to have begun much earlier. The Smṛitis speaking of the *dvija*s, with special reference to the Brāhmaṇas, no doubt ob-

jected to their taking meals with a Śūdra; but an exception was made in regard to one's farmer, barber, milkman and family friend.[4] Some writers like Yājñavalkya, moreover, permit the Śūdras to become traders and agriculturists. Hiuan Tsang[5] refers to the Śūdras as an agriculturist class in the seventh century, while in the eleventh century Alberuni[6] found no great difference between the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras. According to this eleventh-century authority, members of the four *varṇas* lived 'together in the same towns and villages, mixed together in the same houses and lodgings', but commensality was not allowed The low-caste peoples were in our period called *antyajas* who represented the impure fifth social grade outside the *chatur-varṇa,* and followed various kinds of despised professions. Their social position was much lower than that of the Śūdras. They had often to live away from the area inhabited by the upper-caste peoples. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who visited India early in the fifth century, says that the Chaṇḍālas lived apart from other villagers. When they entered a city or market place they struck a piece of wood to make themselves known so that men might avoid coming into their contact. Hiuan Tsang says: 'Butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers have their habitations marked by a distinguishing sign. They are forced to live outside the city and sneak along on the left when going about in the hamlets.' According to Alberuni, the Hindus of north-western India regarded foreigners (meaning the Musalmans especially) as impure. The doctrine of impurity of the foreigner was no doubt very old; but, as we have seen, many foreign peoples were absorbed in the Indian social system after some sort of Indianisation On the whole the attitude of the Indians towards foreigners was never extremely hostile. There is also evidence to show that the Musalmans were favourably received in some parts of India. The strong feeling of the Hindus of North-Western India against Musalmans seems to be the result of the atrocities perpetrated by the latter against the former.

Slavery always existed in Indian society. But the social position of the slaves appears to have been better than that of the *Antyajas* or despised castes. They were not regarded as a social grade as in some other parts of the world. Prisoners of war, debtors unable to pay their debts, and gamblers unable to pay off their stakes were often reduced to slavery. Poor persons sometimes sold themselves to the rich for food during famines. The children of slaves were also slaves. But debtor-slaves could regain their liberty by getting

4 *Yaj.*, I, 166. 5 *HTW.*, I, p. 168. 6 Sachau's tr. I, pp. 101-2.

their dues paid either by themselves or by somebody else, while a prisoner of war had to supply a substitute for himself. A slave saving his master's life became free and was entitled to get a share of the latter's property. A female slave bearing a child to her master also attained freedom. Nārada deals in detail with slavery and refers to the procedure of emancipating a slave. The master took a jar from the shoulder of the slave and smashed it. He then sprinkled over the slave's head water containing grain and flowers and thrice declared him a free man.

The influence of the theory of *chatur-varṇa* was immense on the minds of the people. The kings of the periods claimed to have been 'employed in setting the system of *varṇa*s and *āśramas*' (although the *vānaprastha* and *sannyāsa āśramas* were losing their popularity and coming to be regarded as *kali-varjya* (i.e., 'not permitted in the present Kali age') and in 'keeping the *varṇas* confined to their respective spheres of duty'. But this was merely an ideal never fully realised.

2. *Marriage and Family*

The ideal form of marriage was that between a bride and bridegroom of the same caste, although it was rather inaccurately called *savarṇa* marriage. But *a-savarṇa* and inter-caste marriages were also known, especially in the royal families. It must, however, be remembered that early works on law appear to have interpreted marriage as including various types of union leading to the birth to children (cf. the *gāndharva, rākshasa* and *paiśācha* forms of marriage).[7] Of course some of the practices, prescribed in early works, gradually came to be obsolete and were ultimately called *kali-varjya*.[8] The *Manu-smṛiti* rather reluctantly admits the validity of marriages between a man of the higher *varṇa* and a woman of the lower, technically known as *anuloma*, while the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* (I. 93) does not regard even *pratiloma* marriages (those between woman of a higher *varṇa* and man of a lower) as entirely invalid. Marriage with a Śūdra girl is recognised, though generally condemned; Yājñavalkya (II. 134) allows the son of a Śūdra wife to inherit the property of his Brāhmaṇa father, although Bṛihaspati recognises the right only in the case of movable property but not in regard to land.[9]

7 These have been described in Vol. II., but there is no reason to believe that inter-caste marriage was confined to these forms. *Ed.*

8 The *Kalivarjya* idea seems to have developed before the ninth century (cf. Medhātithi on Manu IX. 112), and fully established, at least in some parts of the country, by the twelfth century.

9 Bṛihaspati (GOS Ed.) Ch. XVI. 42-43. [Brihaspati admits it in one passage (XXV. 27) but rejects it in another (XXV. 32). *Ed*]

The Smritis (cf. Yaj. I. 88) permit the wife of a lower *varṇa* to participate in religious ceremonies only if the husband had no wife of his own *varṇa*. It is clear from the attitude of the writers on law that inter-caste marriages often took place in society although they were disliked by the orthodox. The case seems to be analogous with that of the *punarbhū* to be discussed below. There is no doubt that marriages within one's community had become the social ideal, and the description of the search of a merchant's son for his bride in the Gomini story of the *Daśakumāra-Charita* suggests that the common people usually thought only of marrying a girl who was one's *savarṇā*.

As regards intercaste marriages of both the *pratiloma* and *anuloma* types in royal families, we may refer to the marriage of a daughter of Kākusthavarman of the Brāhmaṇical Kadamba family with a bridegroom of the non-Brahmanical Gupta family, and to that of the Gupta princes Prabhāvatīguptā with Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II who was a Brāhmaṇa of the Vishṇuvṛiddha *gotra*. Prabhāvatī became the chief queen of her husband; but it is interesting to note that she still retained her father's family name and *gotra* (cf. her name Prabhāvatī-*guptā* and her epithet *dhāraṇa-sagotrā*). This shows that there was no *sampradāna* and the consequent *gotrāntara* (change of the wife's *gotra* to that of her husband) in her marriage with the Vākāṭaka king The marriage therefore could not have been of the *brāhma, daiva, ārsha* or *prājāpatya* categories, but was apparently one among the *āsura, gāndharva, rākshasa* or *paiśācha* types, although the *āsura* form seems to be possible in the present case.[10] Prabhāvatī's mother Kubera-*nāgā* also retained her father's family name even after her marriage in the Gupta family. But marriages which were not based on *sampradāna* and did not involve a *gotr-āntara* went gradually out of use, at least amongst the ordinary people.

The system of *niyoga* approved of by early writers like Manu became gradually extinct. Yājñavalkya and Nārada were not opposed to *niyoga*; but Bṛihaspati and others were not in its favour. The remarriage of widows was looked upon with disfavour, but its prevalence in society had to be admitted by Manu and other writers. Nārada and Parāśara (between the seventh and tenth centuries) permit remarriage of widows under certain conditions. Some authors like Vasishṭha make a distinction between a woman whose marriage was consummated and another whose marriage remained uncon-

10 This is an ingenious deduction, but hardly convincing or even probable. The case of Kuberanāgā, noted in the next sentence, takes away much of the force of the author's argument. For other cases of similar marriage, cf. *PIHC*, 1945, pp. 48-52. *Ed.*

summated, and prescribe remarriage only in the case of the latter. But both *niyoga* and remarriage of widow or of married girl ultimately came to be regarded as *kali-varjya*.[11] According to the story of the *Devī-Chandragupta*, Dhruva-devi or Dhruvasvāminī, chief queen of Chandra-gupta II Vikramāditya, was the widow of his deceased elder brother Rāma-gupta. Whatever be the historicity of this tradition, such marriages were apparently not regarded as abnormal in the days of the author of this work who seems to have flourished about the close of the sixth century. But the social position of the remarried widow called *punarbhū* seems to be clear from Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* which, in its present form, probably belongs to the Gupta age. It appears that there was no regular marriage for a widow or a married woman deserted by her husband, but that there was no bar for her to ally herself to a man of her choice. The position of a *punarbhū* was apparently nearer to that of a mistress than to that of a wedded wife.[12] In the royal harem, where separate quarters were allotted to different types of women, the *punarbhūs* occupied a position midway between that of the *devīs* or queens who lived in the innermost apartments, and that of the *gaṇikās* or courtesans who were quartered in the outermost. This seems to be supported by Hiuan Tsang who says that in India 'a woman never contracts a second marriage'.[13] Widows, who did not marry again, lived an ascetic life. The custom of *satī*, i.e., burning of the widow with her dead husband, was quite well known (cf. the *Kāmasūtra* reference to *anumaraṇa* and the evidence of the Eran inscription of A.D. 510), but was not popular.

The types of marriages and the categories of sons recognised by the *Smṛitis* show that public opinion was not particularly fastidious, at least in the earlier part of our period, about the establishment of sexual relation between man and woman. Such works as the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* show how a *gaṇikā* or courtesan could become a rather honoured mistress of a Brāhmaṇa. But the social position of the *punarbhū* and *gaṇikā* was no doubt normally lower than that of a wedded wife although in certain cases they might have wielded con-

11 This seems to have taken place after the period dealt with in this Volume. See n. 8 above. *Ed.*

12 This can be hardly accepted in view of the fact that Nārada discusses separately the case of *punarbhū* (XII. 45-48) and that of a wife or widow who is 'justified in taking another husband' (XII. 97). He clearly says that 'no offence is imputed to a woman' in the latter case (XII. 101). The writer thinks that more liberal views were probably held in the areas where Nārada and Parāśara Smṛitis were compiled. *Ed.*

13 *HTW*, I. 168. But such statements of a foreigner should not be taken literally. Both Hiuan Tsang and Megasthenes, for example, say, that no marriage took place between different castes, but this cannot be possibly true. *Ed.*

siderable influence on the husband. It is reasonable to hold that in a vast country like India society was not everywhere exactly the same, and changes also took place with the passage of time. Such differences, due to geographical and chronological factors, are noticeable also in the works on law compiled in different parts of the country and in different ages. This is specially to be remembered when one thinks of the position of women in society. The degree of freedom in their movement was probably different in different parts of the country, and in different ages, and also different with different classes of people. The upper class women enjoyed less freedom in our period. Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* depicts the life of a *nāgaraka's* wife as a round of duties in an atmosphere of control and restraint. Even greater restraint and seclusion of women are suggested for an earlier period by the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra.* But we have also evidence of queens reigning by their own right in Orissa and Kashmir. The Bhauma-Kara queen Tribhuvanamahādevī is said to have ruled Orissa during the minority of her grandson just as an ancient queen named Gosvaminī. King Śivakara III was succeeded by his brother's wife Prithvīmahādevī, while Śubhākara V of the same family was followed on the throne by his queen Gaurī, then by his daughter Daṇḍimahādevī, then by his other queen Vakulamahādevī and then by a queen of his elder brother. Prabhāvatīguptā ruled the Vākāṭaka kingdom at least for 13 years as 'the mother of the *yuvarāja*'. Rājyaśrī is known from Chinese sources to have administered the government in conjunction with her brother, King Harshavardhana. Girls, at least of the noble families, appear to have received liberal education. But, as Yājñavalkya says, women were ineligible for *upanayana* and Vedic studies.[14] In some cases they also received training in various arts.

The theoretical nature of the Smṛitis seems to be demonstrated by their approach to the question of the marriageable age of girls.[15] In earlier times post-puberty marriage of girls was general, although pre-puberty marriages also sometimes took place. The *Manu-smṛiti* denounces post-puberty marriage of girls, although it permits a person to keep his daughter unmarried up to any age in case a suitable bridegroom was not available. Later writers on law vehemently condemn marriage of girls after puberty. It must be admit-

14 Manu and Vātsyāyana suggest that the husband usually appointed the wife to receive and spend money, to keep accounts and to pay servants' wages. Such duties no doubt required some amount of education on the part of women at least of the upper classes.

15 The same was probably true of other questions like *niyoga,* remarriage of widows, marriage with a Śūdra etc. *Ed.*

ted that gradually this came to be the regular attitude of society; but there is evidence to show that post-puberty marriage of girls occasionally took place, at least in royal families. According to the *Harsha-charita*, princess Rājyaśrī was already a *yuvatī* (cf. *yauvanaṁ=āruroha*) or *taruṇī* (*taruṇībhūtā*), before her marriage. The description of a girl's developed bust before her marriage, as found in the story of Gomini in the *Daśakumāra-charita*, probably tells the same story for the southern part of India. Vātsyāyana says that a *prāpta-yauvanā* girl, placed in unfavourable circumstances, should try to arrange for her marriage herself. He also speaks of *bālā*, *yuvatī* and *vatsalā* or *prauḍhā* virgins although the last category may refer actually to a *punarbhū* of the *a-kshata-yoni* class.

Polygamy seems to have been an established custom, at least among the kings and wealthy persons, whose houses had an *antaḥpura* or inner suit of apartments where the ladies resided in seclusion. Vātsyāyana speaks of a harem 'with a thousand spouses'. Works like Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and the *Mṛichchhakaṭika* suggest that the *antaḥpura* was guarded against intrusion of strangers, and even a woman, who was not of approved character, was not admitted within. A lady of the *antaḥpura*, however, could join religious festivities and processions as well as social gatherings with the permission of her husband. The absence of a restraining guardian for women is condemned by writers like Manu and Vātsyāyana. Women of the poorer classes enjoyed more freedom as they had often to do various kinds of outdoor work.

The family was sometimes large, as the patriarchs appear to have lived often jointly with their grown-up sons and grandsons, and as brothers sometimes lived together even after their father's death. Partition of the family in the lifetime of the father was discouraged by the early writers on law. A ninth-century inscription of Assam records the grant of a village to the eldest of three brothers who were living jointly, and who did not separate themselves for fear of the loss of *dharma* There are, however, cases in the land-grants of shares being allotted to the father and sons separately by kings. Manu favoured partition of the property among the brothers after the death of the parents. This apparently shows that partition of the family was also not unknown. The father was the owner of the family property, although the right of his sons to their respective shares was recognised. The so-called *Mitāksharā* system of inheritance was prevailing in wide regions of the country. The Smṛitis denounce a Brāhmaṇa forcing partition against his father's will. But the so-called *Dāyabhāga* system of inheritance was apparently not unknown in certain areas of the country. Earlier works like the

Manu-smriti recognised twelve categories of sons including those who were begotten on one's wife by someone else and were technically classified as *kshetraja, kānīna, kuṇḍa, gola,* etc.; but with the exception of *aurasa* (begotten by one's own self) and *dattaka* (adopted), the ten other categories of sons gradually lost recognition and came to be regarded ultimately as *kali-varjya*.[16] The old custom of the eldest son getting a larger share of the father's property was not unknown in the earlier part of the period,[17] but it was becoming unpopular and obsolete, and sons were getting equal shares of the family property. The widow of a husband belonging to a joint family got only a maintenance. In case the husband was separately enjoying his property at the time of death, his widow could enjoy her husband's share as a life estate according to some writers like Yājñavalkya and Bṛihaspati, although others like Nārada were opposed to it. This difference of opinion, as already indicated was no doubt based on the difference of time and place, more probably the latter. Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* speaks of the property of a childless widow of a merchant being confiscated by the Crown. A girl who had a brother was not allowed a share of the father's property, although the brother had to spend at the time of her marriage to the extent of one-fourth of his share.

3. *Luxury, Amusements, Food and Dress*

Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* gives a vivid picture of the life of a *nāgaraka* or city-bred wealthy man of fashion. He lived in a *harmya* or *prāsāda* with a pleasure-garden attached to it.[18] Various kinds of flowers and vegetables were grown in the garden under the care of the *nāgaraka's* wife. It contained a *samudra-griha* or summer house surrounded by water, and also rooms having secret passages for water in the walls in order to take away heat. The inner apartment of the house was occupied by the ladies of the family, the *nāgaraka* passing most of his time in the outer chambers. In the *nāgaraka's* room there were two couches with soft and white beds

16 But not probably during the period treated in this volume. See n. 8 above. *Ed.*

17 Cf. *SII*, III. 199.

18 Hiuan Tsang gives us some idea about the cities and houses, *HTW*. I, p. 147. According to him, the quadrangular walls of the cities were broad and high; but the thoroughfares were narrow tortuous passages. Most of the city walls were built of bricks, while walls of houses and enclosures were wattled bamboo or wood. The halls and terraced belvederes had wooden flat-roofed rooms and were coated with lime and covered with burnt and unburnt tiles. They were of extraordinary height. The houses thatched with coarse or common grass were of bricks or boards; their walls were ornamented with lime and the floor was purified with cow-dung and strewn with flowers of the season.

low in the middle and having rests for head and feet at the two ends. At the head of the bed was the *kūrchasthāna* for placing the image of the deity he worshipped. There was also a shelf for keeping articles of toilet such as sandal paste, flower garlands, sweet perfumes, skin of the citron fruit for perfuming the mouth, and betel leaves prepared with spices On the floor was a spittoon and on brackets on the wall a *vīṇā*, which he played, and a casket containing a poetical work, requisites for painting, flowers, etc. On the floor was spread a carpet on which there were cushions as well as boards for playing chess and dice. Outside the room were hung birds for game and sport. There was a room where the *nāgaraka* amused himself by working at the lathe or the chisel.

The *nāgaraka* got up early in the morning, attended to his morning duties including cleansing his mouth and teeth and proceeded to his toilet. He rubbed a moderate quantity of sandalwood or other sweet smelling paste on his person, scented his clothes with the smoke of incense and wore a garland on his head or neck. He applied collyrium to his eyes and a red dye to his lips which were then rubbed over with wax. Then he chewed betel, attended to his hair and went to his business. He wore rings on his fingers and other ornaments, and generally two garments, a *vāsas* or *vastra* and an *uttarīya* which was properly scented. After attending to his morning business, he took his bath. Occasionally he got his limbs massaged and also cleaned with a soap-like substance called *phenaka*. He shaved his beard every fourth day and dressed his nails specially, particularly those of the left hand. He often carried a *karpaṭa* or napkin for removing perspiration. He took two meals, one in the forenoon and the other in the afternoon. Among his articles of diet were rice, wheat, barley, pulses, a large number of vegetables, milk and its preparations like *ghee*, meat, sweets including molasses, sugar and smeetmeats, salt and oil. Meat, boiled as soup as well as dry or roasted, was taken, though it was not favoured by all.[19] His drinks included besides water and milk, fresh juice of fruits, extracts of meat, rice-gruel, *sharbats* and stronger drinks like *surā*, *madhu*, *maireya* and *āsava* which were taken from a vessel of wood or metal often mixed with sweets and savouries in order to impart a relish.

19 Hiuan Tsang says: 'Milk, *ghee*, granulated sugar, sugar-candy, cakes and parched grain with mustard-seed oil are the common food; and fish, mutton, venison are occasional dainties. The flesh of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves, lions, monkeys, apes is forbidden, and those who eat such food become pariahs'; Onions and garlic are little used and people who eat them are ostracised'. (*HTW*, I p. 178).

After midday meal, the *nāgaraka* enjoyed his siesta and viewed fights between cocks, quails or rams, or was engaged in some artistic amusement. He kept cuckoos, peacocks and monkeys for this purpose. At the king's palace there were also lions and tigers in cages. In the afternoon the *nāgaraka* attended the *goshṭhī* or social gathering where he engaged himself in intellectual diversions with his friends and in tests of skill in the arts. At night he enjoyed in his own room vocal and instrumental music often attended with dance.

The above picture of the life of a wealthy and cultured citizen is no doubt conventional, but it certainly gives us a general idea which may be regarded as more or less true for the whole of our period. Vātsyāyana also refers to several kinds of occasional festivities. There were festivals connected with the worship of different deities (*samāja, yātrā,* and *ghaṭa*) often attended with processions. There were *goshṭhīs* or social gatherings of both sexes, *āpānakas* or drinking parties, and *udyāna-yātrās* or garden parties including picnic and water sports. Another class of social diversion in which many persons took part was known as the *samasyā-krīḍā. Samājas* were occasionally held in honour of deities like Sarasvatī and were accompanied by the performances of musicians, dancers and other artists who were often permanently appointed for periodical performances. Sometimes itinerant parties of artists were also employed to show their skill in the *samājas*. In the *goshṭhīs* the *nāgarakas* showed their skill in the literary arts, such as extempore composition of verses, completion of a stanza of which only a part was given, expounding passages written in a secret code and the like. Besides literary competitions, they also showed their skill in painting, singing, instrumental music, etc., and also in such practical arts as the making of garlands. The cultured people of the Gupta age, when the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana seems to have been recast, spoke a language that was a mixture of Sanskrit and Prākrit. The *goshṭhī* was also held by women in the *antaḥpura,* and sometimes by persons with a view to doing mischief to others. *Gaṇikās* often played an important part in the *goshṭhīs*. The *samasyā-krīḍā* or *sambhūya-krīḍā* of the *Kāmasūtra* were religious festivals like the *Kaumudījāgara, Holākā* (modern Holī), *Hallīsaka* (like the *rās-otsava* described in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*), *Suvasantaka* and the like. Besides the lute, *ḍamaru* or *mṛidaṅga, udaka-vādya* (playing on cups filled with water in varying proportions), concert, etc., were popular; so were dramatical performances by trained men and women.

Playing with dolls and games of chance with dice and cards, games like odd-and-even, closed-first, hide and seek, blind-man's-

buff, etc., were common among girls. Wrestling and hunting occupied a section of the males, and ball games children and women.

Gambling with dice required authorisation from the king. The master of the gaming house arranged for such games as gambling with dice, small slices of leather, little staves of ivory, etc., and betting on birds employed in fighting, and paid the stakes which were won The *Mitāksharā*, commenting on a statement of Nārada to this effect, says that such games included chess and races of elephants, horses, chariots, etc., and that the birds were cocks, pigeons and others, although wrestlers, rams, buffaloes, etc., were also engaged in similar fighting. Bṛihaspati adds deer to the list of animals. The profit of the conductor of games amounted to ten per cent according to Nārada. No gambler was allowed to enter into another gambling house before having paid his debt to the master of the gaming house. Gamblers could also play elsewhere in public, but they had to pay to the king the share due to him. Bṛihaspati says that although gambling was prohibited by Manu, it was permitted by other legislators so as to allow the king a share of every stake. He also says that in a prize-fight between two animals, the wager which had been laid was to be paid by the owner of the defeated animal. The keeper of the gaming house, according to Bṛihaspati, received the stakes and paid the shares of the victorious gamblers and the king.

As regards eating of meat and drinking of wine, the attitude of society was gradually stiffening at least with reference to the Brāhmaṇas; they were, however, popular with the other castes. Hiuan Tsang says: 'The wines from the vine and sugarcane are the drink of the Kshatriyas; the Vaiśyas drink a strong distilled spirit; the Buddhist monks and Brāhmaṇas drink syrup of grapes and of sugarcane; the low mixed castes are without any distinguishing drink.'[20]

Water clocks were used by wealthy persons, government offices, and religious establishments to ascertain time. A bowl with a small hole at the bottom was kept floating in a larger vessel filled with water so that it was filled by water coming into it through the hole in 24 minutes. Attendants were necessary to empty the bowl out and float it again the moment it was filled and drowned, and to announce the time by striking a gong.

The *nāgaraka's* dress, referred to above, was in general use among gentlemen in Northern India; but the kings often used coats and trousers introduced by foreigners. The Gupta Emperors, as known

20 *HTW*, I, p. 178.

from their coins, used both the traditional as well as the foreign dress. The Arab writer Istakhrī speaks of 'the trousers and tunic that were worn by the kings of Hind. Turbans and shoes (rarely worn, according to Hiuan Tsang) were also often used. In the north-western part of the country, the people adopted the dress introduced by foreign settlers. With reference to the cold regions of North India, Hiuan Tsang says: 'Closely fitting jackets are worn somewhat like those of the Tartars', although, generally speaking, 'the inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring; as to colour a fresh white is esteemed, and motley is of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and up to the armpits and leave the right shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both shoulders and falls down loose.'[21] This also seems to refer to the north-western districts of India. Alberuni says: 'They use turbans for trousers. Those who want little dress are content to dress in a rag of two fingers' breadth, which they bind over their loins with two cords; but those who like much dress, wear trousers lined with so much cotton as would suffice to make a number of counterpanes and saddle-rugs. These trousers have no visible openings. and they are so huge that the feet are not visible. The string by which the trousers are fastened is at the back. Their *sidār* (a piece of dress covering the head and the upper part of breast and neck) is similar to the trousers, being also fastened to the back by buttons. The lappets of the *kurṭakas* (short shirts for females from the shoulders to the middle to the body with sleeves), have slashes both on the right and left sides.'[21a]

The dress of women was not exactly the same in the different parts of the country. In some areas, and amongst certain classes, petticoat and *sāḍī* were used, although the *sāḍī* alone was popular elsewhere. The use of bodice below the *sāḍī* in order to cover the bust was known and becoming gradually popular; but the practice of leaving the bust uncovered was widely prevalent in earlier times.[22] Foreigners introduced the use of jackets, blouses and frocks which was spreading gradually, although some sections, e.g., the dancing girls, appear to have adopted them quite early. Cotton garments were generally used; but silk was popular with the ladies of the fashionable and wealthy class.

Women dressed their hair in a large number of graceful fashions. The use of false hair to increase the volume of the braid was not

21 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

21a Sachau's tr. I, p. 180.

22 For a full discussion on this subject, cf. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 338 ff.

unknown. Regarding the people of both sexes, Hiuan Tsang says: "The hair on the crown of the head is made into a coil, all the rest of the hair hanging down. Some (men) clip their mustaches or have other fantastic fashions'.[23] Both men and women were fond of using various sorts of ornaments. Rings, bangles, armlets, anklets, girdles, necklaces and ear-rings were the most popular ornaments all of which had a great variety of designs. Necklaces with a number of strings covering parts of the bust were often used by the rich A similar ornament was occasionally used to adorn the thighs. The nose-ring was not in use. Precious stones of various colours were embedded in the golden ornaments worn by rich people. The poorer section of the population remained satisfied with ornaments made of cheap metals such as silver, brass and lead. According to Hiuan Tsang, 'the dress and ornaments of the kings and grandees are very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras with precious stones are their head-adornments and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets and necklaces. Wealthy mercantile people have only bracelets'.[23a]

4. *Education, Moral Ideas, General Beliefs and Superstitions*

The kings and the high officials as well as the cultured and wealthy citizens usually patronised literary men. Indeed, most of the celebrated authors are known to have enjoyed the patronage of royal courts. The styles of Sanskrit poetical composition, known as *Vaidarbhī* and *Gauḍī*, must have developed under the patronage of the rulers of Berar (Vidarbha) and West Bengal (Gauḍa), some time before the seventh century. Pāṭaliputra and Ujjayinī were great centres of learning in the Gupta age The astronomer Āryabhaṭa, who was born in A.D. 476 and wrote his *Āryabhaṭīya* in A.D. 499, belonged to Kusumapura (Pāṭaliputra) and was probably attached to the imperial court of the Guptas. The immortal Kālidāsa (fourth-fifth century), author of such masterpieces of classical Sanskrit literature as the *Kumārasambhava*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Meghadūta* and *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam*, is traditionally associated with the Gupta Vikramāditya. The Prākrit grammarian Vararuchi and a number of other notables are also similarly associated. The age of the Guptas was characterised by great activity in all the spheres of literature and the sciences. The Buddhist philosophers Asaṅga, Vasubandhu and Diṅnāga the lexicographer Amara, and the grammarian Chandragomin flourished in the same age. Varāhamihira, who belonged to a family of Maga-Brāhmaṇas (i.e., Persian Magi priests settled and naturalised in India) and probably to the Ujjain school of astronomy, wrote the *Brihatsaṁhitā* and a number of works on astronomy

23 *HTW*, i, p. 148. 23a *Ibid.*, p. 151.

and astrology in the sixth century.[23b] Another great astronomer and mathematician of the post-Gupta period was Brahmagupta (born A.D. 628) of Bhillamāla (Bhinmal in the old Jodhpur State). Kanauj and Valabhī became famous at a later date. The celebrated Bāṇa, author of the *Harsha-charita* and *Kādambari*, as well as Mayūra and others enjoyed the patronage of the Kanauj court under Harshavardhana (606-47). The great dramatist Bhavabhūti, author of the *Uttara-Ramacharita*, *Vīracharita* and *Mālatīmādhava*, flourished at the court of king Yaśovarman (730-53) of Kanauj. His dramas were staged on the occasion of the annual festival of the god Kālapriyanātha at modern Kalpi in the Jalaun district of Uttarpradesh. Vākpatirāja, author of the Prākrit poem *Gauḍavaho*, was another protégé of Yaśovarman. Rājaśekhara wrote numerous works about the end of the ninth and the first part of the tenth century at the courts of the Kanauj kings Mahendrapāla I and his son Mahīpāla, of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra dynasty, as well as that of king Yuvarāja I of Ḍāhala. The poet-grammarian Bhartṛihari (sixth-seventh century) flourished at the court of the Maitrakas of Valabhī. The kings of Kashmir are known to have patronised scholars. In the eighth century Udbhaṭa, the chief Paṇḍit at the court of king Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir, is said to have enjoyed a daily pay of one lakh *dīnāras* (i.e., cowries or the value of that sum in *khāris* of grain, corresponding to about 28½ rupees in Stein's calculation). A famous Kashmirian critic was Ānandavardhana (ninth century), author of the *Dhvanyāloka*. Some holy places like Benares were also regarded as centres of learning. The celebrated Arab astronomer Abu Ma'shar of Balkh who died in A.D. 885 is said to have studied for ten years at Benares. Buddhist monasteries like the *vihāras* of Nālandā and Vikramaśīla (or Vikramaśilā) in Bihar were also famous centres of education and attracted students of distant countries like China. The Nālandā monastery was founded in the age of the Imperial Guptas, while the Vikramaśīla *vihāra* was established in the eighth or ninth century by the Pāla king Dharmapāla or Devapāla. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang received part of his religious education at Nālandā under the guidance of the great Buddhist teacher Śīlabhadra. According to I-tsing, Chinese students learnt Sanskrit with the help of the grammatical work, *Kāśikāvṛitti*, by Jayāditya and Vāmana (sixth-seventh century). Buddhist scholars attached to the monasteries of Bihar are known to have laid the foundation of Buddhism in Tibet. In the

23b Varāhamihira, who describes himself as Āvantyaka, was born and received his education at Saṅkāśya (modern Sankissa in the Farrukhabad district, U.P.) and migrated to Ujjain later on. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛihatsaṁhitā* (Delhi, 1969), pp. 18 ff. [KKDG]

eighth century, Padmasambhava and Śāntirakshita established the the first regular Buddhist monastery of Bsam-ye in Tibet on the model of the Odantapuri *vihāra* in Magadha. *Maṭhas* or colleges were attached to the important Brahmanical temples in different parts of India Private teachers who trained students for a small honorarium lived in cities and towns as well as villages. Learned Brāhmaṇas received gifts[24] for their maintenance from kings and wealthy persons. The Brāhmaṇas of some localities, such as those of Tarkārī in Śrāvastī, appear to have been famous for their learning throughout the country. Hiuan Tsang says that in India there is honour in having wisdom and no disgrace in being destitute but learned. Of all subjects of higher education, the study of scriptures was the most popular, and most of the highly educated persons were Brāhmaṇas. The advice of persons proficient in the sacred lore was sought by the people on ceremonial occasions. The study of logic and philosophy was also esteemed. But all students of Sanskrit learnt grammar which was considered as the 'gate' of Sanskrit learning. The Buddhists and Jainas, who originally preferred to write in Prākṛit, now inclined to Sanskrit. Among the sciences that were studied, the most popular appear to have been those of medicine and astronomy and astrology. The number of professional astrologers, astronomers and physicians in all parts of the country must have been high. The *Ashṭāṅgahṛidaya* of Vāgbhaṭa (seventh-eighth century) and the *Rugviniśchaya* of Mādhavakara (eighth-ninth century) were composed during the period under review. The study of political science was popular with the nobility. A notable contribution to this branch of study was Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* (seventh century). For the primary education of ordinary people there must have been a large number of smallar educational institutions, everywhere in the country, not probably always under a teacher of the Brahmana Community. The Kāyasthas or clerks, who were employed by the rulers and merchants, apparently learnt how to keep accounts and to draw up documents in such primary schools. People of several communities, including the Brāhmaṇas and Karaṇas, took to the profession of the scribe. Teachers of primary schools, sometimes called *lipiśālā*, were usually known as *dārakāchārya* (childrens' teacher). The alphabets were learnt by writing them by fingers on the

24 Grants of land were made by kings in favour of gods and Brāhmaṇas for the sake of merit. Granting lands and protecting the gifts made by former rulers were regarded as equally meritorious. Confiscation of the gift-lands by a later ruler of the country was regarded as especially unworthy of kings. Charters of the post-Gupta period often mention that a king made a particular grant on realising the transitoriness of life and prosperity.

ground covered by sand or fine dust. Children of rich men often used to write on wooden boards with some kind of coloured pencil. As already pointed out, Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* suggests a high standard of general education at least amongst the wealthy men and women of the city. Rich and cultured families often employed special tutors for the education of boys and girls.

Since most of the professions had become hereditary, technical education was usually imparted in the family. Sometimes, however, young students attached themselves as apprentices to master artisans for an agreed sum of money and an agreed number of years. According to Nārada (v. 16-21) apprentices, after learning particular arts and crafts, had to work gratis for some years for the master as compensation.

The life of the people, at least of the upper classes, was dominated by ceremonies, important and unimportant. The ideal of moral standard was high. It was believed that, unlike the contemporary iron age which was regarded as full of sin, there had been a golden age in olden times when there was no sin on earth, and the kings are often described as making particular efforts to restore the moral standard of the golden age. The *Smṛiti* writers such as Yājñavalkya prescribed the following virtues to be observed by all classes of the people: non injury to living beings, truthfulness, non-stealing, purity, restraint of senses, charity, self-control, kindness and forgiveness. Unfortunately this was actually an ideal, and it was admitted that the percentages of sin and virtue among the people were respectively seventy-five and twenty-five. It should, however, be admitted that the people were conscious of the ideal. Kings are often found to have granted lands to Brāhmaṇa householders to help them in performing the five daily *mahāyajñas* which were (1) lecturing on sacred knowledge, (2) presenting libations of water to the manes of deceased ancestors, (3) offering oblations to gods by throwing clarified butter into the consecrated fire, (4) offering a portion of the daily meal to all creatures, and (5) reception of guests. But, as indicated by the forms of marriage and the classes of sons recognised by the early law-givers, the standard of sexual morality does not appear to have been high, at least in the earlier part of the period under survey. According to Hiuan Tsang, the Indians 'are of hasty and irresolute temperaments, but of pure moral principles. They will not take any thing wrongfully and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution for sins in other lives and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceit and keep their sworn obligations.'[25] This is a general estimate, as he often notices peculiar charac-

25 *HTW*, i, p. 171.

teristics of the people of a particular area. The people of the north-west, from Laghman to Rajauri, e.g., are described as 'coarse and plain in personal appearance, of rude violent dispositions, with vulgar dialects and of scant courtesy and little fairness; they do not belong to India proper but are inferior peoples of frontier stocks'.[26]

Pilgrimage to holy places such as Prayāga, Gangāsāgara-saṅgama, Varāhakshetra (on the Kauśikī in Nepal), Gayā, Benares, Prabhāsa (in Kāthiāwār), Pushkara (near Ajmer), Kedāra (in the Himalayas) became popular. Sometimes persons (usually those suffering from incurable diseases or extreme old age) voluntarily immolated themselves in the holy waters of a *tīrtha*. *Śrāddha* of departed ancestors was considered more effective if it was performed at a holy place. Gifts were regarded as more meritorious if made on auspicious occasions such as a solar or lunar eclipse, vernal or autumnal equinox, and the sun's entry into a zodiac. The conception of the auspiciousness of particular days for the performance of ceremonies gradually gained great popularity. The importance attached to auspicious moments and signs in regard to marriage may be traced as early as the days of the *Grihyasūtras*; but its growing popularity in later times is testified to by Vātsyāyana and Varāhamihira. Vātsyāyana favoured marriage when signs, omens, portents and *upaśrutis* (supernatural voices heard as a result of mystic invocations of gods or occult utterences heard especially at night) were favourable. Varāhamihira gives details of a developed *śākunaśāstra* or 'the science of omens'. Signs observed at the time of *varaṇa* (the selection of the bride) were considered important for the selection or rejection of a girl. Some of the *vratas* such as the *ekādaśīvrata* seem to have become popular with the upper classes. Such popular ceremonies, many of which appear to have been non-Aryan in origin[27] and were gradually adopted by the upper classes, were coming to be a dominant factor in the life of the people. Some of the early festivals referred to by Vātsyāyana have been mentioned before. The autumnal worship of Durgā, which was perhaps originally a non-Aryan cult, is mentioned by Hiuan Tsang, Alberuni and Sandhyākara Nandi, and was becoming popular with the upper strata of society.

II. ECONOMIC CONDITION

The materials available for the reconstruction of the economic history of Northern India for the period in question are meagre. Some

26 *Ibid.*, p. 284.
27 (This is at best an assumption, not supported by any positive evidence—Ed.)

information may be gathered from stray references in literary works as well as technical treatises like those on *Arthaśāstra, Dharmaśāstra* and *Kāmaśāstra.* Kalhaṇa's chronicle of Kashmir also gives some valuable information for our period. But contemporary documents dealing with economic data are not available. This is all the more strange and regrettable, as we definitely know that the kings of the age had a record office styled *akshapaṭala* and even district officers had *pustapālas* or record-keepers attached to them. The officer in charge of the *akshapaṭala* department was a very important person in the state, who had a number of subordinate officers under him. From some Bengal records of the Gupta age it is learnt that the *pustapālas* kept a record of the state lands and, on applications for the purchase of such lands for religious purposes by private persons, were asked to report whether land of the price, quality and measurement quoted by the parties was available or not. This no doubt suggests the prevalence of some sort of survey. Later records sometimes mention pieces of land as belonging to particular persons and yielding particular amounts of revenue or measures of grain. This also points to the existence of survey-records. Unfortunately no such records of ancient times have come down to us.

1. *Land and Land-tenure*

The largest part of the population lived in compact groups in villages which were mostly dependent on agriculture, although some of them were exclusively inhabited by people of other professions. The villages usually consisted of three parts, viz., residential area, arable land, and pasture land. Reference is sometimes made to barren tracts, forests, pits, canals, tanks, temples, roads, and cattle-tracks pertaining to the villages There were numerous cities and towns in all parts of the country. They were usually developed round the residences of rulers, places of pilgrimage and centres of trade. While the villagers were chiefly dependent on the produce of the soil, and only partly on industry and commerce, the people of cities and towns followed mainly commercial and industrial pursuits, although some of them engaged themselves in agricultural, political, judicial and military activities. Cities were characterised by wealth and luxury while the villagers were mostly poor. There was also a marked distinction between the culture of the polished and clever citizens and that of the simple village folk.

The copper-plate grants usually refer to the free gift of pieces of land (sometimes cultivated, but often waste) or of entire villages made by kings in favour of Brāhmaṇas or religious institutions. Sometimes state lands were sold to particular parties, occasionally for the

latter's perpetual enjoyment, but usually to enable them make to free gifts. Most of the free gifts of land were regarded as *aprada, śāsana, chāturvaiayagrāma, brahmadeva* etc., and their perpetual enjoyment by the persons (and their heirs), or institutions, in whose favour they were made, was ensured, although they were often without any right of alienation by sale or mortgage. They were governed by the custom regarding permanent endowments of money called *mūlya, nīvī* or *akshayanīvī* of which only the interest was to be enjoyed by the donees. In many cases the donated lands were delimited by artificial devices such as chaff and charcoal or pegs. Sometimes the cultivators were asked to delimit a piece of land (apparently waste land) of the required measure outside their own fields. Gifts of land were usually rent-free; but in some cases a fixed rent is also mentioned in connection with gifts, while in others there is no specific mention that the land was made rent-free. The loss of the royal charter registering a rent-free gift involved the loss of immunity from taxation, and a fresh charter was required for the renewal of the privilege.

Free gifts of land usually carried with them certain immunities and privileges which were not exactly the same in all cases and in all localities; one of these was the immunity from the entry of *chāṭa* and *bhaṭa* (substituted by the word *chhātra* in some Vākāṭaka inscriptions), which are often explained as regular and irregular troops respectively, but may actually signify policemen and peons. According to some inscriptions of Western India, the gift land was made a holding 'not to be even pointed at with the hand by any of the royal officers'. In many cases, the gift land is clearly exempted from all taxes and burdens. The grant of rent-free villages usually carried with it the assignment of all kinds of income accruing to the Crown. In some cases, the donees of villages, who were to receive all the taxes in kind and cash that the cultivators had till then paid to the king, are known to have been allowed the right of enjoying the fines for 'the ten offences' committed in the villages.[28] But sometimes a village was granted without the right of enjoying the fines for theft and other offences (cf. *chora-daṇḍa-varjita, chora-drohaka-varja, sa-chaur-oddharaṇa,* etc.) Often the privilege of enjoying the *uparikara* or the rent from temporary tenants also accompanied the gift of a village. This possibly shows that in some cases the donees

28 These ten minor offences were possibly theft, killing of living beings not in accordance with the precept, pursuit of the wives of others, harshness of languages, untruthfulness, slandering others, incoherent conversation, coveting the property of others, thinking of harming others and tenacity in doing wrong (*CII*, iii, p. 189, n.)

were allowed to enjoy the dues from the permanent tenants only (cf. *mukt-oparikara* in certain charters).

It seems that when the free gift was that of a piece of arable land belonging to the state, it practically became a freehold in most cases; but, in regard to the free gift of villages, merely the state-share of the produce and other dues from the inhabitants were conveyed to the donees. The vlliagers are often specifically ordered to be obedient to the commands of the donees and to pay them regularly the royal share of the produce (*bhāga*), periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers, etc., which they had to furnish to the king (*bhoga*), the tax to be paid besides the grain share (*kara*), the king's share of certain crops payable in cash (*hiraṇya*), duties (*pratyaya*), etc., while the future kings are requested not to collect their dues from the villages in question.[29] It was the custom not to confiscate such gift-lands; but sometimes it is clearly stated that a village granted to Brāhmaṇas could be confiscated in case the donees were guilty of heinous crimes such as rebellion against the Crown.[30] Unscrupulous rulers like the Kashmirian Śaṅkaravarman often resumed lands in the possession of free-holders.

The *śāsanas* of ancient Indian rulers were of several categories. In many cases, land was granted as a free gift of a rent-free holding.[31] Sometimes a piece of land was sold at a specified price but was made a perpetually rent-free holding.[32] In some other cases, the land is said to have been 'given' but a specified rent was fixed for it.[33] There were other cases[34] in which land was given without any clear specification whether it was made a free gift or a rent-free holding. There is little doubt that in many cases the word 'given' actually meant 'sold', and silence about making the land rent-free is an indication that it was revenue-paying, although certain concessions varying in different cases may have often been allowed to the holders. In anicent India the sale of land was sometimes theoretically represented as a gift. This is definitely suggested by the *Mitāksharā* on the Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, (ii. 114).[35] It is also supported by the quotation of the imprecatory verses, usually found in charters re-

29 *SI.*, p. 372.

30 *Ibid.*, pp. 423-24.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 417.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 347-49.

33 Cf. *JPASB*, i, pp. 12-13.

34 Cf. the Parbatiya plates of Vanamāla of Prāgjyotisha.

35 Cf. *sthāvarasya vikraya-pratishedhāt . . . dāna-praśaṁsāchcha vikraye = pi kartavye sa-hiraṇyam = udakam datvā dāna-rūpeṇa sthāvara-vikrayaṁ kuryāt* (Kane, *Hist. Dharma*, III, p. 567).

cording free gifts of land, in a deed of sale recorded in the Madras Museum Plates of the time of king Narendra-dhavala of Orissa.

Besides those who enjoyed the rent-free (possibly partial in some cases) holdings of different classes referred to above, which covered only a small portion of the agricultural land of the country, there was the large number of common cultivators. Little is known about their rights in the soil. The fact that some inscriptions speak of a piece of land as belonging to one but under the cultivation of a different person shows that some of the cultivators were non-proprietary or ex-proprietary tenants. The specification of immunities and privileges in the land-grants clearly shows that ordinary tenants had not only to pay many kinds of taxes and cesses, but had also a number of other obligations. Privileges of the holders of rent-free villages are specified as follows: 'together with the mango and *mahuā* trees', 'together with the ground and the space above it', 'together with land and water', 'together with treasures hidden underground' (*sa-nidhi; s-opanidhi*); 'together with fish and grass' (*sa-matsya; sa-tṛiṇa*). These and other similar expressions show that the ordinary tenants enjoyed none of these rights. They had to provide for the food and other articles of necessity to the royal officials visiting their localities, and also to pay the perquisites on such occasions as the birth of a prince or the marriage of a princess. This is suggested not only by the inscriptions but also by the Dharmaśāstras and other literary works. Such proprietary rights were only enjoyed by the kings, by the freeholders of landed properties, and apparently also by the various categories of subordinate chiefs or landlords mentioned in inscription as *rājan, sāmanta, rājānaka* (or *rāṇaka*), etc. According to Hiuan Tsang, 'ministers of state and common officials have all their portions of land and are maintained by the cities assigned to them'. But the officers had no right of alienation.[36]

Uncultivated land belonged to the state, while the ownership of cultivated land, often claimed theoretically on the king's behalf, lay actually with the tenants (with the exception of non-proprietary cultivators) who were bound to pay to the state a share of the produce but could not be easily dispossessed of their fields.[36a] Bṛihaspati and others speak of particular classes of people like the Śūdra who could not possess the lands of a Brāhmaṇa 'by sale, partition, or in lieu of

36 *Arthaśāstra* ii 1; *Śukranītisāra*, i, 211.

36a According to Manu (ix, 44) a person who made a piece of fallow land arable by felling the trees became the owner of the soil, although the exact nature of the ownersip is difficult to determine. Enjoyment of a field by three generations is said to have caused proprietary right, but such a field also, as well as a house inherited from ancestors, could be estranged from the owner by the king's will (*Nārada*, i, 99,

wages'. They further say that when the land is for sale, there is a right of pre-emption in favour of full brothers and other relations, neighbours, creditors, and co-villagers in order. This points to the right of transfer of land exercised by ordinary occupants. An early authority quoted in the *Mitāksharā* (Y., ii. 114) says that land is transferred with the asset of villagers, relations, neighbours and co-sharers, but does not refer to the king or his officials.[37]

2. *Agriculture*

The agriculturist householders played a very important part in the economic life of India. Although the inscriptions of the period under survey show that large areas of land were uncultivated or covered with jungle, they also point to the gradual expansion of cultivation. This may have been due mainly to the increase in population. Riparian regions of the country were densely populated and were almost fully under cultivation. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang bears testimony to the fact that almost in every part of Northern India, from the borders of Afghanistan to those of Burma, fields were regularly cultivated and produced grains, fruits and flowers in great abundance, but 'as the districts vary in their natural qualities they differ also in their natural products'. He makes a general mention of mango, tamarind, *madhuka*, jujube, wood-apple, myrobalan, *tinduka*, *udumbara*, plantain, cocoanut and jack-fruit among fruits, of rice and wheat, ginger, mustard, melons, pumpkins and olibanus as the pro-

xi, 27), although the king was requested not to upset a householder's house or field (xi, 42). Normally therefore agriculturists were not dispossessed of their fields.

According to many writers, a person earned a certain right even merely by cultivating a field which had been lying fallow for five or three years, or only one year, and was technically known as *aṭavī*, *khila* and *ardha-khila* respectively; but its legitimate owner could reclaim it from the cultivator, who, however, could keep his profit and had to be indemnified by the owner for his labours (*Nārada*, xi, 23-27). Many inscriptions speak of a village or a piece of land being granted according to the custom governing *bhūmi-chhidra* (i.e., 'land unfit for cultivation'; *kṛishy-ayogyā bhūḥ* of the *Vaijayantī*, *Vaiśya*, 18; cf. *bhūmi-chhidra-vidhāna* of the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*), which endowed the donee with the right of a person who makes the fallow land arable for the first time. See *EI*, i, p. 74 (where however *kṛishy-ayogyā bhūḥ* has been wrongly taken to mean 'land fit for cultivation') see Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom*, pp. 196-97. The *bhūmi-chhidra-nyāya* is called in some inscriptions *bhūmi-chhidr-āpidhāna-nyāya* (i.e., the custom governing the reclamation of land unfit for cultivation). In the Kamauli plates of Vaidyadeva, the gift land is said to have been *bhū-chhidrañ-cha aikiñchit-karagrāhyam* (i.e., a *bhū-chhidra* from which no *kara*, was to be levied) and *sarv-āy-upāya-saṁyuktam karopaskara-varjitam* (i e, endowed with all *āya* and *up-āya* but free from *kara* and *upaskara*). This, supported by other epigaphic records, suggests that land granted according to the *bhūmi-chhidra-nyāya* was free from the dues styled *kara*.

37 Cf. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, III, pp. 496-97.

ducts of the fields, and of gold, silver, white jade and crystal lenses among other products of the country. Special mention has often been made of the produce of particular areas, e.g., the sugar-cane and sugar candy of Gandhāra; grapes and saffron of Uḍḍiyāna; pulse and wheat of Bolor; sugar-cane, grapes, mango, *udumbara* and plantain of Parṇotsa; upland rice and spring wheat of Ṭakka; upland rice of Jullundur; upland rice and sugar-cane of Kauśāmbī; jack-fruit of Puṇḍravardhana; and jack-fruit and cocoa of Kāmarūpa. According to the pilgrim, Magadha produced a kind of rice with large grain of extraordinary savour and fragrance called by the people 'the rice of the grandee', while the country about the Pāriyātra mountain produced, besides spring wheat, a peculiar kind of rice which became ready for cutting in 60 days. The most important crop of Bengal was paddy, and Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* (iv. 39) incidentally speaks of the popular method of rice cultivation in that country. The reference is to the system of transplanting paddy plants in the fields from a seed-bed where paddy had been sown broadcast. The other two methods of rice cultivation, as now prevalent, are sowing by drill and by broadcast which must have been also known in ancient times. The processes of reaping and thrashing, which were not exactly the same in different parts of the country, appear to have been similar to those practised in various regions today. Irrigation of the fields was regarded necessary in many parts of the country and cultivators often combined in excavating irrigational canals. Sometimes artificial lakes were created by the rulers for irrigational purposes and measures were adopted for the prevention of floods. Interesting in this connection is the history of the Sudarśana lake and the activities of the engineer Suyya during the reign of king Avantivarman of Kashmir. The Sudarśana lake was constructed by Maurya Chandragupta's viceroy in Kāthiāwār by drawing the water of several hill streams into a natural hollow, and then blocking their combined course with a dam. Irrigation canals from the lake were dug by the Yavana governor of the country during the reign of Maurya Aśoka. The importance of this lake in the economic life of local agriculturists is proved by the fact that the dam was repaired at a great cost at the interval of centuries by the local governors during the reigns of Śaka Rudradāman of Western India and the Gupta Emperor Skanda-gupta. For the want of proper regulation of the waters of the Vitastā and also of any system of drainage and irrigation in its valley, Kashmir was often overtaken by disastrous floods and the price of a *Khārī* (about 2¼ Bengal maunds) of paddy rose to 1050 *dīnāras* (apparently *cowries*). Suyya changed the confluence of the Sindhu and the Vitastā to a new place

and diverted the combined waters of the two streams into the deepest part of the Wular lake. He then constructed stone embankments along this course for seven *Yojanas* (about 42 miles) and thus reclaimed a vast marshy area where he founded flourishing villages protected by circular dikes. The results of these operations are described by Kalhaṇa (v. 116-17) as follows: 'There where previously from the beginning of things the purchase price of a *Khārī* of paddy was 200 *dīnāras* in times of great abundance, in that very land of Kashmira henceforth—O wonder!—a *khārī* of paddy came to be brought for 36 *dīnāras*.' This incidentally shows that ordinarily the price of about 2¼ Bengal maunds of paddy was 200 *cowries*; but its famine price rose up to 1050 *cowries*, while in times of abundance it was only 36 *cowries*. Usually, in ancient India, the produce of the field was very cheap and the purchasing power of coins was great.

According to Hiuan Tsang, taxation was light and forced service sparingly used, while the king's tenants paid one-sixth of the produce as rent. According to Smṛiti writers, the king could demand one-third or one-fourth of the crops in times of distress. Manu (vii. 130) and others permit the king to take one-sixth, one-eighth or one-twelfth of the yield of grain, while Bṛihaspati and others prescribe one-sixth of awned or bearded grain, one-eighth of grain in pods, one-tenth of crops grown on recently cultivated fallow land, one-eighth from lands sown in the rainy season and one-sixth from those that had spring crops. Manu also allows one-fiftieth of cattle and gold and one-sixth of trees, flesh, honey, ghee, perfumes, herbs, liquids, flowers, roots, fruits and other things. It seems that the rates varied according to the locality and time; but the general rate was one-sixth. The revenue was paid once a year or once in six months according to the custom prevailing in the area. As regards minerals, Hiuan Tsang has often made special mention of them in respect of particular countries, e.g., gold and iron of Uḍḍīyāna; gold of Darel; gold and silver of Bolor; gold, silver, bell-metal, copper and iron of Takka; and gold, silver, redcopper, crystal lenses and bell-metal of Kulūta.

Besides the above, literary and epigraphic records mention a variety of other products of different parts of the country such as betel-nut, betel vines, date, cotton, citron, pomegranate, etc.

Various land-measures were used in different parts of the country. Unfortunately the area of a particular unit was not the same everywhere. This was partially due to the fact that measuring rods of different length were in use in different localities. The cubit also varied according to the length of the hands of different persons.

Often kings introduced special length of the measuring rod. Some of the most popular land-measures were the *nivartana*, *paṭṭikāhala kedāra*, *bhūmi*, *khaṇḍukāvāpa*, *pāṭaka*, *gocharma*, *khārīvāpa*, *kulyavāpa*, *droṇavāpa*, *ādhavāpa*, *nālikāvāpa*, etc.

Originally *go-charman* may have indicated that area of land which could be covered by the hides of cows slaughtered at a sacrifice and which was granted to the priests as sacrifical fee. But the expression was differently interpreted by later authorities. According to Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the *Mahābhārata*,[38] it indicated a piece of land large enough to be encompassed by straps of leather from a single cow's hide. The *parāśara-saṁhitā*[39] and *Bṛihaspatisaṁhitā*[40] appear to suggest that *go-charman* was that area of land where one thousand cows could freely graze in the company of one hundred bulls. According to the *Vishṇusaṁhitā*,[41] the area of land that was sufficient to maintain a person for a whole year with its produce was called *go-charman*. There is a more specific determination of the area of the *go-charman* in the *saṁhitās* of Śātātapa[42] and Bṛihaspati,[43] according to which it was ten times a *nivartana* which was the area of 300 square cubits (about 4-2/3 acres). Unfortunately the area of the *nivartana* is differently given by different writers. Even according to a variant reading of Bṛihaspati's text the *nivartana*, which was one-tenth of the *go-charman*, was the area of 210 × 210 square cubits (about 2¼ acres).[44] Bhāskarāchārya's *Līlāvati*[45] speaks of the *nivartana* as 200 × 200 square cubits in area

38 Vaṅgavāsī ed., i. 30, 23; *vadhrī éka-tantukā charma-rajju ..ekena go-charmaṇā kṛitayā rajjvā ākrānta-bhūr = go-charma-mātrā.*

39 Calcutta edition, xii, 43: *gavāṁ śataṁ s-aika-vrishaṁ yatra tishṭhanty=ayantritam | tat kshetraṁ daśaguṇitaṁ go-charma parikīrttitam*

40 Vaṅgavāsī ed. (*Ūnaviṁśati-saṁhitāḥ*), Verse 9:
sa-vrishaṁ go-sahasraṁ tu yatra tishṭhaty = a-tandritam |
bāla-vatsa-prasūtānaṁ tad go-charma iti smritam ||

41 Vaṅgavāsī ed., v. 179, *eko- śūyād yad-utpannaṁ naraḥ saṁvatsaraṁ phalam |*
go-charma-mātrā sa kshauṇī stokā vā yadi vā bahu ||

42 Vaṅgavāsī ed. (*Ūnaviṁśati--saṁhitāḥ*):
daśa-hastena daṇḍena triṁśad-daṇḍam nivartanam |
daśa tāny = eva go-charma dattvā svarge mahīyate ||

43 *Loc. cit.*, verse 8:
daśa-hastena daṇḍena triṁśad-daṇḍā nivartanam |
daśa tāny = eva vistāro go-charm-aitan-mahā-phalam ||

44 Cf. Vijñāneśvara's *Mitāksharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smriti*, i. 210:
sapta-hastena daṇḍena triṁśad-daṇḍair-nivartanam |

See also: *Śabdakalpadruma-pariśishṭa*, p. 160. The *Prāṇatoshaṇī Tantra*, Vasumati ed., p. 106, ascribes the same verse to the *Svarodaya-ṭīkākāra*.

45 Calcutta ed., I, 6:
... *tathā karāṇāṁ daśakena vaṁśaḥ |*
nivartanam viṁśati-vaṁśa-saṁkhyaiḥ kshetraṁ chaturbhiś-cha bhujair-nibaddham |

(about 2 acres). Elsewhere[46] we have pointed out that the *nivartana* was 240 × 240 square cubits (about 3 acres) according to the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (ii. 20), but only 120 × 120 square cubits (about ¾ acre) according to its commentator. These differences were due mainly to the varying length of the cubit and the measuring rod, of which there were no recognised standards.[47] But the very basis of the measurement of the *go-charman* was, in many parts of the country, apparently vague and uncertain.

Hala originally meant that area of land which could be annually cultivated by one plough, i.e., about 5 acres According to the epigraphic records of ancient Bengal 4 *āḍhavāpas* = 1 *droṇavāpa*; 8 *droṇavāpas* = 1 *kulyavāpa*; and 5 *kulyavāpas* = 1 *pāṭaka*. A *khārīvāpa* was very probably sixteen times a *droṇavāpa*, as 16 *droṇas* = 1 *khārī* of grains. Some of these are popular land-measures in some parts of Bengal and the adjoining area even today; but the difficulty is that, the *don* (*dronavāpa*) as recognised in one district is not the same in area as the *don* of a different locality. We may, however, form a rough idea about the area of the *droṇavāpa*, at least of ancient Bengal. *Droṇavāpa* really indicates an area of land requiring one *droṇa* measure of grains (apparently paddy in the case of Bengal) for being sown with. According to the Bengal school of Smriti, 256 handfuls of paddy make one *āḍhaka* and 1024 handfuls one *droṇa*. One *droṇa* of paddy would thus be between 1 *maund* 24 *seers* and 2 *maunds*, and would sow 1½ acres to 2 acres of land in broadcast sowing, although the transplantation of the seedlings of this quantity of paddy would require between 5¼ and 6¾ acres of land. Following this calculation, a *kulyavāpa*, which is 8 times a *droṇavāpa*, would be between 12 and 16 acres or between 42 and 54 acres. That the *kulyavāpa* was a rather large area of land is indicated by its price. Bengal inscriptions of the Gupta age show that state lands were sold at the rate of 4 *dīnāras* a *kulyavāpa* of cultivated land, and 2 or 3 *dīnāras* a *kulyavāpa* of fallow land and that 1 *dīnāra* of gold was equal to 16 *rūpakas* of silver. Considering the present price of arable and fallow land in the rural areas of Bengal and also the fact that a Gupta silver coin must have had fair greater purchasing power than our rupee, the *kulyavāpa* seems to have indicated a considerably wide area of land. The suggestion seems to be further supported by its subdivisions. *Nālikā* is the same as *prastha* which is usually regarded as one-sixteenth of a *droṇa*. A *nālikā-vāpa* would thus appear to the smaller

46 *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 380, note.

47 See my paper on the *Kulyavāpa*, etc., in the *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, Part II, pp. 943-48.

than one-hundredth of a *kulyavāpa*. The fact that a few *nālikāvāpas* of land are sometimes found to have been granted by ancient Indian kings shows that it was also not a quite inconsiderable unit.

3. *Industries and Trade*

The artisans formed an important section of the population. Amongst the people following particular arts and crafts, that were associated with the life of a city-bred man of wealth, Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* makes special mention of the goldsmith, jeweller, diamond-cutter, dyer of clothes, florist or garland-maker, perfumer, washerman, barber and wine-seller. This work also suggests that while vessels made of gold and silver were used by rich people, those of baser metals, such as copper, bell-metal or iron were used by the ordinary, and those made of earth, split bamboo, wood and skins were in use among the poor people. These arts and crafts, especially the professions of the potter, carpenter blacksmith and cobbler, had therefore an important place in the life of the people. The potters not only made various kinds of pots, but also dolls, images and other things. Making wooden pots was only a small part of the carpenter's job; because he was responsible for all wooden things required by the people, e.g., carriages, boats, ships, house-frames, furniture, images, dolls, etc. The blacksmith's services were required for the manufacture and repair of agricultural implement as well as various kinds of iron instruments and tools. The chief work of the cobbler was of course shoe-making The work of the ivory-worker and stone-cutter should also be mentioned in this connection. The evidence of the flourishing business of the stone-cutters is scattered all over the country in the shape of stone inscriptions and images and the remnants of stone-buildings Goldsmiths also made metal images. Conch-shell workers had a flourishing business at least in some parts of the country. There were tailors especially in the north-western districts. Other interesting professions include those of the weavers, scribes, bankers and fishermen. Hiuan Tsang speaks of the popularity of the silk called *kauśeya*, the linen called *kshauma*, the texture of fine wool called *kambala*, and muslin and calico, which were produced by weavers probably belonging to different classes. The manufacture of textiles was an important industry. Cloth was manufactured all over the country; but Bengal and Gujarat were famous for their textile products Bengal produced silk cloth as well as muslin, a cotton fabric of the finest quality, from very ancient times.

People following a particular industry or trade were usually organised in corporate groups. Such trade and craft guilds of mer-

chants, bankers, weavers, oil-men, stone-cutters and others are often mentioned in inscriptions. *Yājñavalkya* (ii. 265) suggests that husbandmen and artisans could be paid their wages by a guild or corporation of which they were members. The affairs of the guilds were managed by 2, 3 or 5 members who formed the executive committee. But not much is known about the relation between the labourer and the employer. According to Brihaspati, hired persons could be paid in cash or by a share of the crops of the fields they attended to or of the milk of the cattle they tended. Nārada says that an employer had to pay regularly wages to the hired servant at the commencement, middle or end of the work, just as he had promised to do. Where the amount of wages had not been fixed, the servant of a trader, a herdsman and an agricultural servant used to get a tenth part respectively of the profit of the business, the milk of the cows and the produce of the fields. But a carrier who failed to transport the goods forfeited his wages. He was also required to make good every loss excepting that caused by fate or the king. If a man did not perform such work as he had promised to do even after taking wages, he had to pay twice the amount of the wages.

Inland and foreign trade were both in a flourishing condition. Partnership in trade was not unknown. The people of some regions were specially inclined to trade. According to Hiuan Tsang, the majority of the people of Thāneśvar (in Haryana) pursued trade and few were given to farming. Development of trade in a particular area was largely due to the industrial productions being good in quality and large in quantity, as well as the facilities of movement of goods

The principal centres of internal trade were the cities and towns which were connected with other places by land and water routes. The mention of royal officers in charge of markets, customs, tolls, and ferries, in literary and epigraphic records, points to brisk internal trade from which the state derived considerable revenue. There were also many markets in the rural areas and, although the business activity of such markets was less than that of the towns individually, collectively they must have carried on a very great amount of business. Kings often granted villages together with the market dues to be enjoyed by the donees. A considerable amount of trade was no doubt carried on through the land routes, but the volume of trade passing through the river routes must have been greater. All the important cities and ports were connected by roads, and merchandise was carried in carts or on the back of horses, asses, camels and elephants.

There were several routes between North and South India. One of them passed through Kajaṅgala in East Bihar, South-West Bengal and Orissa. Another passed through Malwa and Gujarat, or Malwa and Berar, while a third one passed through Kalpi (in the Jalaun district of Uttar Pradesh) and Berar. These routes were also followed by the kings in their military expeditions.

Foreign trade was in an exceptionally flourishing state in the period under review. Epigraphic references to the relation of Samudra-gupta with Ceylon and other islands of the Indian ocean and of Devapāla with the Śailendra rulers of Malaysia point to the close connection of East India and the lands beyond the southern seas. The greatest East Indian sea-port was Tāmralipti near the mouth of the Ganges. It was the home of rich merchants who carried maritime trade with such distant lands as Laṅkā and Suvarnadvīpa. The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien embarked at Tāmralipti on board a great merchant vessel and sailed to Ceylon and Java *en route* to China. Many other Chinese pilgrims also took this route at a later date; but some of them made a direct voyage from the Malay Peninsula to Tāmralipti. The flourishing state of East India's trade with these distant countries is further suggested by the inscription of *Mahānāvika* Buddhagupta of Raktamrittikā near the capital of Gauda found in the Wellesley district of the Malay Peninsula. Big ships were often built to carry no less than 500 men on high seas. Maritime trade with the countries of the West was carried on by the West Indian ports especially those in the Gujarat-Kāthiāwār region. The trade with these ports was carried on chiefly by Indian and Arab merchants. West Indian ports like Daibul (Devala, not far from modern Karachi), Barwas (Bharoch or Bhrigukachha), Valabhī, and Tana (Thana, to the north of Bombay) are mentioned in Arabic sources. After the Arab conquest of Sindh, the Arab merchants are said to have brought the produce of China and Ceylon to the sea-ports of Sindh and from there conveyed them by way of Multan to Turkestan and Khurasan.

From very early times there was a land-route eastwards to South China passing through North Bengal, Assam, Manipur and Upper Burma. Another route for overland foreign trade passed through Sikkim and the Chumbi valley to Tibet and China. Silk and horses appear to have reached Bengal by this route. Tibet could also be reached through Nepal and through Kashmir and Ladakh. There was a much frequented trade route from Northern India to Central Asia through Kābul and Balkh. According to Arab writers, 'caravans were often passing and repassing' between Sindh and Khurasan 'most commonly by the route of Kābul and Bamian'. Another

Central Asian trade-route lay across Kashmir and Ladakh. Kālidāsa's account of Raghu's *digvijaya* in Persia suggests that, besides a sea-route between Aparānta and the Persian gulf, there was a land route to Persia, still in use, through the Lower Sindhu Valley, Baluchistan and Makran.

Some of the items of export were precious stones, pearls, cloths, perfumes, incense, spices, drugs, indigo, cocoanuts, ivory, etc., while the items of import were various metals, silk, camphor, corals, horses, etc.

As regards the medium of exchange, coins of gold, silver and copper, often alloyed with other metals, were in use in all parts of the country. Hiuan Tsang says: 'Rare precious stones of various kinds from the sea-ports are bartered for merchandise. But in the commerce in the country, gold and silver coins, cowries and small pearls are the media of exchange'. Fa-hien also refers to the use of cowries. An inscription of A.D. 448 shows that the Gupta gold coin called *dīnāra* was equal to sixteen of the Gupta silver coins styled *rūpaka*. About this time, the Gupta gold coins weighed, like their Kushāṇa prototypes, about 122 grains (actually varying between 117.8 and 127.8 grains), although the Guptas adopted soon after the ancient Indian *Suvarṇa* standard of 146.4 grains. They appear to have received much of the gold for their coinage from the older coins of the Kushāṇas and from the influx of gold as a result of the foreign trade with the north-western countries as well as that passing through the East and West Indian ports of their Empire. But the later coins of the Guptas and their imitations often contained an amount of base metal and this may have been due to the scarcity of gold. Some of the powerful kings and important ruling families of the post-Gupta period did not mint any coins at all, or minted them only in a very limited scale. This not only shows that they were using the coins of the earlier ages still in circulation and private punch-marked coins and *cowries* in exceptionally large quantities, but also that foreign metal was not available as in the earlier ages, possibly owing to adverse balance of trade or a lessening of the volume of foreign trade.

When the Gupta gold coin weighed about 122 grains the weight of the silver coin was about 30 grains (actually varying from 22.8 to 36.2 grains). As therefore about 480 grains of silver (weight of 16 *rūpakas* which were equal to a *dīnāra*) were equivalent to about 122 grains of gold, the ratio between silver and gold was approximately 4 to 1. But there is some evidence to show that the ratio was about 9 to 1 in the second century A.D. This ratio thus indicates the extraordinary cheapness of gold and dearth of silver in the age of the Guptas which can hardly be satisfactorily explained in the present

state of our knowledge. Some scholars suggest that it was due to the stoppage of the silver importation due to the break-up of the Roman empire, while others think that the *dīnāra* in question actually meant not the Gupta gold coin weighing about 122 grains but the so-called imitation Gupta coins of debased gold varying in weight between 75 and 92.5 grains. But the comparative scarcity of silver seems to be a better explanation. Sometimes when the state did not mint any metallic money at all, the *cowries* were linked up with silver money by counting them in Kapardaka-purāṇa, i.e., the value of an ancient silver coin called *purāṇa* (usually a private issue weighing 32 *ratis*) counted in *cowrie*-shells. Sometimes the principal food grain of a locality was used as money. In ancient Kashmir often the salaries of royal officials were paid in paddy collected in the king's store-houses.

The authorities are not unanimous in regard to the rate of *śulka* to be levied on articles of merchandise, possibly because the rates varied owing to the difference of the article, the place and the time. According to Vishṇu (III. 29-30), the king took one-tenth in the merchandise produced in his territory, but one-twentieth on goods imported from a foreign country, while Yājñavalkya (II. 261) allowed one-twentieth of the prices of goods. The *Arthaśāstra* (II. 22), however, prescribes one-fifth of the price of the commodities as a general rule and varying rates of one-sixth, one-tenth, one-fifteenth, one-twentieth and one-twentyfifth on different kinds of articles. The *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (I. 10, 15-16) prescribes one-tenth of the cargo brought by sea. No tax was levied on goods carried on the shoulders. According to Śukra (IV. 2, 109-111) *śulka* was to be levied on a particular commodity in a particular country (kingdom or district) only for once.

According to a rule, attributed to Vasishṭha, the interest payable by the debtor was one-eightieth per month of the money borrowed when something was mortgaged by way of security. Another rule was two, three, four, and five per cent per month respectively from Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra debtors, when nothing was pledged as security. Vyāsa prescribes the monthly rates of one-eightieth of the principal in case of a mortgage, one-sixtieth in case of a surety and 2 per cent in case of personal security. According to Yājñavalkya (II. 38), merchants carrying on trade by traversing dense forests and sea-faring traders had respectively to pay 10 and 20 per cent per month The creditor could not recover from the debtor at one time, for interest and principal, more than double of the money lent. There is difference of opinion as regards the inter-

ests on articles lent; but according to Yājñavalkya (II. 39), in case of the loan of cattle and female slaves their progeny was the interest while in the cases of liquids, clothes and grains the maximum recoverable was respectively eight, four and three times.

Guilds often received permanent deposits of money on interest to be utilised for some charitable objects.

4. *General Condition of the People*

The country was rich in agricultural and mineral resources and acquired immense wealth as a result of extensive foreign trade. This is suggested by such facts as that the province of Sindh paid to the Caliphs' exchequer no less than 11,500,000 *dirhams* annually. According to Elliot, 1,000,000 *dirhams* were equivalent to about £ 23,000. The accumulation of precious metals in the temples is also worth noticing in this connection. Muhammad ibn Qasim is said to have looted 13200 *mans* (between 330 and 1320 *maunds*) of gold from a single temple of Multan. But it has to be remembered that the prosperity of a particular area was sometimes affected by bad government, war, pestilence. failure of crops and famine. Under benevolent rulers. however, the people lived a comparatively happy life, and this condition seems to have prevailed during the rule of the early Imperial Guptas and many of their successors. A study of the early history of Kashmir, the only territory for which considerable details are available, shows that, at least in that country, the chance of happiness in the life of the common people came only occasionally, and that, even under a good government, the people were not properly protected against the harassment of petty royal officials like the *kāyasthas* who were responsible for the collection of taxes and other works affecting the people Yājñavalkya gives a prominent place, amongst the king's duties. to the protection of the subjects from the oppressions of the swindlers, thieves, rogues, dangerous persons and others and especially from those of the *kāyasthas*. This was no doubt the ideal of honest kings whose number was not small in different parts of India. The standard of the king's duty towards the subjects, as laid down by various ancient writers (cf. *Mbh.*, II, 5 *Rām.*, II. 100), was very high and rulers falling short of this standard were denounced as sinners. This attitude must have influenced, generally speaking, an Indian king's relations with his subjects. That the general impression of the foreigners in this respect was good is suggested by Hiuan Tsang's statements: 'as the government is honestly administered and the people live together on good terms, the criminal class is small';

'as the government is generous, official requirements are few; families are not registered and individuals are not subject to forced labour contributions,

'taxation being light and forced service being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony;

'tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light duties at ferries and barrier stations'.

All this, coming from the pen of a traveller who was several times attacked by robbers in his journeys, no doubt suggests that the people of India, generally speaking, lived more happily than those of other parts of the ancient world. This is further suggested by the artistic, literary and scientific activities, which presuppose a peaceful and prosperous condition of the country. During the period under review Indians made remarkable progress in many spheres of human activity. Reference may be made to the literary productions of Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, and Bhavabhūti, to the astronomical and mathematical works of Āryabhaṭa, Varāhamihira and Brahmagupta, and to the achievements of the sculptors, architects and artisans of the period.

The economic and material condition of the people living in cities was more satisfactory than of those residing in villages. The ruling class and rich men lived in considerable luxury. The agriculturists, artisans and small traders of the villages were also not in want of food and clothing. They, however, lived simple lives and their wants were few. It was a recognised duty of the king to keep the agriculturists contented as well as to be helpful to the cultivators, artisans and traders. The policy of some kings like the great Lalitāditya of Kashmir (cf. *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, IV, 344 ff.) was, however, against the accumulation of much wealth in the hands of the villagers lest they might grow powerful enough to flout the authority of the king and rise in rebellion against him. But the history of Kashmir shows that, in spite of this attitude of the kings, the rise of formidable *Ḍāmaras* (landed rural aristocracy) from amongst the village agriculturists could hardly be prevented. The landless labourers and the *antyajas* who did not follow any paying profession appear to have lived from hand to mouth.

The order of social precedence was fairly fixed among the upper classes and there seems to have been little rivalry among the various castes. The birth of an individual in a particular caste, high or low, was regarded as a result of good or bad deeds performed by him in his previous birth. This belief also usually induced the people to follow the path of righteousness as laid down in the scriptures. Brāhmaṇas and recluses were respected by all classes. Old men

and women commanded respect of the younger people especially of their own caste People normally pursued their hereditary professions peacefully They tried to perform the duties of householders prescribed by the *śāstras*. Entertainment of guests was regarded as an important duty of the householders. Charity, especially in favour of Brāhmaṇas and religious establishments, was considered a great virtue. Considerable importance was attached to the faithful performance of recognised ceremonies, including the offering of worship to various local deities. The social life of the people was hardly disturbed by communal conflict and different religious sects lived side by side peacefully in all parts of the country.

Normally family life was peaceful. Respect to parents and elders was the established custom. When the son became the head of the family during the old age of the father, he and his wife were respectful towards his parents. The protection of the honour of women was considered a duty of men, especially of husbands and sons.

The general outlook of the people in regard to the problems of life was greatly dominated by the belief in fate and in the effects of *karma* (deeds).

B. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN SOUTH INDIA: A. D. 300—900

The country was divided into well-marked territorial divisions like Kuntala, Andhra. Toṇḍaināḍ, Chola, Pāṇḍya and Chera, and the people of every division tended to develop and cherish separate traditions and mores of their own. These local patriotisms did not, however, prove a hindrance to the temporary formation of larger political units, as happened under the early Pallavas, and later under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and Véngi, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and the Cholas; and they played a considerable part in mitigating the damage to culture likely to ensue on the break up of larger political units.

There is no means of forming a reliable estimate of the population at any time during the centuries under study here; though there is evidence of records of property in land being maintained and sometimes running into minute details, they seem never to have thought of taking a census of the population. In the ports on the sea coast and in the capitals of kingdoms there were undoubtedly considerable numbers of foreigners including Arabs, Jews, Persians, Chinese and Malays; and the Parsis must have come and settled in the north west of the Deccan towards the close of our period. The Sanskrit romance *Avantisundarī kathā* opens with an eloquent description of Kāñchīpuram in the seventh century A.D. in which great stress is laid on the

riches and trade and on the learning and practice of fine arts that were the most notable features of life in the city. It is, however, difficult to decide how far such descriptions follow facts and how much is imaginary. The same doubt enjoins caution in the historian's use of other literary evidences such as the accounts of the citizen (*nāgaraka*) and his daily life, and of the rules of the social code that we find in works like the *Kāmasūtra*, the *Kuṭṭanīmata*, and the *Nāgarasarvasva*, the last perhaps slightly later than our period, or the volume or *smṛiti* literature that can be assigned to it. These accounts are mostly conventional and stereotyped, and we are seldom certain of their date and provenance. It may, therefore, be stated once and for all that while the presence of this literature must be noticed by the historian, he should draw sparingly on it in his reconstructions of the picture of social and economic life of the times.

The bulk of the population was everywhere and at all times Hindus organized in hierarchical castes. There was a tangible connection betwen caste and occupation, but it was by no means rigid and unalterable. The pressure of new situations and forces was always necessitating changes, though there was no lack of protest from conservatives and even occasional attempts on the part of the political power to stop the changes.

In the early part of our period Buddhism and Jainism had a much larger vogue in South India than at any other time, and this seems to have caused some unsettlement of the Brahmaṇical social order; but after the Hindu revival of the Pallava period the Hindu tradition gained in clarity and strength, and definite standards of orthodoxy were established all over. But speaking generally, departures from the code were tolerated when expediency demanded it, and numerous instances occur of the upper classes taking to lower occupations, and the lower following those of the classes above them. We hear of Mayūraśarman abandoning his career of learning when he felt that he was insulted by a Pallava cavalier in Kāñchīpuram and taking to that of a warrior and founding the Kadamba dynasty of Banavasi. The *Daśakumāracharita* refers to a colony of Brahmin robbers settled in the Vindhyan forests and turned into *Kirātas*, by occupation. But the generality of Brahmins were, as noted by I-tsing, regarded as the most honourable caste and held themselves somewhat aloof from the rest. 'They do not, when they meet in a place, associate with the other three castes, and the mixed classes have still less intercourse with them'.[48]

What Abu Zaid records in A.D. 916 of the different classes in India

48 *Foreign Notices*, p. 113.

and their habits may well be accepted as typical of virtually the whole of our period in the South: 'The kings of India wear ear-rings of precious stones mounted on gold. They wear round the neck collars of great value made of precious stones, red and green; but pearls have the greatest value and they are used in most cases. In fact pearls constitute the treasure of kings and their financial reserve.

'The generals and high functionaries wear equally collars of pearls. The Indian chiefs are carried in palanquins; they are clothed in a waist-cloth; they hold in the hand an object called *chhatra*—it is a parasol of peacock feathers; they hold it in the hand to keep off the sun. They are surrounded (when they go out) by their servants.

'There is, in India, a caste the members of which will not eat two from the same plate or even at the same table; they find this a pollution and an abomination. When these persons come to Siraf and one of the principal merchants invites them to a banquet in his house, at which about 100 persons are present, the host should cause to be set before each one of them a plate exclusively reserved for him.

'As to the kings and nobles in India they prepare for them each day eating tables with cocoanut leaves excellently plaited; they manufacture with these same leaves of cocoanut all sorts of plates and small dishes. When the meal is served they eat the food in these plates and dishes of plaited leaves. When the repast is ended, they throw in the water these tables, plates and dishes of plaited leaves with what remains of the aliments. And they recommence it the next day'.[49]

An early Sanskrit Pallava copper-plate inscription gives some ideas of the diversification of occupations and castes that had come about by the fourth or fifth century A.D.; it means metal and leather workers, dealers in cloth shops, makers of garments and blankets, rope makers, shop-keepers (general), makers of ploughs and other agricultural implements, supervisors of water sources (for agriculture), weavers, and barbers and adds for the sake of completeness all (other) artisans.[50] Some of the Vākāṭaka inscriptions contain the express provision that Brahman donees of *agrahāras* and their descendants were to be loyal to the state and to offer the fullest cooperation in apprehending persons guilty of treason, theft and immorality.[51] The caste system was still fluid to some extent and intercaste marriages, especially among the royalty and nobility, were fairly

49 Ferrand, *Voyage*, pp. 138-39.

50 South Indian Epigraphy, report for 1933-34, pt. II, p. 30, cited by B. V. K. Rao in his *Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, p. 237.

51 *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 196.

frequent. Marriage of young immature girls was coming into vogue, especially among Brahmins, and this led to the discontinuance of the education and *upanayana* of girls.[52] The custom of dedicating maidens to serve in temples as *devadāsīs*, an age-long inheritance, was continued throughout our period. No satisfactory explanation has been found of the relation between the *gotras* and metronymics of kings mentioned in their charters; the Kadambas, for instance, were Harītiputas of the Mānavya *gotra*.

Changes in the social conditions of the period of Rāshtrakūṭa rule are reflected in contemporary literature including the writings of the Arabs. Royalty was counted as a separate sub-caste among Kshatriyas, Satkshatriyas (the *subkufrias* of the Arab writers),[53] who were even more respected than the Brahmanas. The ordinary Kshatriyas continued to observe the rituals of the twice-born, though Vedic studies were not much in vogue among them, or among the Vaiśyas who were hardly distinguishable from Śūdras. Inter-caste marriages and dinners were condemned in *smṛitis* and came to be more or less given up by Hindu society as a whole. A section of the Brahmins kept up their original duties and ideals of learning and poverty depending for sustenance on voluntary gifts of land, house and cash from kings and merchants, the land paying lower taxes than usual. Others availed themselves of the concessions the *smṛitis* allowed to Brahmins in distress and took to agriculture or trade. The position of the Śūdras seems to have improved, and though they could not study the Veda, they became eligible for *smārta* rituals. They often found employment in the army and rose to relatively high positions. Some classes of workers like shoe-makers, fishermen and washermen were looked upon as semi-untouchables while *chaṇḍālas* and sweepers were completely so and had to live at a distance from cities and villages. Aboriginal tribes like Śabaras and Kirātas lived in the hills and forests and practised strange customs like the offering of human flesh to their deities. *Satī* and *purdāh* were practically unknown; the widow's right to inherit the property of her husband was being gradually recognized. Slavery was known, and we find Kātyāyana laying down the rule that a free woman degrades herself into slavery by marrying a slave, though a female slave bearing a child by her master attains freedom thereby. Temples often acquired slaves by purchase or voluntary surrender to escape famine conditions.

There is an increasing stress on the privileges of Brahmins, Medhātithi, for instance, writing towards the close of our period, forbids the infliction of corporal punishment and even money fines on guilty

52 *Ibid.* p. 199.

53 Elliot and Dowson, I, 16; Yazdani, I, pp. 309 ff.

Brahmins (on Manu VIII. 124), though following the letter of Manu's text he permits banishment. The social and religious disabilities of the Śūdras are also emphasized in the later Puranic and *Smṛiti* literature of the period, though there is a relaxation of the originally ordained duty of perpetual servitude for the Śūdra, and Medhātithi (on Manu VIII. 415) allows that the Śūdra of means does no wrong if he lives an independent life, but denies him the right to perform *smārta* rites as a householder, particularly those of marriage—a setback on the rule of the preceding age noted above. But if the rights of the Śūdra are limited, so, at least according to Medhātithi, are his duties and obligations; he incurs no sin for any act not expressly prohibited to him or for failure to bathe or worship his deities.

Social exclusiveness grew in intensity particularly among religious sects, and penances came to be prescribed for contact with or even sight of the wrong class of persons. Women were held to be generally incapable of independent action and the need for their protection at all stages of their lives by their male relatives was stressed more and more.

Gift of land was considered the most meritorious form of charity, and numerous inscriptions show the widespread practice of the form of charity, besides the construction and endowment of temples, tanks, schools, gardens, choultries and feeding houses and hospitals.

Then, as now, the service of the state in its civil departments, as well as the army and the navy (where one was maintained) furnished openings for all classes of the population being employed, and many are the instances of Brahmin generals who distinguished themselves in war. There was often a select body of soldiers, 'the king's companions' who shared a ceremonial meal with him and took the vow of defending him with their lives when occasion arose. Hiuan Tsang notes that a general in Mahārāshṭra who met with defeat had to exchange his soldier's dress for that of a woman. Forest and hill tribes furnished a favourite recruiting ground for the army, especially in times of war. The roads were often infested by robbers, and any sharp local quarrel or turbulence of a chieftain might lead to a village being attacked or its cattle being taken away. In such circumstances the people had generally to carry on their own defence, and numerous inscribed stones attest the bravery of many village heroes, especially near forests and mountains.

Conquests often led to considerable migrations of people from one part of the country to another, resulting in new adjustments in social and economic relations. Grants of land and other concessions were granted to the immigrants representing the conquering

power at the expense of the local inhabitants. Royal patronage of learning, the arts, and religion was another cause of similar movements. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Malkhed, for instance, imported worshipping priests (*archakas*) of temples from among the *āchāryas* on the banks of the Ganges. Two *tapovanas*, forest retreats for worship and penance, dedicated to Kārttikeya as the supreme deity, were started and run in the Bellary region by some teachers from Bengal.

The king and his court led an extravagant and luxurious life quite in contrast to the modest living standards of the rest of the population. The pomp and ceremony of the court that greatly impressed the foreign travellers who visited the Rājās of Vijayanagar in later times were only the culmination of a long development which began perceptibly with the smaller kingdoms with which we are concerned in our period. On the establishment of the royal palace there were numbers of women, chosen specially for their youth and beauty. Some were imported from abroad while others were from among prisoners taken in war. Many were courtesans skilled in the music and dance, while others were concubines of princes, nobles and courtiers. A mistress of the Chālukya king Vijayāditya of Bādāmi, Vināpoṭigal by name (notice the honorific plural), performed the *hiraṇyagarbhadāna* (gift of the golden egg) at Mahākūṭa and presented to the deity a pedestal (*pīṭha*), set with rubies, with a silver umbrella over it.[54] Towards the close of our period Abu Zaid notices that most Indian princes while holding court allowed their women to be seen unveiled by all the men present, even foreigners not excepted. Sulaiman notices the love of ornaments such as gold bracelets set with precious stones that was common to men and women of the time.

Playing with balls (*kanduka*) and dancing for amusement were recreations favoured of high-born girls and women. It is not possible to decide how far the literary references to drinking parties and *goshṭhīs* for conversazione were true to the facts of social life or just imaginary accounts.

Higher education was imparted in urban centres like Nasik, Pravarapura, Vatsagulma and Paithan in Vākāṭaka territories, and Kāñchīpuram, Tālaguṇḍa, Talakāḍ and other places elsewhere. Buddhist monasteries like those at Vijayapuri and Śrī-Parvata where monks from different countries like Malaya, China and Ceylon congregated were also centres of study. After noticing the good work that went on in the monasteries of Pūrvaśilā and Avaraśilā in the

54 *Ibid.* p. 227. *IA*, X, p. 103.

kingdom of Dhanakaṭaka by laymen and clerics for several centuries, Hiuan Tsang mentions their decay at the time of his travels saying that 'the place is now entirely waste and desert, without either priest or novice'.[55] But *agrahāra* colonies of learned Brahmins settled in villages and maintaining themselves from their revenues assigned to them were also quite common and practised and promoted learning in their own way. Some of these Brahmin donees conducted large schools where free education was imparted, and the donee of the Pāṇḍuraṅgapalli grant (c. A.D. 500) is described as a teacher of a hundred Brahmans. The same conditions continued under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and Hiuan Tsang describes the people of Mahārāshṭra as 'fond of learning'. The capital Vātāpi (Bādāmi) is described in an inscription of Vijayāditya as being adorned by the presence of several thousands of *dvijas* (twice-born) who were proficient in the 'fourteen *vidyās*', while another record from the city makes a pointed reference to a kind of academy in the phrase *Śrīmahāchaturvidyā-samudāyan-irchchāsivarar* i.e., the 2,000 of the academy of the four great sciences. Other inscriptions speak of the fourteen *vidyās*, and we have traditional reckonings of the two categories—the 'four *vidyās*' being *ānvikshikī* (philosophy), *trayī* (Veda), *Vārttā* (economics), and *daṇḍanīti* (politics); the fourteen being made up of the four vedas, the six *aṅgas*, and *Purāṇa Mīmāṁsā, Nyāya* and *Dharmaśāstra.* The language of the people, Kannaḍa is called *Prākritabhāshā*, the natural tongue, as opposed to the language of culture—Sanskrit—in the Bādāmi inscription of Vijayāditya's time. The presence of skilled and literate artisans who could engrave long inscriptions in Sanskrit fairly correctly on stone and copper, and the practice of engraving stone inscriptions in public places frequented by the populace such as walls of temples and fortresses, may well be an indication of a fair proportion of literacy among the general public; we have little direct evidence on the level of popular education or on the organization and working of popular schools.[56] There was little change in these conditions of education during the rest of our period. We owe to I-tsing, who was particularly interested in Buddhist education and its institutions at the close of the seventh century, the following account of the relations between the pupil and his teacher, which no doubt held true also of the other contemporary schools of education. 'The pupil goes to his teacher at the first watch and at the last watch of the night. He rubs the teacher's body, folds his clothes or sometimes sweeps the apartment and the yard Then having examined the

55 Beal, *Life*, pp. 136-37.
56 Cf. Yazdani, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-41.

water to see whether insects be in it, he gives it to the teacher. On the other hand in the case of a pupil's illness his teacher himself nurses him, supplies all the medicines needed, and pays attention to him as if he was his child. He states that the study of the canon lasted five to ten years ordinarily, and that the pupils were of two types: one comprising novices studying the Buddhist canon, maintained by the *saṅgha* and becoming monks in due course, and the other lay pupils who met their own expenses and received secular instruction with no intention of retiring from the world.

Of the people of Mahārāshtra under the Chālukyas of Bādāmi we get a general account from Hiuan Tsang. He says that their king was a kshatriya by name *Pu-lo-ki-she* (Pulakeśin) and that he was a benevolent ruler who commanded the loyalty of his vassals.

'The inhabitants were proud-spirited and warlike, grateful for favours and revengeful for wrongs, self-sacrificing towards suppliants in distress and sanguinancy to death with any one who treated them insultingly. Their martial heroes who led the van of the army in battle went into conflict intoxicated, and their war-elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and elephants, the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt'.[57]

Vākāṭaka records contain little information on economic conditions. We may perhaps assume that the fine muslins for which the Deccan and Telengana were famous in the second century still continued to be produced, and Paithan figured as an important centre of this trade. Trades continued to be organized in guilds as in the Śātavāhana period. No coins of the time are known and cowries (shells) served as the means of exchange in small transactions, the bigger ones being put through by barter or with the aid of bullion. The rate of interest varied from 12 to 24 per cent.

The role of the temple in the social economy can hardly be exaggerated. Almost all the useful and fine arts of the country flourished around it and were devoted mainly to the divine service which was also the service of society in a spirit of consecration. Besides providing employment for the best technical skills in the land, the temple regularly fed scholars and holy men and distributed alms to the needy. A Bādāmi inscription of the time of Maṅgaleśa, for instance, records the gift of a village (Lañjīśvaran) to a new Vishṇu temple for *nārāyaṇa bali* (funerary offering for ascetics), the regular feeding of sixteen Brahmins every day, and the feeding of *parivrājakas* (ascetics); and *dānaśālās* (alms houses) are mentioned in other inscriptions. A

57 Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 259.

record at Paṭṭadekal mentions the musicians (*gāndharvas*) of the temple and details their privileges. Garland makers were other professionals attached to temples.[58]

While the Chinese pilgrims of the seventh century give us a general idea of the land being well cultivated as a rule all over India and being rich in the production of cereals and fruits, they provide few concrete data on particular regions especially those of South India. The Arab writers of the ninth and tenth centuries mention the rich soil and the cultivation of much grain and fruit in western India. Malabar had plenty of pepper and bamboo. Cotton was grown in Gujarat and Berar, *jowar* and *bajra* in Mahārāshṭra and Karṇāṭaka; and rice, cocoanuts, and betelnuts in Konkan. Mysore yielded large quantities of sandal, teak and ebony woods which had been important items of export to western Asia from very early times. More or less similar is the evidence of literature and archaeology on the industrial arts; we get a general view of the considerably advanced state of these arts, but few specific data on the localization of particular industries. We know, however, that pearls which were valued everywhere and gold, copper and precious stones came particularly from the South. The textile and allied industries like dyeing, lace-making, etc. flourished everywhere and provided employment for considerable numbers, including women and even children. Metal industries produced domestic utensils for those who could afford them and the numerous icons and vessels that found their place in temples. The jewellers' arts were encouraged by temples, courts and rich merchants and noller.

There were no good roads and therefore pack bullocks and ponies were much used for transport of merchandise. Currency continued to be rare, and the use of cowries as means of exchange for small transactions and of barter for larger ones persisted. Chola records of the time give the prices and wages of the time, but it is not easy to translate them into corresponding modern terms as we lack the details needed.

Cosmas Indicopleustes records that trade between the ports on the east and west coast of South India was in a flourishing condition in the sixth century and that Ceylon by virtue of its central position had become a great resort of ships from all parts of India and from Persia and Ethiopia.[59] He states that aloes, clove and sandal wood were sent from the east coast to Ceylon and exported thence to the western ports and countries. Pepper was exported

58 Yazdani, I, p. 242.
59 *Foreign Notices*, pp. 88-89.

from several ports on the west coast and the sandal wood is said in the *Amarakośa* to have been the particular product of the Malaya mountain, the southernmost section of the Western Ghats, and Hiuan Tsang confirms this. Cardamen was also a notable produce of that area. Hiuan Tsang also notices the prosperity of Orissa due to her maritime trade with the eastern countries. Trade in horses imported from abroad was also beginning to assume importance.

Trade and industry were organized in specialized guilds and the *smṛiti* literature abounds in rules regarding joint enterprises and problems relating to them which must be assumed to be based, at least to some extent, on current practices. Medhātithi defines a *śreṇi* as consisting of people belonging to one profession like trade, money lending, conch-diving and so on, while *saṅgha* was a similar association of people of different castes (*jāti*) and regions (*deśa*); but we lack the means of testing these literary classifications in the light of the concrete facts of life though many inscriptions mention the guilds and describe piecemeal the part they played in the economy of particular localities, particularly as making pious endowments or helping in administering them. Two of the best known merchant guilds of the south were the *maṇigrāman* and the *nānādeśis* or *tiśaiy-āyuattu-aiññūṟruvar*.

As regards food and drink we may gather reliable data from indigenous literature and the notices of foreign, particularly Chinese, travellers. A list of approved foods found in the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtrā* includes śāli rice, wheat and barley, pulses, ghee, oils, molasses and sugar. But fish, meat and liquour must have been used by the common people, and even women are described as drinking wine in the Sanskrit works, romances and dramas, of the time. Hiuan Tsang's account in the general introduction to his travel record may well be taken to apply to South India in general. He says that the common articles of food were cakes and parched grain with milk, sugar and preparations made from them and mustard oil; the flesh of goats and sheep was allowed though other kinds of meat were forbidden. Eating onions and garlic, he says, resulted in loss of caste, but this rule could have applied only to the higher classes. He specifies the drinks of the different castes e.g., syrup of grapes and sugar-cane for Brāhmaṇas, Bhikshus and Kshatriyas; strong spirits for Vaiśyas and other drinks for lower castes. Writing a little later I-tsing partly confirms these data saying that Indians did not eat onions and *bhikshus* abstained even from pure meat on *uposatha* days.[60] At a later date towards the end of our period, Medhātithi discusses at length the oc-

60 Cf. U. N. Ghoshal in *Classical Age*, pp. 573-74.

casions when meat eating is lawful and the animals that provide lawful food and includes among them the cow, goat and deer. Rules regarding drink became less strict than before, and even Brahmaṇas were strictly forbidden to drink only liquor made from rice flour (*paishṭī surā*) for which the penalty was death, while drinking other kinds of intoxicants could be expiated by penance. One authority mentions ten kinds of wines forbidden to Brahmaṇas but permitted to Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas. Rājaśekhara mentions the drinking of wine (*madhu*) and the use of betel leaves as common practices of Tamil women, which contradicts the testimony, perhaps wrong, of Arab writers of the time on Indians abstaining from wine.

Personal cleanliness was maintained at a high level, especially among the upper and middle classes, and daily bathing is noted by the Arab writers as distinctive of the Indian people. The use of twigs for cleaning the teeth and of tooth-picks is noted. Unguents like saffron, sandal, musk, camphor and aloes, and ornaments and different types of coiffure are richly attested by literary and archaeológical sources relating to the period. Rājaśekhara takes particular notice of Marāṭhā girls applying saffron to their cheeks and collyrium to their eyes, and of the people of Kerala chewing betel leaf with camphor and arecanut.

The data regarding dress are tantalisingly poor. We have, however, one dependable source in the paintings at Ajaṇṭā and elsewhere; besides the Jaina texts and the commentaries on them which record details on the clothing especially of nuns borne out by the paintings. It is peculiar that the highly sophisticated and luxurious society of the Gupta Age in which a refined sensuality was tolerated without being deemed immodest, the dancers both male and female, covered their bodies completely. In the Ajaṇṭā wall paintings the dancers whose sex cannot be determined wear tunics and trousers—doubtless fashions due to foreign influence; and the danseuse having thus dressed properly did not feel ashamed when lifting her legs. South Indian costumes of the third and fourth century A.D. are fairly correctly represented on the reliefs at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa; men of status wore *dhoti, kammarbund* and turban; soldiers were also dressed likewise, though at times they wore a full-sleeved tunic over the *dhoti*. Brahmins were dressed in *dhoti* and *dupaṭṭā* worn transversely over the chest. Women were dressed in their *sāḍis*, and coiffures of different patterns besides head ornaments, and rarely a cap.

The Ajaṇṭā paintings are a veritable cyclopaedia of the costumes of the age; they show the wealth of sewn materials with striped or floral patterns, and the craft of tailoring had come to stay in Indian

culture. We see crowds of pilgrims and traders dressed in the characteristic garments of their countries which must have influenced the dress of Indians to some extent as attested by writers like Bāṇa. The frequent use of caps, tunics and boots by the Ajaṇṭā figures may be ascribed to Central Asian influences as also the increased use of sewn garments which were however known even from the Vedic times. The well-executed Gupta coins confirm these inferences from the paintings of the time.

Popular superstitions of many types including the evil eye and methods of averting its consequences, attempts to propitiate sundry godlings and planets with offerings, penances and so on, and the prevalent beliefs in omens and astrology are all well attested for this period as for other times.

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CHAPTER THIRTY (A)

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE—NORTHERN INDIA

I. LANGUAGE

THE PERIOD OF approximately seven hundred years between A.D. 300 and A.D. 985 witnessed some far-reaching changes, which transformed the already modified Aryan speech of Northern India, now well-advanced in its second or Middle Indo-Aryan stage, into its third or New Indo-Aryan phase, which commenced roughly from A.D. 1000.

The most vital or fundamental fact in the linguistic history of North India during the period prior to the establishment of the Gupta empire is the evolution of Classical Sanskrit and its adoption as the vehicle of the newly developing composite Hindu (ancient Indian) culture which resulted from the reaction of the culture worlds of the Aryan, the Dravidian and the Austric speakers. Classical Sanskrit was keeping perfect pact with the spoken Prakrit vernaculars in the matter of progressive admixture with the non-Aryan speeches largely in spirit and to some extent also in form. The syntax and vocabulary were particularly affected. One reason of its immediate success as the unique vehicle of a composite Hindu, i.e., Aryan-non-Aryan culture was this wedding together of the spirit of Aryandom with that non-Aryan worlds in it, despite the fact that the bulk of the roots—affixes and words of the language were from Aryan or Indo-European source. The more this composite North Indian Hindu culture began to gain in strength and spread rapidly over the mainland of India and beyond, the less interest people began to take in their local dialects and Classical Sanskrit as the vehicle and symbol of a pan-Indian culture began to claim greater and greater homage of all sorts and conditions of people—so that by A.D. 300 Classical Sanskrit acquired a place in the general public life of the country that it did never possess before, and it became gradually established (the Gupta emperors enthusiastically taking up its cause) as the sole language of public documents like inscriptions and of international or inter-provincial contacts wherever Hindu (i.e., Brahmanical), Buddhist and Jaina culture prevailed.

The expansion of the Aryan speech over such a vast tract of country was naturally accompanied by the splitting up of the Aryan speech into a number of local or regional dialects. The names of these regional dialects are known from the Prakrit grammarians and from writers on Dramaturgy and Rhetoric, but details or definite information cannot be had.

The numerous regional dialects of the period A.D. 300-1000 developed out of a small number of similar dialects of the middle of the first millennium B.C. which have been noticed before. From Udīchya developed the Prakrit dialects of the Panjab and Sindh which were almost ignored by the Prakrit grammarians; only the names of two of these viz., *Ḍhakkī* or *Ṭakkkī*, a speech of the North Panjab and *Vrāchaḍa,* the speech of Sindh towards the end of this period, are generally known; and we hear also of the Kekaya or Western Panjab speech, also for late or Apabhraṁśa times. Of course, in the inscriptions from the third century B.C. onwards, we have plentiful specimens of the Prakrit of the Panjab in inscriptions in the Kharoshṭhī script; here the language shows a strong Sanskrit *cast,* with inevitable influence of or mixture with other dialects. The area of the Midland—Eastern Panjab and Western United Provinces of the present day—was the area of the Śaurasenī Prakrit. Rajasthan, Gujarat and Malwa appear to have been a meeting ground of two groups of dialects, the original Saurāshṭra speech which we find in the Girnar edict of Aśoka, and the Śaurasenī which spread from the Midland and overlaid the eastern dialects. *Āvantī* and *Ābhīrī* are mentioned as two varieties of Malwa and Rājasthāni speech. To the south was Mahārāshṭra, the source of Mārāṭhī of the present day. This was descended from the old *Dākshiṇātya* speech. The dialect described as Māhārāshṭrī in the Prakrit grammars appears to have been quite different from the real regional dialect of Mahārāshṭra. The Māhārāshṭrī of the Prakrit grammarians was a speech which was later in its general phonetic aspect than Māgadhī. Ardha-māgadhī and Saurāshṭra as preserved in literature, and it has been suggested, quite rightly in my opinion, that the Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit of the grammarians and of Prakrit literature was not the source-dialect of Mārāṭhī, but was a speech of the Midland, a later phase of Śaurasenī which might have been first employed in literature by settlers from the Midland, from the middle of the first millennium[1] A.D. East of Śaurasenī was the area of the Prāchya dialect, viz., Ardha-māgadhī, current in the present-day Eastern United Provinces and Ayodhyā the source

1. Vide Manomohan Ghosh, 'Māhārāshṭrī, a Later Phase of Śaurasenī', *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta, XXIII, 1933.

of the Kosal or Eastern Hindi speeches, and Māgadhī, the speech of Bihar, which spread further to the east and south in Bengal, Assam and Orissa. The Prakrit grammarians were not quite clear in their notions about the character or nature of the various regional speeches. They knew a number of names as connected with places or tribe or as indicative of some phonetic or other peculiarity (e.g., Gan Ābhīrī, Drāviḍi, Bāhlikī, Śākari etc.), and they used the terms *Prākṛita, Bhāshā, Vibhāhsā, Apabhraṁsa* etc., without any precise sense attached to them. The formulation of a regional linguistic or dialectal atlas of India during the first millennium A.D. will have to be created *de novo* by modern linguists, working from the modern Indian languages, rigorously checking and utilising the data obtained from the inscriptions, the extant literature and the grammars.

Taking note of the general line of development of the Aryan speech, the history of the spoken forms of Middle Indo-Aryan, roughly from B.C. 600 to A.D. 1000, has conveniently been divided into a number of stages: (i) The first Middle Indo-Aryan stage, from B.C. 600 to B.C. 200; (ii) The transitional Middle-Indo-Aryan stage, from B.C. 200 to A.D. 200; (iii) the second Middle Indo-Aryan stage, from A.D. 200 to A.D. 600; (iv) The third and the later Middle Indo-Aryan, or Apabhraṁśa stage, from A.D. 600 to A.D. 1000. The first stage is, in the main, represented by the Aśokan dialects, and by Pāli; and the Prakrit dialects in the fragments of Sanskrit dramas ascribed to Aśvaghosa. 'Old Ardha-Māgadhī' and 'Old Māgadhī also belong linguistically to this first Middle Indo-Aryan stage. The transitional stage roughly includes the Prakrit dialects found in inscriptions of the period mentioned above, as well as those of literature composed during the couple of centuries before and after Christ. During this transitional stage, single interior unvoiced stops and aspirates, *k, kh, ch, t, th, p* and *ph* became voiced to *g, gh, j, d, dh, b, bh*, respectively, and these fell together with the original *g, gh, j, d, dh, b, bh*. The second stage of Middle Indo-Aryan was established when these voiced stops and aspirates, both original and derivative, first became spirantised and were elided and were reduced to *h* in the case of aspirates. The sequence or line of change is clear, although the epigraphic remains and the MS tradition of the specimens of literature show a great deal of confusion.

The third stage of Middle Indo-Aryān viz., Apabhraṁśa, using the term in the specialized sense which has been given to it in the present day terminology for Indo-Aryan linguistics, may be said to have started approximately about A.D. 600, and Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit gradually transformed itself into New Indo-Aryan or Bhāsā through it by A.D. 1000. Some Apabhraṁśa traits (e.g. change of final *-o* to *-u*)

manifested themselves in the speech of the Panjab earlier than elsewhere (witness for example the North-western Prakrit found in fragments of Buddhist literature from Central Asia), and in Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya* we have some early specimens of Apabhraṁśa; and if the MS. tradition of this work is not faulty, we may even think of the Apabhraṁśa stage having been ushered in by A.D. 400, in the colloquial or current speech. It is doubtful if any work in Apabhraṁśa or third middle Indo-Aryan can be as early as that, and we have to take with caution any ascription of Apabhraṁśa as we know it to an age earlier still. The great age of Apabhraṁśa started from the tenth century, and excepting in popular poetry of short lyrics and distiches, long compositions in Apabhraṁśa, mostly narrative poems of Jain inspiration, show a decidedly artificial character.

Side by side with Sanskrit, the various Prakrits were used in literature during the whole of this epoch, with a literary Apabhraṁśa, based on the vernacular dialects of the Midland (Śaurasenī area), Rajasthan and the Panjab, establishing itself towards the end of this period.

The Jainas vigorously carried on the practice of composing in Prakrit, and employed various dialects. Brahmanical writers also essayed long poems like the *Setubandha,* the *Bṛihatkathā,* the *Gaṇḍavyūha* and dramas like the *Karpūramañjarī,* but Prakrit never claimed the exclusive homage of the learned in India, whether Brahmanical or Buddhist or Jaina. One great reason was that the usage of employing several dialects made scholars chary of putting their serious contributions in it; and the derivative and decayed character of the language in front of the fuller and clearer Sanskrit was another disadvantage. With the establishment of Rajput ascendancy throughout the whole of Northern India, Śaurasenī or western Apabhraṁśa, as an auxiliary or popular literary language besides Sanskrit, came to be established and by A.D. 1000, it acquired a pan-Indian prestige and position from Mahārāshṭra and Sindh and Western Panjab to distant Bengal. Poets in Bengal cultivated old Bengali which was being established as a literary language in the tenth century, and side by side they were also writing in the Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa. A strong bond of cultural and linguistic unity had thus linked up once again the whole of Aryan-speaking through Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa, which was the real precursor of Piṅgal and Brajbhākhā and Khari-boli (Hindi or Hindustani) of later times.

The history of the transformation of old Indo-Aryan into new Indo-Aryan through middle Indo-Aryan during this period (A.D. 300 to A.D. 1000) is a special subject coming under linguistic, and for this special technical works have to be consulted. A working list is appended at

end of this section. The Aryan speech shed off a great many of its old inflexions, and developed gradually the habit of employing post-positions in the declensions of the noun. Participial forms supplied the want of inflected tense forms which were lost, and these developed into a series of new tense forms. Far-reaching changes took place in the accent system. Rhyme became established in verse from the age of Apabhraṁśa. The vocabulary was constantly expanding itself by the addition of words of non-Aryan origin, a good many of which found their way into Sanskrit as well from the spoken languages, by words newly created with the native Indo-Aryan elements and by adopting a number of foreign words. Learned words from early Prakrit as well as pure and modified Sanskrit words came to be borrowed; and the number of such borrowing was on the increase as the centuries passed. Prakrit words, again, found in their turn a place in Sanskrit, and it was but natural when we remember that Sanskrit was written by persons who spoke various Prakrit (and Dravidian as well as Sino-Tibetan and possibly also Austric) dialects; witness words like *zapita, lānchhanā, bhattarapa, bhaṭa, naṭa, āḍhya, puttala, nikaṭa, bhalluka* etc. which are of Middle Indo-Aryan or Prakrit origin taken over into Sanskrit. Sanskrit, however, was the international or inter-provincial language for the whole of India, and this position of Sanskrit continued in Hindu India down to the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa, spoken dialects of different areas, differed from each other in certain salient matters, but it would appear that on the whole they were dialects of one kind of common spoken Middle Indo-Aryan, rather than different languages which their descendants have become, in many cases, or are becoming so now. It would appear that there was a good deal of mutual intelligibility among the middle Indo-Aryan dialects and even among the different forms of New Indo-Aryan during the first few centuries of the second millennium A.D. Otherwise old Bengali poems would not be found in works attributed to Gorakhnath preserved in Rajasthan, and Māṛāthī poems in the *Ādigrantha* of the Sikh; and a whole series of artificial mixed literary dialects would not have overshadowed the actual spoken vernaculars of Aryandom from Sindh and Panjab to Bengal (e.g., the mixed Apabhraṁśa, Hindi and Panjabi of the Panjab poets; 'Pingal', and mixed 'Dingal' of Rajasthan; mixed Braj and Khariboli; mixed Kosala and western Hindi and mixed Bhojpuri and Khosali as well as western Hindi in the upper Ganges valley; and Brajabuli in Bengal, Assam and Orissa). This is why the Turki, Irani and other foreign Muslims who visited India between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, were conscious of one current Hindi or Hindwi speech, which in their general cognisance was but a single

language as obtaining in North India; and only scholars among them like Al-biruni who were interested came to know the existence of Sanskrit as the learned or scholarly form of this Hindi speech. The difference between Sanskrit and the Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa was not of a fundamental character throughout this period of the hey-day of Hindu life and culture. Taking things in the essential character, they were just the learned and the vulgar forms of the same Indian speech.

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II. SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The efflorescence of Sanskrit literature during the Gupta Age, covering roughly the period between A.D. 300 and 600, has been described in chapter eleven. We shall now trace the further development of this literature during the next four centuries, following more or less the same plan as adopted in the earlier chapter.

1. *Brahmanical Literature*

The popularity of Vedic learning amply borne out by epigraphic evidence, is further demonstrated by the commentaries on the Vedas written during this period.

Skandasvāmin, son of Bhartṛi Dhruva or Dhruvasvāmin of Valabhī, is one of the earliest commentators on the Veda in this period, and is said to have been alive in Kali 3740 (A.D. 638). A layer exegete Veṅkaṭa Madhava states that Skandasvāmin wrote only a part of his *Ṛigveda-vyākhyā* and that two others, completed the work. The identification of Nārāyaṇa with the father of the Sāmaveda commentator Mādhava lacks evidence. There is much uncertainty about the history of Vedic commentaries, and there are quite a number of Mādhavas. A Mādhava of the village Gomatī who wrote a *bhāshya* on the *Ṛigveda* and eleven *anukramaṇīs* is held to have preceded Skandasvāmin by some, while others place him after the celebrated Sāyaṇa. Another Mādhava, son of Veṅkaṭārya who lived in a village on the southern bank of the Kāverī in the reign of a king described by him as 'gatamekvira'; the king meant was perhaps Chola Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-53) who had the title Vīra-Chola; but some have suggested a later date of Veṅkata Mādhava in the eleventh or twelfth century. He is quoted by Keśavasvāmin who wrote his *Nanārthārṇaya-saṁkshepa* under Rājarāja II (1146-73). On the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* of the *Yajurveda,* Bhavasvāmin wrote a commentary in the ninth century, besides Guhadeva, Kapardin, and Bharuchi at different times; the last three are mentioned together by Rāmānuja.

Harisvāmin, a pupil of Skandasvāmin, wrote a commentary on the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in A.D. 638 when Avanti was ruled over by a Vikramāditya, whose identity is uncertain. Bhavasvāmin wrote a commentary on the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* and a Bhavatrāta of uncertain date on the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa.* On the *Shaḍviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* of the Chhandogas there was a commentary called Anupāda which is mentioned by Dhūrtasvāmin on the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* and identified by his Vṛittikāra Ramandara.

The *Nirukta* was commented on by the Durgāsiṁha who is cited by Skandasvāmin and Udgītha and must therefore be earlier than

A.D. 600. Durgā, described as 'bhāgavata', lived in a hermitage on the Jambumārga usually taken to be Jammu. Skandasvāmin himself wrote another *bhāshya* on the *Nirukta* which was probably amplified or completed by Maheśvara, son of Pitriśarman. The extant text quotes from Bhartrihari, Bhāmaha, the *Ślokavārttika* and *Tantravārttika* besides Karka; on the basis of the last reference, L. Sarup assigns Maheśvara to the eleventh century, while others give him a date very near Skandasvāmin and Udgītha.

The Srauta-and Grihya-sūtras were no doubt commented on frequently and some of the many authors with names ending in *rāta, trāta, svāmin, datta* etc., whose commentaries are known and published must be assigned to this age; but definite data are lacking. Kapardin is known to have commented on the *Śrauta-* and *Grihya-sūtras* of Āpastambas besides the *Paribhāsha, Pitrimedha, Pravara-* and *Sulba-sūtras;* he also wrote a *Grihya-prayoga* and a *Pūrva-prayoga-kārikā.* A *Kapardikārikā* is known as a summary of his views in which a *śishya* (pupil) of his a Śivasvāmin are mentioned. Dhūrtasvāmin seems to have preceded Kapardisvāmin as a commentator on *Apastamba.* Bhartriyajña, cited by Medhātithi on Manu (VIII. 3), commented on the *Pāraskara Grihya-* and *Kātyāyana- Śrauta-sūtras.* The Vedic commentator Bhavasvāmin explained the *Baudhāyana Śrauta-sūtra.* Devasvāmin, author of *Saṁkarsha-Kāṇḍa-bhāshya,* commented also on the *Śrauta-* and *Grihya-sūtras* of *Āśvalāyana* and the related *Mantrapāṭha.* Gopāla, author of the *Gopālakārikās* and commentator on the *Śrauta-sūtras* of *Āpastamba, Baudhāyana* and *Kātyāyana* is placed by Velankar in the tenth century; he quoted Bhāvasvāmin. A Mātridatta wrote commentaries on the *Satyashadha Śrauta-* and *Grihya-sūtras* and Bhavatrāta was the author of *Jaiminīya Śrauta-sūtra-bhāshya, Jaiminīya-Grihya-mantra-vritti* and *Kaushitakī-Grihya-sūtra-vyākhyā;* the father-in-law of Bhavatrāta was Brahmadatta, possibly the same as the commentator on *Śāṅkhāyana Grihya-sūtra.*

There was great activity in the sphere of sacred law and polity represented by *smriti* works in prose and verse many of which are extant in two recensions, a smaller and a larger, and present complicated textual problems of a more or less insoluble nature. Indeed, so many texts assigned to eponymous sages gained currency that the need arose for handy and authoritative compilations like the *Chaturviṁśati-mata* (views of twenty-four sages) or *Shattrimśanmata* (of thirty-six sages) and the *Smriti-saṁgraha,* all of which were prepared towards the end of our period and paved the way for the more systematic digests (*nibandhas*) of the next epoch.

Commentaries on the standard *Smritis* was another notable line of

activity. Asahāya (A.D. 600-700) annotated Nārada, Gautama and Manu; he is also known to have commented on Śaṅkha and Likhita, and is quoted by Viśvarūpa and Medhātithi. Asahāya's commentary on Nārada was much altered in the revision by a Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa, and the work in its original form is not now available. A *Nāradīya Manu Saṁhitā* with a *bhāshya* of Bhāvasvāmin appears to have been an early text as good reason has been shown to regard Bhāvasvāmin as a native of the Mathurā-Kanauj region of a time before A.D. 600. Viśvarūpa, identified with Sureśvara, a pupil of Śaṅkara, wrote the Bālakṛiḍā on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti.* He quotes Kumārila and Gauḍapāda among others and states that his patron was a king Pratāpaśīla. Next comes Bharuchi whose commentary on *Vishṇu Dharma-sūtras* has been known, and to whose commentary on Manu attention has recently been drawn; Bharuchi held the doctrine of 'Salvation through both works and knowledge' (*jñāna-karmasamuchchaya*) as is seen from Vaishṇava tradition and from his commentary on Manu (VI. 74-5). Medhātithi quotes from the commentary which he refers to as *Ṛiju;* either it bore the name *Ṛijuvimala* or Bharuchi had the title Ṛijuvimala as some of the colophons imply.

Medhātithi's *bhāshya* on Manu may be placed in the ninth century. He makes the interesting observation that Mlechchhas cannot long occupy Āryāvarta without Āryas rising up again and throwing them out (II. 22) and shows himself a liberal, rational, and progressing writer. He too accepts *Jñāna-karma-samuchchaya* though he is conversant with Śaṅkara's *bhāshya* on the Vedānta-sutras. Besides the *Manubhāshya,* Medhātithi wrote the *Smṛitiviveka,* the earliest of the *nibandhas* which is cited even in the *Manubhāshya.* The *Viśvarūpa-nibandha* or *Samuchchaya,* as pointed out by Kane, is not by the author of the *Bālakrīḍā.* Medhātithi cites several writers, no longer extant.

Many of the Purāṇas were finally redacted in this period. They began to attract Smṛiti matter from about A.D. 200 and up to about 500 included only the major heads of the main Smṛitis; but later they widened their scope and included much Dharma-śāstra matter which was availed of to an astonishing extent by the *nibandhas* of later times. But an orderly chronological treatment of the Smriti sections of the Purāṇas is by no means easy.

Dates can perhaps be suggested for parts of particular Purāṇas, but seldom to the entire composite text of any of them, as it was undergoing endless changes by addition and alteration by various heads and at different times according to local needs. This applies to the (upa-Purāṇas) also which began to be composed perhaps in the Gupta age and to which no lower limit could be indicated. The

Srīmad Bhāgavata deserves particular notice. Abhinavagupta (on *Gītā,* 14.8) is the earliest to quote from it; as the Purāṇa knows the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* it is reasonable to place it about the time of Śaṅkara. It was perhaps written in South India, where, it says, *Bhakti* was still alive (XI, 5.38-40). From the synthesis it effects between Advaita and Bhakti, it may not be wrong to assume that it was the work of an Advaitin of South India. Unique among the Purāṇas it takes a place with the epics in its popularity and sanctity.

2. *Belles Letters*

(a) KĀVYA

As regards Epic poems, the most famous work of the period is the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha, who flourished in the eighth century A.D. It is modelled on Bhāravi's work but marks a further stage in the obscuration of poetic talent by the artifices of learning. The author was a grandson of Suprabhadeva, minister of Varmalāta, a king known from an inscription of A.D. 625.

In the ninth century there were two poets of note in Kashmir. Rājanaka Ratnākara who had the title Vāgīsvara (lord of speech) composed the long poem *Haravijaya* in fifty cantos. Śivasvāmin, author of *Kapphiṇābhyudaya,* a Buddhist story, was a prolific writer of poetry, drama and devotional hymns according to a verse cited by Kshemendra. There was also Udbhaṭa, a rhetorician of the court of Jayāpīḍa, who wrote a *Kumārasambhava* to illustrate his own work on poetics. Under Avantivarman, the critic Ānandavardhana wrote his *Arjunacharita* and a little later Abhinanda, son of the logician Bhaṭṭa Jayanta, retold in easy verse the story of the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa. Another Abhinanda, a Bengali writer patronized by Yuvarāja Hāravarsha, produced a voluminous but incomplete *Rāmacharita* which attained celebrity in a short time. The voluminous *Haravilāsa* of Rājaśekhara, known only from citations in the *Suktimuktāvalī* and elsewhere, closes the history of *Mahākāvya* in this period. That many *kāvyas* of the time have been lost is clear from references to them in later works like Bhoja's *Sriṅgāraprakāśa.* The rhetorician Bhāmaha (I. 17) speaks of *Kāvyas* which are *śāstrāśraya* and *kalāśraya,* depending on sciences and arts—a classification of poems which shows the growing intrusion of learning and the arts in the realm of poetry. The tendency to verbal jingles (*yamaka* and *anuprāsa*) also became pronounced; tthe Buddhist writer Dharmadāsa illustrated the varieties of such dexterous writing in his *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana,* mentioned by Bhoja. Such *tour de force* necessitated commentaries, and the Gaṅga Durvinīta's commentary on the fifteenth canto of Bhāravi's

Kirātārjunīya was one of the earliest. The distinguished Kashmirian Vallabhadeva who wrote glosses on Rudraṭa's work on poetics, on the poems of Kālidāsa and Māgha, on the *Vakroktipañchāsikā* of Ratnakara, and the *Sūryaśataka* of Mayūra deserves mention. He appears to have been a good soldier, and the son of a minister. His grandson Kaiyaṭa wrote a commentary on Ānandavardhana's Devīśataka in A.D. 977 with the aid of notes compiled by his grandfather as 'mementos of a great mind' (i.e., Ānandavardhana).

In the domain of *subhāshitas, bon mots* on different aspects of life, Bhartṛihari had some able successors. The *Amaruśataka*, ascribed to the great philosopher Śaṅkara by a doubtful tradition, is a most sophisticated attempt to delineate different moods and situations of love and was composed before A.D. 800. Equally early must be the twenty rhymed verses of the *Ghaṭakarparakāvya* in which a love-lorn lady speaks out her yearnings in the rainy season; the poem is ascribed to Kālidāsa himself by tradition. A Silhana of uncertain date continued in his *Śāntiśataka* the mode of Bhartṛihari's *Vairāgyaśataka*. Stray *subhāshitas* on traits of human character found indirect expression in verses addressed to birds, animals, trees or aspects of nature in the form known as *anyapadeśa, anyokti* or *vyājokti;* in this line the Kashmirian poet Bhallaṭa was a pioneer who gave poignant expression to the evils of Śaṅkaravarman's rule (A.D. 883-902).

Several devotional lyrics undoubtedly belong to this period though the association of great names like Kālidāsa and Śaṅkara with their authorship must be received with caution. Mayūra, a poet of Harshavardhana's court, is said to have been cured of his leprosy by his composition of the *Sūrya-śataka;* the Telugu Śaiva writer Palkuriki Somanātha records the story that Sūrya advised Mayūra to praise Śiva for getting a radical cure and that the poet composed the *Mayūra-stava* accordingly, a poem no longer extant. Mayūra is also credited with a short love poem and is remembered in Kannaḍa literature as an author on prosody. Bāṇa's *Chaṇḍīśataka* and Daṇḍin's *Anamaya-stotra* on Śiva are other works of devotion. Ratnākara of Kashmir wrote the *Vakroktipañchāśikā*, a witty dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī, which, however, like the *Devīśataka* of his contemporary Ānandavardhana, had rhetorical display as its chief aim. Between the eighth and tenth centuries A.D., the exponents of Kashmir Śaiva philosophy produced several works of devotion which were none the worse for the points of doctrine embedded in them. The *Stava-chintāmaṇi* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the *Bhavopahārastava* of Chakrapāṇi-nātha, and the *Śiva-stotrāvalī* of Utpaladeva, pupil of Somānanda (c. A.D. 900) are the most notable among them. An inscription of A.D. 1063 from Māndhātā on the Narmadā preserves a *stotra*

on Śiva by Halāyudha, an *ārādhya* Brāhmaṇa from Navagrama in the Deccan, along with the *Mahimnastotra* variously ascribed to Pushpadanta, Kumārila and Grahila; these poems together with the *Anamayastotra* ascribed to Daṇḍin, are included in a pentad called *Śivapañchastavi.*

Some women poets of this period deserve particular notice Rājaśekhara mentions the names of Vijayāṅkā, Sīlabhaṭṭārikā, Vikaṭanitambā, Prabhudevī, and Subhadrā. Vijayāṅkā or Vijayā or Vijjīkā, perhaps the queen of Chandrāditya (c. A.D. 660), a son of Pulakeśin II, was the most accomplished of them all; she describes herself as a dark Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning generally conceived of as white in complexion and Rājaśekhara who calls her a native of Karṇāṭaka praises her as the exponent of the graceful Vaidarbhī style after Kālidāsa, a tribute justified by her verses preserved in the anthologies. Rājaśekhara's wife Avantisundarī, a Chauhān princess, is believed to have inspired his production of *Karpūramañjarī* and contributed her own views to his *Kāvyamīmaṁsā.*

(b) DRAMA

Dramatic literature flourished after Kālidāsa, but many works have been lost and are known only from citations in works on dramaturgy. The *Mudrārākshasa* of Viśākhadatta is generally assigned to the age of the Guptas. The son of a Mahārāja Pṛithu, the author shows a fascination for political themes. He dramatises the political revolution which enthroned the Mauryas; the drama is at once vigorous and full of action; it gave rise to an imitation in the *Pratijñā-Chāṇakya* of Bhīma. His other play, *Devī Chandragupta*, no longer extant but cited by several writers, has already been referred to above (pp. 46 ff).

Among the dramatic works of this period, reference may be made to the anonymous *Kaumudīmahotsava* in which some scholar read a lot of contemporary history, as noted above (p. 14). King Harshavardhana was a notable dramatist. He composed three plays of which *Priyadarśikā* and *Ratnāvalī* are *nāṭikās* on Udayana's love stories modelled on the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa; the *Ratnāvalī* was a favourite with actors and dancers according to the *Kuṭṭanīmata* (ninth century). The third play, *Nāgānanda,* which dramatises the noble sacrifice of the Vidyādhara prince Jīmūtavāhana not only attests the Buddhist leanings of the king in his later life, but forms a landmark in the history of the drama by the introduction of the *Śānta* (quietist) *rasa.* I-tsing states that the king himself had the play set to music The celebrated Bāṇa apparently tried his hand at play writing in the *Mukuṭa-tāḍitaka,* a war-story from the *Mahābhārata,* cited by Bhoja and Chaṇḍapāla.

Bhavabhūtī ranks highest among the dramatists after Kālidāsa. His *Rāmāyaṇa* plays cast into shade many other plays on themes from the Rāma saga, which are now known only from references to them in rhetorical works. One of them was the *Rāmābhyūdaya* by king Yaśovarman of Kanauj (c. A.D. 725-52), the patron of Bhavabhūti himself. Bhavabhūtī's style, unlike Kālidāsa's was profuse and exuberant in expression, adding to the poetic quality of the writing, but adversely affecting the drama. It was also learned, and found imitators in Murāri, Rājaśekhara and others. Bhavabhūti wrote a romantic drama in the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, but is more famous for his *Uttara-Rāmacharita* in which he is believed to have excelled even Kālidāsa in his portrayal of the pathos of the later story of Rāma and the abandonment of Sītā. The *Mahāvīracharita*, on the earlier phase of Rāma's life, is incomplete. Though many other authors attempted this part of the story later, relatively few put their hands on the theme of the *Uttara-Rāmacharita*, and a work worth notice in this class is the *Kundamālā* of Anuparāja Dhīra (Vīra) nāga which combines dramatic effect with simplicity.

We now come upon a group of writers of uncertain date who are however well known to the rhetoricians of about A.D. 800. Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, called Mṛigarājalakshmaṇa, wrote the *Veṇī-saṁhāra* on a *Mahābhārata* theme, achieving the dramatic quality at least in some parts of it and probably throwing other *Mahābhārata* plays into oblivion. With Burāri (Bālavālmīki), son of Vardhamāna, starts a line of poets who wrote some memorable verses but were no adepts in the art of the drama. About the same time as Murāri's *Anargharāghava* were produced two plays by Anaṅgaharsha-Māyurāja or Mātrarāja, son of Mahārāja Narendravardhana of the Kalachuri line of Māhishmātī; Murāri himself and Dāmodaragupta mention Anaṅgaharsha with approbation. His *Tāpasavatsarāja* has Udayana for hero, and his *Udāttarāghava* is a variation of the Rāma story recovered in a single manuscript by the present writer. Another Udayana play of the time was the anonymous and incomplete *Vīṇā Vāsavadattā*, perhaps called *Vatsarājacharita* in its full text.

At the end of the ninth century and beginning of the tenth flourished the celebrated Rājaśekhara, a Maharashtrian, son of minister Durduka and protége of Kalachurī Keyūravarsha of Tripurī and Pratihāra Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla of Kanauj. He calls himself a *Kavirāja* and an incarnation of Vālmīki. His works include the long drama *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, the incomplete *Bālabhārata* or *Prachaṇḍa-pāṇḍava* and the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā nāṭika*. Kshemīśvara, author of the *Chaṇḍakauśika* and *Naishadhānanda*, was his younger contemporary in the court of Kanauj.

In South India, besides Daṇḍin and his ancestors already mentioned, the great Pallava ruler Mahendravarman I was a notable author. His two farces (*prahasanas*) *Mattavilāsa* and *Bhagavadajjukīya* are remarkable lampoons against the growing religious intolerence of his time which turn the laugh against the Buddhists and Kāpālikas. In his *Āścharyachūḍāmaṇi* Saktibhadra calls himself a pioneer in Sanskrit drama in the South; he also wrote *Unmādavāsavadattā* and other works. Kulaśekhara of Kerala wrote two plays—*Subhadrā-Dhanañjaya* and *Tapatīsaṁvaraṇa.*

The Kashmirian Jayanta Bhaṭṭa (ninth century) wrote a metaphysical drama, *Āgamaḍambara* or *Shaṇmata-nāṭaka*, a series of philosophical debates thrown into four acts, and thus revived an almost forgotten mode of which we get the first glimpse in the dramatic fragments of Aśvaghosha. The advaitic drama *Prabodhachandrodaya* of Krishṇa Miśra of the eleventh century marked a further stage in the tradition. In the erotic monologue (*bhāṇa*) we have an old collection of four *bhāṇas* (*Chaturbhāṇī*). Two of these the *Padmaprābhṛitaka* and *Ubhayābhisārikā* ascribed respectively to Śūdraka and Vararuchi do not seem to be so old though they are cited in the *Chandovichitti Janāśrayī*; the *Dhūrtaviṭa saṁvāda* of Īśvaradatta and the *Pādatāḍitaka* of Śyāmilaka quoted by Abhinavagupta are the two others. The four excellent plays are in a class apart. Plays of other minor types known as *uparūpakas* are mentioned by name by Abhinavagupta and Bhoja and must have been produced in this period; but as they are no longer extant their names require no notice here.

(c) PROSE, ROMANCES AND FABLES

Prose works, according to Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha, fall into two classes, *Kathā* or imaginative romance and *Ākhyāyikā* or historical story. The supreme excellence of Bāṇa as prose writer apparently threw many earlier works into oblivion and these are now known only by their names cited by Bāṇa himself and later writers such as Dhanapāla and Bhoja. Bāṇa mentions a *Vāsavadattā,* which is usually taken to be the prose work now passing under the name of Subandhu; this work makes mention of Uddyotakara. Its story differs from that of Udayana and his queen and is extremely meagre; it just furnishes a fragile frame on which Subandhu hangs heavy descriptive paragraphs replete with long compounds and *double entendre.* Its verbal identities with Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti raise difficult textual and chronological problems. Bāṇa was the author of *Kādambarī,* a *Kathā* and *Harshacharita*, an *Ākhyāyikā,* both masterpieces of art left incomplete by him. The former is a romance based on a story, from the *Bṛihatkathā,* in which taking two pairs of lovers through a series of

births, Bāṇa demonstrates that death cannot end either life or love. His son Pulinda-bhūshaṇa Bāṇa has, with moderate success, tried to complete the story. The *Harshacharita* which stops abruptly soon after the accession of Harshavardhana of Thāneśvara is also valuable for the author's autobiography found at its beginning. Bāṇa was a son of Chitrabhānu and a resident of Pṛītikūṭa on the Sone. His prose style exhibits many variations; while the descriptions are often long, over-wrought and tedious, the narrative at its best is at once simple, elegant and moving. He is universally acknowledged as the unrivalled master of Sanskrit prose. Bāṇa salutes a certain Bharschu in the opening verses of the *Kādambarī*, and Rājaśekhara supplies the information that Bharschu was the preceptor of Bāṇa and the court poet of the Maukharī Avantīvarman; Bharschu's verses occur in the anthologies.

Daṇḍin who adorned the Pallava court in the latter part of the seventh century was the next great writer of the prose *Kāvya*. Even more learned than Bāṇa, Daṇḍin commended a style which though less poetic was more restrained and direct than that of Bāṇa. Daṇḍin was long regarded as the author of *Daśakumāracharita* which has lost both its beginning and end; but its fuller version known as *Avantisundarīkathā* has recently been recovered from Malabar. Following Bāṇa, whose work is referred to by him, Daṇḍin narrates his own story at the beginning. His ancestors hailed from the Nasik region. One of them Dāmodara became, through the good offices of Bhāravi, a friend of prince Kubja Vishṇuvardhana and later visited the courts of Gaṅga Durvinīta and Pallava Siṁhavishṇu. Dāmodara's son was Manoratha whose last son Vīradatta was the father of Daṇḍin. Incidentally, Daṇḍin mentions a Tamil *Śūdrakacharitam* written by the architect Lalitālaya; Bhavatrāta who commented on the *Kalpasūtra* was also a friend of Daṇḍin.

The *Tilakamañjarī* of Dhanapāla written in Dhārā under Muñja Vākpati and Bhoja is another extant prose romance of the period. The *Āścharyamañjarī* of the Kerala king Kulaśekhara, and the *Kathā* known as *Mrigāṅkalekhā* of Aparājita, a contemporary of Rājaśekhara, are other works of the age mentioned by Rājaśekhara, but no longer extant.

The Champū form of composition mentioned by Daṇḍin as including both prose and verse is represented by the *Nalachampū* or *Damayantī-kathā* of Trivikrama Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Nausārī Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription of A.D. 915, and of another *Champū* (*Madālasāchampū*) no longer extant. The *Yaśastilakachampū* of the Jaina monk Somadevasūri, an author of nearly a hundred works, is an extensive work on a Jaina theme. Somadeva was a contemporary of Rāsh-

ṭrakūta Krishṇa III and his Chālukya feudatory of Vemulavada, Baddega by name.

To the literary genre represented by the *Tantrākhyāyikā* belong the *Nītisāra* and *Nītipradīpa* of Ghaṭakarpara and Vetāla Bhaṭṭa respectively; these authors are counted by tradition among the 'nine gems' of Vikramāditya's court. The *Nītidvishashṭika,* a collection of maxims in well-turned *āryās,* passes under the name of Āchārya Sundara Pāṇḍya, possibly an early Pāṇḍya prince otherwise unknown. Related more to the domain of policy in sex matters is the highly interesting *Kuṭṭanīmatam,* the baud's instructions to the young courtesan, produced by Dāmodaragupta, the gifted minister of Jayāpīḍa (A.D. 779-813) of Kāshmīr.

Mention must next be made of a number of story-cycles, relating to Vikramāditya and Śūdraka, of uncertain date. Durvinīta's Sanskrit version of the Paiśāchī *Brihatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya must have been the earliest of many similar attempts. In the eighth century Budhasvāmin produced the *Ślokasaṁgraha* of which a fragment in twenty-eight chapters comprising 5000 verses has been found in Nepāl; though his version differs in some ways from the Kāshmirī version we lack any decisive evidence to connect him with Nepāl or any other place.

(d) BUDDHIST AND JAINA WRITERS

A word must be said about the contributions of Buddhists and Jains to Sanskrit belles letters. Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* (fourth century), Buddhist Pāramitā stories in prose and verse foreshadowing the *champū* form, is written in classical *Kāvya* style with a sprinkling of Pāli idiom; it is illustrated in the Ajanta frescoes which reproduce the verses of the original and was translated into Chinese in A.D. 434. I-tsing noticed its popularity in his day. Other works of Āryaśūra are reserved in Tibetan and Chinese, and I-tsing refers to the large vogue of devotional hymns attributed to almost every literary man of note. In Tibetan are preserved the hymns of Asanga, Vasubandhu, Mātṛichetā, Diṅnāga, Dharmakīrti, Śāntarakshita, Chandragomin, and others. Śāntideva, a Mahāyāna writer of the seventh century, wrote the *Bodhicharyāvatāra* which ranks fairly high as literature. The *Padyachūḍāmani-kāvya,* also on the life of the Buddha, is said to be by a Buddhaghosha who imitates Aśvaghosha and Kālidāsa but appears to be different from the famous Pāli commentator of that name. Another Buddhist of no mean capacity was Dharmadāsa whose *Vidagdha-mukha-maṇḍana* has already been noticed. King Harshavardhana is said to have composed two hymns—the *Suprabhāta* and *Ashṭa-mahāśrīchaitya-vandanā;* but the latter is

now seen to be the work of the homonymous Kashmir ruler of the eleventh century. A *Sragdharā stotra* on Tārā by Sarvajñamitra patronized by the Lāṭa ruler Kayya (eighth century), feudatory of Lalitāditya of Kāshmīr, and *Lokeśvaraśataka* of Vajradatta who wrote in the reign of Devapāla (ninth century) are other Buddhist *stotras* to be noted.

Among Jains, Ravisheṇa (A.D. 678) comes first with his *Padmapurāṇa,* a Jain adaptation of the *Rāmāyaṇa.* Jāta Siṁhanandin followed with a religious *Kāvya* in thirty-one cantos, *Varāṅga-charita,* the life of Varāṅga, a contemporary of the Tīrthaṅkara Nemināṭha. Jinasena I, who refers to *Varāṅgacharita,* produced the *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* (A.D. 783) in sixty-six cantos at Vardhamānapura (Wadhwan) in Kathiawar. Jinasena II, who flourished under Rāshṭrakūṭa Amoghavarsha I, finished in 837 the *Jayadhavalaṭīkā* began by his guru Vīrasena. In his *Pārśvābhyudaya* in each verse is worked in a line from Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta.* His most important work, the *Ādipurāṇa,* was supplemented by Guṇabhadra's *Uttara-purāṇa* in A.D. 897; the two together go by the name of *Trishashṭi-lakshaṇa-mahāpurāṇa* and deal with the lives of the sixty-three saints of the Jainas; like the Brahmanical Purāṇas the composition is replete with varied accounts of polity, architecture, ritual, omens, besides containing hymns and many valuable literary references. In A.D. 869 Śilāṅka wrote the *Mahāpurusha-charita.* The *Śatruñjaya māhātmya* said to have been composed at Valabhī at the instance of Śilāditya of Saurāshṭra is a work of uncertain date. The *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* of Harichandra treats of the fifteenth Tīrthaṅkara. Hultzsch suggested A.D. 900 for the poet who uses Māgha and Vākpati and whose other work *Jīvaṁdharachampū* is based on the *Uttara-purāṇa.* In 932 Harisheṇa produced his *Bṛihat-Kathākośa.* Asaṅga wrote the *Vardhamānacharita* in A.D. 988; among his other works the *Śāntināthapurāṇa* is extant in manuscript form. In prose Siddharshi wrote the long allegorical work strewn with many verses, the *Upamitibhāvaprapañcha-kathā;* he mentions the Prākrit *Samaraichcha-kahā* and names its author Haribhadra among his inspirers. Among *champūs* the works of Somadevsūri and Dhanañjaya have been mentioned already. A didactic work, *Praśnottararatnamālā,* available also in a Tibetan rendering, is claimed alike by the Jains, Buddhists and Brahmins who assign it respectively to a Śvetāmbara preceptor Vimala or to king Amoghavarsha I himself, to a Śaṅkarānanda (with some additional verses), and to the great Śaṅkarāchārya. Guṇabhadra, author of *Uttara-purāṇa,* wrote the *Ātmānuśāsana* in 270 verses. Among hymns the most celebrated is Mānatuṅga's *Bhaktāmara-stotra* on Ṛishabha for which different dates have been advocated from

the third to the ninth century. Siddhasena Divākara, also of uncertain date, wrote the *Vardhamāna-dvātriṁśikā;* the *Kalyāṇamandira* may also be his work though it mentions a Kumudachandra as its author. Siddhasena was a celebrated logician whom tradition considers a pioneer of the *kāvya.* Akalaṅka's *Akalaṅkāshaṭaka,* the *Bṛihatpañcha-namaskāra-stotra* (in fifty verses) ascribed to Vidyānanda or Patrakeśarī, the *Sarasvatī stotra* and a hymn in 96 verses on the 24 Jinas by Bappa Bhaṭṭi (A.D. 743-838), are other notable works. Bappa Bhaṭṭi figures in Jain story books, and according to the *Prabhāvaka-charita* he was the author of 52 works including the *Tāragaṇa* (XI. 649) which Dhanapāla assigns to Bhadrakīrti. Sobhana, the brother and converter of Dhanapāla to Jainism, wrote in the latter part of the tenth century the *Śobhanastuti* on the 24 Jinas; it abounds in figures of speech and verbal tricks which were explained by Dhanapāla who also composed the *Vīrastuti* in eleven verses of which the first lines are Sanskrit and the second Prakrit. Other specimens of ingenious *stotras* are the *Siddhipriyastotra* of the early writer Devanandī, the *Stutividyā* or *Jinaśatālaṁkāra* of Samantabhadra, a *Vishāpahārastotra* of Dhanañjaya.

3. *Philosophical Literature*

In the domain of philosophical literature the period under review registers a marked advance over the Gupta Age. In the school of Nyāya, the greatest name is that of Bhāradvāja Uddyotakara, a Pāśupatāchārya, who defends Vātsyāyana in his *Vārttika,* 'one of the world's greatest treatises on logic. Uddyotakara is mentioned by Subandhu in his *Vāsavadattā* and by Dharmakīrti in his *Vādanyāya* and *Nyāyabindu,* and may belong to the early part of the seventh century. He criticises Vasubandhu and Bhadanta (Diṅnāga), as well as the works *Vādavidhi* and *Vādavidhāna-ṭīkā* of the former.

Dharmakīrti who is mentioned by I-tsing (671-95) but not by Hiuan-Tsang (629-45) attacked Uddyotakara, and this evoked a reply in the *Tātparya-ṭīkā* on the *Nyāya-vārttika* from the versatile Vāchaspati Miśra who also determined the text of the *Nyāya-sūtras* in his *Nyāya-sūchī-nibandha* (841). With profound respect Udayana offered his gloss *Pariśuddhi* on Vāchaspati's *Tātparya-ṭīkā.* Udayana wrote other works on Nyāya and Vaiśeshika, devoting a special treatise to a critique of the Buddhist view, and shared with Kumārila and Śaṅkara the task of liquidating Buddhism. His *Lakshaṇāvalī* defining categories was written in 984; his *Kiraṇāvalī* is a commentary of Praśastapāda's work; his *Nyāya-Pariśishṭa* or *Prabodha-siddhi* is a brief exposition of the elements of debate according to the *Nyāya-sūtras;*

his *Ātma-tattva-viveka* or *Bauddha-dhikkāra* is a refutation of the Buddhist doctrines like *apoha* and *Kshaṇabhaṅga* held by writers like Kalyāṇarakshita and Dharmottara. His masterpiece is the *Iśvara-Kusumāñjali* (more commonly known simply as *Kusumāñjali*), a classic on the proof for the existence of god also occasioned by Buddhist works like Kalyāṇarakshita's *Īśvarabhaṅga-kārikā*. An uncompromising opponent of Buddhistic idealism, Udayana accepted to Upanishadic philosophy and its manner of denying the reality of the phenomenal world. His title Nyāyāchārya indicates his high position in the school of Nyāya.

Apparently a little earlier than *Kiraṇāvalī* was another commentary *Vyomavatī* on Praśastapāda by Vyomaśivāchārya who accepted the third *pramāṇa* of *śabda* (verbal testimony) unlike Śrīdhara and other commentators on Vaiśeshika. Vyomaśiva mentions Śrīharsha and has been taken to be a contemporary of Harshavardhana; but as he cites and refutes Prabhākara he could not have been so early. Bhaṭṭa Jayanta of Kashmir an adviser to king Śaṅkara-varman was another writer who preceded Udayana and wrote the *Nyāya-mañjarī*, a running commentary on select *sūtras* of Gautama in lively prose interspersed with verses. The *Nyāyakalikā* was another short work of Jayanta which collected the resume-verses occurring in the *mañjarī*, and another metrical work of his on Nyāya called *Pallava* is known now only from extracts in the *Syādvāda-ratnākara*. In his play *Shaṇmata-nāṭaka* or *Āgama-ḍambara* he introduced king Śaṅkaravarman; queen Sugandhā Devī and himself as characters besides different religious teachers who lived just before his time as representatives of different religious systems. Thus Dharmottara represents Buddhism and Viśvarūpa is one of the judges in a disputation; this creates the impression that the other characters may also be historical. The play upholds the superiority of the Nyāya, and finally Dhairyarasi expatiates on the noble idea of all *darśanas* being but different gates to the same mansion of salvation and of different branches of knowledge being the different streams of the Ganges seeking the same ocean of divinity, and exhorts the adherents of all the schools to preserve the purity of their respective creeds and not allow the corrupter into their fold.

Bhāsarvajña was another leading Nyāya author of the tenth century who refutes Prajñākaragupta (c. 940) and is quoted by Ratnākaraśānti (c. 980). He wrote the *Nyāyasāra* which evoked eighteen commentaries.

PURVA MĪMĀṀSĀ

Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa, the greatest exponent of *Pūrva Mīmāṁsā*, probably flourished in the third quarter of the seventh century A.D. He wrote

five works in all expounding the *Sabarabhāshya, the Bṛihaṭṭīkā, Madhyama-ṭīkā, Ṭupṭīkā Slokavārttika* and *Tantravārttika.* He had a number of distinguished pupils; the best known to them was Prabhākara who gained the paradoxical appellation of Guru and became the founder of a rival school to that of Kumārila. Legend localizes him in Malabar, holds him as an *avatāra* of divinity, and ascribes to him a prose hymn on Śiva. The great Maṇḍana Miśra has also been counted among Kumārila's pupils by tradition. A third writer of eminence often mentioned already Bhaṭṭa Umveka, is also believed to have been a pupil of Kumārila, and is sometimes identified with the dramatist Bhavabhūti, though there is no reliable evidence on both these points.

Of Prabhākara's disciples the chief was Śālikanātha referred to by Udayana as Gauḍa-mīmāṁsaka. He comments on both the works of his teacher and must have lived at the end of the seventh century and beginning of the eighth.

The ubiquitous Vāchaspati not only commented on Maṇḍana's *Vidhiviveka* in his *Nyāyakaṇikā*, but wrote an independent tract called *Tattvabindu* on what exactly is the means or instrumental cause of verbal cognition which he held to be the *padārthas.* A regular commentator on Kumārila who may have written in the ninth century is Sucharitamiśra whose Kāśikā on the *Ślokavārttika* is available. The renaissance in Mīmāṁsā studies inaugurated by Kumārila and Prabhākara gave rise to a number of other writers whose works are not now forthcoming.

We now come to the school of Vedānta which owes its pre-eminence to the towering personality of the famous Śaṅkarāchārya.

That theistic Vedānta as well as the Advaita philosophy of the Ātman were generally accepted even at an earlier period, during the Gupta Age is clear from the writings of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi and others. Starting from the side of grammar Bhartṛihari developed almost all the essential concepts of classic Advaita in his *Vākyapadīya* and fought the Buddhist nihilism by his insistence on Śabda-sphoṭa as an imperishable substratum. But much of pre-Śaṅkara Vedānta literature is no longer accessible.

The only pre-Śaṅkara Advaitic work that has survived is that of Gauḍapāda, the teacher of Śaṅkara's teacher. The text is known as *Gauḍapādakārikā* or *Māṇḍukyopanishad- kārikā,* which has been the centre of much controversy. Gauḍapāda echoes Vasubandhu (A.D. 400) and is cited by Bhāvaviveka (c. A.D. 500-50). Such an early date for Gauḍapāda must unsettle either the accepted date for Śaṅkara or the tradition regarding Śaṅkara's teacher being the direct pupil of Gauḍapāda.

Advaita differed from the Mādhyamaka philosophy in that it was based upon one ultimate reality, the substratum of Atman or Brahman. Therefore Śaṅkara, who completed the work of Gauḍapada, treated Buddhism as the chief rival and criticised its doctrine unsparingly. According to tradition, he travelled all over India, put down all leftist (*vāma*) practices in the temples where they were in vogue, introducing the pure Vaidic form of worship, and thus earned the title of *Shaṇmatasthāpaka* (re-establisher of the six orthodox paths of worship). Born at Kaladi on the Alwaye in Kerala, Śaṅkara had only a brief span of life, thirty-two years, in which he firmly established his system of thought by holding public debates and writing great books, and by organising *maṭhas* everywhere to serve as centres for the study and propagation of Advaita. His exact chronological position is by no means clear. He came after Kumārila, and Vāchaspati (A.D. 841) commented on him. It is clear that the Buddhist Dharmakīrti, Kumārila and his pupils Maṇḍana Prabhākara and Umveka, Śaṅkara and his pupils Sureśvara and Padmapāda, the Jain Vidyānanda and the great scholiast Vāchaspati formed a brilliant galaxy within a few decades of one another. The internal evidence in the writings of Śaṅkara is extremely meagre; his mention of kings Pūrṇavarman, Balavarman, Jayasiṁha and Krishṇagupta, and even his observation (I. iii. 33) that there was no emperor (*sārvabhauma kshatriya*) in his day have not been found particularly helpful.

The elements of thought that Śaṅkara worked up into a cogent system had already come up before his time. Among Śaṅkara's works, his *bhāshyas* on the *Brahma sūtras* and nine major Upanishads are on all hands accepted as genuine; doubts have been cast, not with good reason, upon the *bhāshyas* on the *Māṇḍūkya* and *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* and on the *Bhagavad-gītā*. Of the minor works associated with his name, the *Upadeśa-sāhasrī* in prose and verse is authenticated not only by his pupil Sureśvara in his *Naishkarmya-siddhi*, but by Bhāskara also who cites it in his *Gītā-bhāshya* as Śaṅkara's work. The *Dakshiṇāmūrtistotra*, a doctrinal hymn, commented on by Sureśvara may also be genuine, though some critics see in this a Pratyabhijñā work. Of the *Viveka-chūḍāmaṇi* and a large number of short *prakaraṇas* and *stotras* we can have no certainty. Before taking leave of Śaṅkara, attention must be invited to his great contribution in the doctrine of *jīvan-mukta*, as against the views of Maṇḍana and others. The *jīvan-mukta*, one who has attained salvation in life, is the same as the *sthita-prajña* of the *Bhagavad-gītā*. The ideal is as splendid as that of the Bodhisattva, and Śaṅkara appears not only to argue its

perfect possibility, but to claim that he had actually attained it (IV. 1. 15).

Some attention is due to Maṇḍana whose contributions to grammar and Mīmāṁsā have been already noticed. He was the last representative of pre-Śaṅkara phases of Advaita, and the tradition which identifies him with Śaṅkara's pupil Sureśvara is demonstrably wrong, as the two writers exhibit vital differences, and Sureśvara actually refers to Maṇḍana in sarcastic terms. Maṇḍana was an independent writer and an eclectic with reference to Vyākaraṇa, Nyāya and Mīmāṁsā. His greatest work is the *Brahmasiddhi* comprising verses and prose gloss.

Tradition remembers four pupils of Śaṅkara. Sureśvara is the best known among them. He is believed to be the same as Viśvarūpa, who commented on *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*. He is the author of *Vārttikas* on Śaṅkara's *bhāshyas* on the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* and *Taittirīya* Upanishads, of a commentary on Śaṅkara's hymn on Dakshiṇāmūrti, and of an independent treatise called *Naishkarmyasiddhi;* a *Pañchikaraṇa-vārttika* is also ascribed to him. On Śāṅkara's *bhāshya* on the *Brahma-sūtras,* another pupil, Padmapāda wrote a super-commentary called *pañcha-pādikā,* covering only the first four *sūtras.* A third pupil Hastāmalaka has to his credit a *stotra* in twelve verses on the nature of Ātman and the identity of the individual self with the supreme self. The fourth pupil Toṭakāchārya gets his name from the metre in which he composed a hymn in praise of his teacher: a *prakaraṇa* in 178 verses in the same metre is also ascribed to him. It is called *Śrūti-sāra-samuddhāraṇa* and gives the essence of upanishadic teachings in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his pupil.

Vāchaspati Miśra's work constitutes the next landmark in the history of Advaita. He commented on both Maṇḍana and Śaṅkara and essayed to bridge the gulf between them, but he got little thanks from the closer followers of Śaṅkara who regarded him as a slave of Maṇḍana's theories. In fact Advaita Vedānta split up into two schools—one known as *Bhāmatī-prasthāna* after the name of Vāchaspati's commentary on Śaṅkara, and the other *Vivaraṇa-prasthāna* from the commentary *Vivaraṇa* of Prakāśātman on the *Pañcha-pādikā* of Padmapāda.

There came up a number of general works of the nature of easy manuals combining Yoga material with Vedānta in the form of dialogues and associated with the names of sages and epic characters; these need not be noticed in detail. The *Yoga-Yājñavalkya* may serve as an example of this class; it is a dialogue between the sage and his wife Gārgī, and, like the *Bhagavad-gītā* which it lays

under contribution, calls itself a Gītā and Upanishad. Possibly taking its name after this text the *Yoga-vāśishṭha* in which sage Vaśishṭha figures as the teacher is a voluminous work in a highly poetic diction on advanced Advaita incorporating a number of other texts and some of the minor works now ascribed to Śaṅkara. In its present form it may be assigned to the tenth century, though the kernel of it may be of a slightly earlier time.

Reaction against Śaṅkara was strong and immediate. Bhāskara revived the older theories of *bhedābheda* and *Brahma-pariṇāma* as against the Advaita metaphysics of Śaṅkara, and opposed the new order of Ekadaṇḍī-sannyāsa which advocated complete renunciation including the casting away of the sacred thread and tuft as against the time-honoured Tridaṇḍī-sannyāsa. Bhāskara's *bhāshya* on the *Brahma-sūtras*, which reproduces Śaṅkara freely except where it differs, has been published.

4. *Technical and Scientific Literature*

(A) GRAMMAR, LEXICOGRAPHY AND PROSODY

The study of grammar was pursued in an earnest spirit, though no outstanding work was produced during the period. King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (p. 536) is said to have studied the subject under Kshīra. Several commentaries were written on well-known grammatical works. The earliest commentary on the entire *Vākyapadīya* was perhaps that of Vṛishabhadeva, patronized by Vishṇugupta who may be identified with the later Gupta king of that name (p. 602). The *Vivaraṇapañjikā* or *Nyāsa* by Sthavira Jinendrabuddhi is an extensive commentary on the *Kāśikā*. Nyāsa is however a genuine name for a type of grammatical exegesis and Jinendrabuddhi himself speaks of Nyāsikās (VI. 1. 3). He may have written about A.D. 800 and his work is mentioned in an inscription in Champā bearing the date A.D. 918. The *Bhāgavṛitti* was, according to Rāyamukuṭa, a rival to the *Kāśikā*, more loyal to the *Mahābhāshya;* it cites Bhartṛihari and criticises Māgha and may have been written about A.D. 900. Yet another Vṛitti on Pāṇini was composed by the celebrated logician of Kashmir Bhaṭṭa Jayanta (end of ninth century) who mentions the work in the prologue to his unpublished philosophical play *Shaṇmata-nāṭaka*.

Ratnaśrījñāna or Ratnamati, author of *Śabdārthachintā,* wrote a commentary *Pañjikā* on the *Chandra* in the tenth or eleventh century in Ceylon. The Jainendra-*Vyākaraṇa* of Devanandin *alias* Pujyapāda, usually assigned to the latter part of the fifth century, but perhaps earlier still, is known in two recensions, a shorter authentic one and a longer amplification of it. It condenses Pāṇini with the aid of new

monosyllabic technical terms, and has a commentary by Abhayanandin (c. A.D.750) who follows the shorter version. The *Śākaṭāyana-Vyākaraṇa* with the *Amoghavṛitti* on it is of the time of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. Having about 3200 *ślokas* the work is a forerunner of the later recasts of Pāṇini arranged under topics. It was drawn upon by Hemachandra for his *Haima Vyākaraṇa*. A gloss by Durgāsiṁha (c. eighth century) on the non-paninian *Kātantra* also belongs to this period.

In lexicography, a *Nāmamālā* is cited by the rhetorician Vāmana (I. 35), and a *Nāmaratnamālā* by Viśvarūpa in his commentary on Yājñavalkya (II. 266). Among other lexicons of the period may be mentioned Śāśvata's *Anekārthasamuchchaya* (ninth century?); *Paryāyaratnamālā*, a medical dictionary of about the same age, by the physician Mādhavakara of Silahrada, son of Indrakara, author of *Rugviniśchaya; Anekārthadhvani-mañjarī* called in some manuscripts *Śabdaratnapradīpa* of Kshapaṇaka, a contemporary of Kālidāsa according to tradition; the *Abhidhānaratnamālā* of Halāyudha who wrote his *Kavirahasya* on Rāshṭrakūṭa Krishna III; a *Nāmamālā* of synonyms and homonyms of Dhanañjaya, a Jaina poet who is referred to by Bhoja in his *Śriṅgāraprakāśa*; and a *Nānārthakośa* of the Jaina Asaṅga (c. 988) known from a manuscript in Warangal, are other lexicons of the period.

In prosody we have the *Janāśrayī*, probably by the Vishṇukuṇḍin ruler Mādhava-varman II Janāśraya (585-615), or perhaps a work of Gaṇasvāmin dedicated to him; it cites Bhāravi and may safely be placed c. A.D. 600. It names a few new metres and its code words for *gaṇas* are not confined to three syllables, but include those of two, four, five and six syllables. The ascription of *Śrutabodha* to Kālidāsa cannot be accepted. The *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* affords a text on metrics (ch. CIII) and Bhaṭṭotpala comments elaborately on it with the aid of other authorities. Jayadeva's *Chhandas* cited by Utpala was known to Vākpatirāja according to the commentary on the *Gauḍavaho*. The work was commented on by Harshaṭa, son of Bhaṭṭa Mukula, possibly the same as Kallaṭa's son who wrote his excellent commentary *Mṛitasañjīvanī* on Piṅgala's *sūtras*, and the Jaina logician Ratnākaraśānti composed the *Chhandoratnākara* which is preserved in Tibetan.

(B) POETICS AND DRAMATURGY

Literary and dramatic criticism made great progress during the period. Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* was followed by Kohala who codified the new operatic forms that arose after Bharata and were partly inspired by folk forms; he called them *uparūpaka* and gave them a

place by Bharata's *rūpaka*. We do not have his text, but Abhinavagupta's observations lead us to infer that Kohala's amplifications came to be incorporated in Bharata's text as its last chapter under the name *uttara-tantra*. In the middle of the sixth century Mātṛigupta, afterwards king of Kashmir, produced an elaborate work on *Nāṭya-śāstra* in *anushṭup* verse which, as the late commentator Rāghava-bhaṭṭa discloses, collected a wide variety of views of the post-Bharata period and discussed them with originality and acumen; the work is quoted by Abhinavagupta and Sāgaranandin. Another early writer was Śrīharsha whose *Vārttika* on Nāṭya was available only in a fragment comprising the first six chapters even to Abhinavagupta, who also cites frequently another work on Nāṭya by Rāhula, a Buddhist. Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir developed a taste for Nāṭya during his early wanderings in Puṇḍravardhana where he fell in love with a temple courtesan named Kamalā. As king of Kashmir he got one of his courtiers Udbhaṭa to expound Bharata in a systematic commentary. Udbhaṭa was followed by Lollaṭa, son of Aparājita, by Śaṅkuka perhaps the same as the author of *Bhuvanābhyudaya*, and above all by the illustrious Abhinavagupta, whose work *Abhinavabhārati* which falls in the next period, yields much valuable information on the early history of dramaturgy and has conserved the names of many authors otherwise unknown.

In Bharata poetics occupied a small place; but it was soon developed separately by many rhetoricians, such as Kāśyapa and Vararuchi. Subandhu, Bāṇa and Bhāravi bear indirect testimony to the flourishing state of criticism after Bharata by their references to many major concepts like *sauśabdya, guṇa, utprekshā, ākshepa* and so on in their works. The relation between word and sense, and the refinement of the former and richness of the latter formed leading subjects of discussion at the time.

Bhaṭṭi, Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin are the earliest extant authors in the field of rhetoric. Though they differ among themselves they form a trinity. Bhaṭṭi in his *Rāvaṇavadha*, already mentioned, deals with figures of sound and sense, the quality of sweetness, *sauśabdya* and other topics in the cantos (X-XIV) called *Prasanna-kāṇḍa*, i.e., the section embodying the quality of *prasāda* (grace and clarity). Bhaṭṭi and Bhāmaha agree in several respects, but as Bhāmaha makes an adverse reference to poetic works such as Bhaṭṭi, the agreement must be taken to be due to both drawing upon a common source. The relation between Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin is also similar; they both belonged to the latter part of the seventh century, and their texts show that already there were two different traditions, Bhāmaha following one and Daṇḍin the other. Bhāmaha on the whole repre-

sents an earlier phase of development than Daṇḍin. He gives figures of speech in bunches, suggesting stages through which the figures increased from the form mentioned by Bharata. He attached importance to figures and was the earliest to emphasise the charm of form as the essence of poetic expression which he called *vakra* (expression with a charming turn), a term which hardly seems to do justice to the high poetic ideal that underlies his critique on the two styles known as *Gauḍī* (Eastern) and *Vaidarbhī* (Southern).

Daṇḍin expounded a different school of thought in his *Kāvyādarśa,* his emphasis being on the two styles of composition and ten qualities of expression which are the basis of this distinction. He favoured the *Vaidarbhī* (Southern) manner in which grace, simplicity, clarity, moderation etc., were the dominant features as against the involved expression, bombast, hyperbole, long compounds etc., which marked the *Gauḍī* (eastern) style. He went into detailed sub-classes on figures of speech and treated of the sixty-four arts (*Kalās*) in his *Kalāparichchheda,* not a separate work as was thought till recently, but the missing last chapter of the *Kāvyādarśa.* Daṇḍin, an accomplished poet himself, became the maker of literary criticism in the South where the Kannaḍa *Kavirāja-mārga,* the Tamil *Daṇḍiyalangaram,* and the Sinhalese *Siva-bas-lakara* were all based on his *Kāvyādarśa,* a name taken over bodily for an old Javanese work on the grammar of poetry.

In Kashmir Udbhaṭa commented on Bhāmaha's *Alaṅkāra* and compiled the *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sāra-saṁgraha,* a compendium of figures. His contemporary Vāmana, a minister, took a different point of view in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtra* and its *Vṛtti,* following Daṇḍin and laying stress on style and its qualities rather than on *Alaṅkāra* (figures of speech). Udbhaṭa commenting on Bhāmaha pointed out the existence of two distinct meanings of words, the primary and the secondary, and spoke also of an implicatory capacity of words, exclusive of the expressed sense; this soon led to the elucidation of the third, the highest and most artistic significatory capacity of words—suggestion or *dhvani*—which became the basis of the new school of criticism founded by Ānandavardhana. Rudraṭa and Rudra, often confused the one with the other by ancient writers as well as modern scholars, preceded Ānandavardhana and helped the growth of his system of thought. Rudraṭa, in his work, *Alaṅkāra,* dealt with *rasas* in detail as part of poetics, and Rudra Bhaṭṭa carried this new stress on *rasa* one stage further, thus effecting a departure from the practice of Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin and Vāmana who assigned it quite a subordinate place. This brought poetics and dramaturgy nearer, and paved the way for Ānandavardhana effecting a revolution in the very conception of

poetry and its enjoyment by doing away with the ancient dichotomies between drama and poetry, prose and verse, poet and critic. All the resources of the literary craft, from the crude jingle onwards, were duly organized and intelligibly explained as subserving the primary poetic end; *Dhvani* or *Vyañjanā,* as the principle of expressing or realising an idea by leaving it out of the scope of express statement and deriving it by the infinite capacity of language to suggest, was called the 'soul' of poetic expression, because it comprehended the whole realm of a poet's expression; but really *Rasa* or *Rasa-dhvani* was the most important, and it was through Ānandavardhana that the ancient *rasa* doctrine got re-enthroned. While formulating the technical aspects of *Dhvani,* Ānandavardhana did not forget the essential requisite of beauty; in fact by its sidelights and the argument drawn from the allied artistic field of music, the *Dhvanyāloka* forms the main classic of Indian aesthetics.

Ānandavardhana's doctrine evoked much criticism from his elder contemporary Manoratha, from Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka—a literary critic with predilections to Mīmāṁsa—and from the logician Jayanta Bhaṭṭa who in his *Nyāya-mañjarī* dismissed Ānandavardhana as a mere literary critic not worth serious consideration. But this was wrong, as the author of *Dhvanyāloka* also wrote a gloss on Dharmakīrti's *Viniśchaya,* a work of Buddhist metaphysics, besides an original treatise *Tattvaloka* in which, among other things, he elucidated the exact manner in which *Kāvya* (poetry) differed from *śāstra* (scientific treatise). Mukula Bhaṭṭa, in the early tenth century, was another opponent of *Dhvani* in Kashmir who wrote a brief tract in verse and a prose gloss called *Abhidhāvṛittimātṛikā;* his pupil Pratihārendurāja from Konkan supported him by reviving Udbhaṭa's views and arguing that *Dhvani* was comprehended by *lakshaṇā.* Mukula seems also to have resuscitated Vāmana's work which had gone out of vogue. In his *Hṛidaya-darpaṇa* Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka accepted *Dhvani* as one of the elements of charm, but could not see how it was all in all. He too held *rasa* to be supreme and gave out many valuable ideas besides on the function of poetry, on the distinction between poetry and other forms of expression and so on, all of which were accepted by Abhinavagupta later. Nāyaka flourished under king Śaṅkaravarman and was praised by Kalhaṇa for his learning. Lastly, Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* planned on an extensive and comprehensive scale on the basis of Rudraṭa's scheme has survived only in its initial chapter; the encyclopaedic nature of Rājaśekhara's learning so well attested by this magnificent fragment puts an edge on one's sense of loss at the disappearance of the bulk of the work.

(C) MEDICINE

I-tsing noticed the study of medicine in Nālandā and Vikramaśīla and refers to an author who lately put together the medical science in eight sections; Hoernle suggested that this author was Vāgbhaṭa, author of *Ashṭāṅga-saṁgraha*, and this has generally been accepted. A more recent opinion is that the reference is to the later Vāgbhaṭa and his *Ashṭāṅga-hṛidaya*, the earlier one of that name being a pre-Yājñavalkya author. In Vāgbhaṭa's name we have another work *Rasa-ratna-samuchchaya*. In fact there is great uncertainty about the number of writers bearing the name Vāgbhata and their chronology. One of them is described as a Rājarshi ruling from Mahājahnu. And P. C. Ray considers the *Rasaratna-samuchchaya* a work of the latter part of the thirteenth century.

In 1938 was recovered by excavation in Gilgit a leaf of a *Nyāsa* on Kharanāda's lost work; the fragment may be dated between the seventh and ninth century; the original work *Kharanādī* is extensively quoted by later commentators. In the eighth century Charaka, Suśruta and *Ashtaṅga-hridaya* were rendered into Tibetan and Arabic. Dridhabala of Pañchanada in Kashmir revised the text of the *Charaka-saṁhitā*, and added to it seventeen chapters in book VI and the whole of books VII and VIII. Mādhava or Mādhavakara, placed by Hoernle in the eighth century, along with Vāgbhata II and Dridhabala, was a native of Silahrada and author of several works. His father Indukara may have been the same as Indu, author of a medical lexicon quoted by Kshīrasvāmin, and of commentaries on both *Ashṭāṅga-saṁgraha* and *Ashṭāṅga-hridaya*. The best known work of Mādhava is the *Nidāna* or *Rugviniśchaya* on pathology, translated into Arabic under Harun-Al-Rashid (A.D. 786-808). Mādhava did not know Dridhabala's text of Charaka. His other works are: *Chikitsā* which mentions the *Nidāna*, the short *Kūṭamudgara*, the medical lexicon *Paryāyaratnamālā*, a *Vārttika* on *Suśruta*, *Dravyaguṇa*, and *Yoga-vyākhyā*. Jajjaṭa or Jaivata, pupil of Vāgbhata II, wrote commentaries on Suśruta and Charaka; he mentions several older commentators on Charaka, including Bhattāra Harichandra whose commentary has survived. Tisaṭa, son of Vāgbhata II, was responsible for the *Chikitsā-kalikā* or *Yoga-mālā*, and his son Chandrata for a commentary on his father's work, an edition (*patha-śuddhi*) of Suśruta, and the *Yogaratna-samuchchaya*; he mentions several medical works otherwise unknown Brinda of East Bengal wrote his *Siddha-yoga* between A.D. 975 and 1000.

Ugrāditya, the Jaina author of *Kalyāṅakāraka*, says (XX. 87) that he wrote his work at Rāmagiri in the territory of the Lord of Veṇgī and

Trikaliṅga. At the end of it he says that he argued the futility of meat eating in the midst of scholars in the court of Nṛipatuṅga Vallabha, i.e., Amoghavarsha I. He says that his work is the essence of the Jaina medical literature comprising a work on Śālākya by Pūjyapāda, on Śalyatantra by Patrasvāmin (Vidyānanda), on Visha by Siddhasena, on Kāyāchikitsā by Daśarathaguru, on Śiśu-Chikitsā by Meghanāda, on Vṛishya by Siṁhanāda, and on the entire Ashṭāṅga by Samantabhadra.

Buddhadāsa, king of Ceylon at the end of the fourth century, was himself a surgeon and physician, appointed a doctor for every ten villages in his kingdom, and wrote in Sanskrit the medical treatise *Sārārtha-saṁgraha,* a work mentioned in the Pagan inscription of 1442.

A good number of works on veterinary science ascribed to mythical authors are known. That there were writers on elephantology before Kālidāsa appears from his *Raghuvaṁśa* (VI. 27); a treatise on the same subject *Rājaputrīya* ascribed to Buddha is mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (XXIV. 2-3). Of historical authors on horses and elephants many are known, but not their dates: Jayadatta, son of Vijayadatta (*Aśvavaidyaka*), Dīpaṅkaram, son of Nanakara, perhaps a Buddhist (*Aśvavaidyaka*), Gaṇa, son of Durlabha (*Siddhayoga-sāra-saṁgraha*). There is at least one work *Hastivaidyaka* of Vīrasoma which is quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala, and this gives some idea of its chronological position.

(D) ASTRONOMY AND MATHEMATICS

In Astronomy and Mathematics the greatest writer during the period was Brahmagupta. He wrote the *Brahma-sphuṭa-siddhānta* in A.D. 628 when he was thirty. He criticised the followers of the Romaka-siddhānta for not following the Purāṇic division of time. He was the son of Jishṇu of the Bhillamāla family and wrote under king Vyāghramukha of the Chāpa family. Two of his works, *Brahma-sphuṭa* and *Khaṇḍakhādya* were translated into Arabic in A.D. 773. Alberuni mentions two works *Brihan-mānasa* of Manu and *Laghu-mānasa* of Pu(Mu)ñjala, a southerner. The *Laghu-mānasa* of Muñjala (or Muñjulāchārya) is a short treatise in 60 verses; its calculations are for A.D. 662, and from its opening verse it would seem that the *Brihan-mānasa* was also his work. On the *Laghu-mānasa* there was a commentary by Praśastidhara. Lalla (c. 638), son of Trivikrama, wrote the (*Śishya*) *Dhīvṛiddhi-tantra,* a well-known work besides the others referred to by Bhāskarāchārya, a *Paṭīgaṇita* and a treatise on *Phalita.* A commentary of his *Khaṇḍakhādya* or *Triśatikā* on algebra, flourished about A.D. 750. The Jain Mahāvīrāchārya wrote his *Gaṇitasāra-saṁgraha* under Amoghavarsha I Rāshṭrakūṭa,

Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa wrote his commentary on *Laghubhāskarīya* in 869 under Ravi Varman Kulaśekhara of Quilon. The author records his patron's interest in astronomy and the erection of an observatory by him at Mahodayapura and a clock in the Balakṛideśvara near by. He mentions many early authors and works. Āryabhaṭa II (c. 950) wrote the *Āryasiddhānta*. Bhaṭṭa Utpala, a Kashmirian is best known as the commentator of Varāhamihira's works. The commentary on *Bṛihajjātaka* was written in 966. He also commented on the *Shaṭpañchāśikā* of Varāhamihira's son, the *Khaṇḍakhādya* of Brahmagupta, and according to Alberuni, on the *Bṛihanmīmāṁsā*. *Vāstuvidyā*, a *Horāśāstra* in 75 verses, two treatises on Karaṇa and Praśna mentioned by Alberuni are his independent works. The *Gūḍhamana* of Alberuni is evidently the Jñānamālā on Praśna mentioned by the author himself in his *Shaṭpañchāśikā-Vyākhyā* and known from manuscripts. Utpala appears to have supplemented Kalyāṇavarman's *Sārāvalī*, a fact mentioned in a Bombay manuscript of the work, and earned the title 'Sārāvalīpūraka'. He quotes extensively from *Sārāvalī*. Another commentator whom Dikshit places C. A.D. 978 is Chaturveda Prithūdakasvāmin, mentioned by Alberuni. He commented on both the works of Brahmagupta, and seems to have known Mahāvīrāchārya's work. Apte mentions a commentary of his on the *Laghumānasa* also.

(E) MISCELLANEOUS

The paucity of technical Arthaśāstra literature in our period was perhaps due in part to the incorporation of Artha matter in the Dharma-śāstras and Purāṇas, not to speak of its popularisation in Kāvya works and others like *Pañchatantra*, *Nītiśataka* of Bhartṛihari and so on, but partly also to a moral revolt against its immoral teachings reflected in the literature of the time. A *Nītiśāstra* by Māṭhara is mentioned among works useful to a judge in the *bhāshya* on the third Chhadasūtra, *Vyavahāra*, of the Jaina canon dating from the sixth century. Two other important works are the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka which is a metrical resume of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, the *Nītivākyāmṛita* of Somadevasūri, a moralised version of Kauṭilya's doctrines. The former was probably a product of the Gupta age and the latter is a tenth-century work written perhaps for king Mahendrapāla II of Kanauj.

The province of Kāmaśāstra was heavily invaded by the rhetorical works which dwelt at length on various aspects of Śṛiṅgāra-rasa; still this branch fared a little better than Artha. The earliest work in the period we hear of was a commentary on the *sūtras* of Dattaka

by the Gaṅga prince Mādhavavarman II (fourth century). Another lost work, but much better authenticated, is the *Guṇapataka*, mentioned not only in later commentaries, but by Kokkaka who draws upon it thrice in his *Ratirahasya*. *Guṇapataka* derives its names perhaps from a courtezan the answers to whose questions by Mūladeva constitute the work. One of the most interesting works of this period is the *Haramekhalā* written in Prakrit by Mahuka or Maghaka, son of Mādhava and grandson of poet Maṇḍana; it was produced at Chitrakūṭa (Chitor) in the reign of king Dharaṇīvarāha. The author gives the date 887 at the end which the Sanskrit commentator refers to the Vikrama era; but it is the Śaka era and corresponds to A.D. 965 when the Paramāra Dharaṇīvarāha was ruling in Marwar. From the manuscript of the work in Nepal it is seen that Mahuka belonged to Bhillamāla and to the family of Māgha. The work contains recipes for medicinal, toilette, health and love purposes, besides others calculated to harass and destroy others to attract and captivate them, for ointments, smokes for destroying mosquitoes, flies and reptiles, for increasing memory and intelligence, and for counteracting poisons; yet others are meant as maternity aids and aids to the growth of horses, trees and creepers. There is also a *nighaṇṭu* (glossary) at the end of the names occurring in the recipes. The work attained quick recognition, and was drawn upon by some Tantra works like the *Kakshapuṭa* and cited by Kshīrsvāmin who called it *Haramekhalātantra* in his commentary on the *Amarakośa;* it is also cited in the section on enticement in the *Ratirahasya* by Kokkoka, the most noteworthy author on *Kāmaśāstra* after Vātsyāyana. Kokkoka was the son of a poet Gadyavidyādhara, and wrote his work for the delight of one Vainyadatta. Usually the work is assigned a date later than our period, but it is cited in the commentary *Jayamaṅgala* (on Vātsyāyana) which is known to Bhoja; and possibly there is also an indirect reference to it in Somadeva's *Yaśastilaka* (A.D. 959). The *Ratvilāsa* cited by Bhoja as an example of a Kāmaśāstra treatise in Kāvya form is a work of a different type which most probably falls within our period. It is cited in Maṅkha's Kośa.

The literature of music (and dance) is closely allied to that of *Nāṭya* (dramaturgy) which has been reviewed along with rhetoric (*Alaṅkāra*). Kohala's work, for instance, covered the field of music also, and Mātaṅga cites from him often. The steps in the transition from the Gāndharva or Mārga style of music to Gaṇa or Deśi, and from the earlier melodic types called to Jātis to Rāgas of popular origin are obscure. Bharata does not know of Rāgas; the epic rhapsodies were not sung to them, but to the seven old Jātis. A few Rāgas come into view in the *Sikshā* of Nārada, and Kālidāsa men-

tions just one specimen In this transition we hear of a large number of texts associated with the names of gods and sages; they are mostly known only from citations by later authors and most probably fall within our period. They fall into three groups, viz., those that belong to the older Gāndharva stage such as Kambala-Aśvatara, and Dattila; those that belong to the early Deśī stage—Kāśyapa. Śārdūla, Yashṭika, Durgāśakti and Mātaṅga; those that are very much later, like Añjaneya. A fragment of Dattila is known; parts of the *saṁhitās* of Śārdūla and Yashṭika. are found in the Mātaṅga text. Kambala and Aśvatara are two Nāgas who, according to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* propitiated Śiva with a class of Gāndharva songs called Kapāla and Kambala.

Some interval must be taken to separate Kāśyapa and Mātaṅga from Nārada and Kālidāsa. Though Kāśyapa's work is lost (Nānyadeva quotes from a *Brihat Kāśyapa*) a long citation from him by Abhinavagupta shows that, among other things, Kāśyapa dealt at length with the interesting question of the connection between particular Rāgas and Rasas. Mātaṅga's work which marks the next important stage bears the significant name *Bṛihaddeśī,* the big book of popular music. Mātaṅga quotes the *Dhātupāṭha* as codified by Bhīmasena (A.D. 600) and is clearly earlier than Dāmodaragupta (c. 800), author of *Kuṭṭanīmata.* Rudraṭa also wrote on music as Abhinavagupta shows, and Bindurāja and Kshetrarāja are other writers of the period.

In the literature of other arts, the *Mānasāra,* the leading text on architecture, has been assigned to A.D. 500-700. Bhaṭṭa Utpala wrote a work on *Vāstuvidyā* which he quotes in his commentary on the corresponding chapters (52-57) of the *Brihatsaṁhitā.* On cosmetics, besides the information given in the Purāṇas, we hear of a work called *Lokeśvara* cited as a *gandhaśāstra* by Padmaśrī in his work on erotics (eleventh century). The *Vishnudharmottara* gives much attention to painting and iconography; an independent work on painting was the *Chitrasūtra* mentioned by Dāmodaragupta (*Kuṭṭanīmata,* 124)

III. PRĀKRIT AND PĀLI LITERATURE

Prākrit as a literary medium became stylized and fixed by means of Prākṛit grammars in the same way as Sanskrit, Māhārāshṭrī being treated at length and the other varieties more briefly and on the basis of Māhārāshṭrī. Vararuchi and Chaṇḍa are the earliest Prākrit grammarians now known; the former may be assigned to the fifth or sixth century A.D. and there is a gloss on his work by a Bhāmaha who is generally identified with the rhetorician though with no tan-

gible proof. Chaṇḍa's *Prākṛita-lakshaṇa* is taken by Hoernle to have preceded Vararuchi, though it was amplified later; but Gune thinks that Chaṇḍa wrote sometime after the sixth century A.D. when Apabhraṁśa had ceased to be a spoken language and had become a literary language like the Prākṛits, its place in popular speech being taken by the incipient modern Indian languages of the Indo-Aryan group.

The *Setubandha* or *Rāvaṇavadha*, written in Māhārāshṭrī Prākṛit and ascribed to Pravarasena identified by some with Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II, is the earliest Prākṛit poem we possess. Daṇḍin calls it 'an ocean of gems of poetry', and tradition associates Kālidāsa with the poem which may be no more than a tribute to its merit. Vākpatirāja (styled Kavirāja) of the court of Yaśovarman of Kanauj (c 700-25) wrote the *Gauḍavaho* in Māhārāshṭrī. This long poem treats of Yaśovarman's victorious military campaigns and the death of the Gauḍa king in battle. Its commentator Bhaṭṭa Upendra Haripāla calls his text *Gauḍavahosāra*, which may indicate that it is an abridgement of a longer original. An earlier and better poem of Vākpati which he himself mentions was *Mahumahavijaya*, possibly the same as the Prākṛit poem *Madhumathanavijaya* mentioned by Ānandavardhana and quoted by Abhinavagupta and Bhoja. Jain story books associate Vākpati with Bappa Bhaṭṭi and refer to his imprisonment in early life and eventual retirement as a recluse. *Harivijaya* of Sarvasena, known to Ānandavardhana, Kuntaka and Bhoja, was perhaps the most famous of the lost Prākṛit *kāvyas*: it was also in Māhārāshṭrī and according to Bhoja carried the sign-word 'utsāha' in the last verse of each canto; Kuntaka classes Sarvasena with Kālidāsa as an example of the graceful style. Ānandavardhana himself wrote a Prākṛit poem on the exploits of Kāma, *Vishamabāṇalīlā* quoted more than once in his *Dhvanyāloka*. *Mārīchavadha* and *Rāvaṇavijaya* are two other Prākṛit poems named by Bhoja and others. The well-known *Līlāvatī* is a Prākṛit Kathā in verse (c. A.D. 800) by an unknown poet, son of a Bhashana Bhaṭṭa, dealing with the marriage of Hāla Sātavāhana with a Sinhalese princess; Bhoja mentions a *Śūdrakakathā* and cites a short Prākṛit passage from it. He has also preserved the names of some other types in Prākṛit like the *Khaṇḍakathā* (in verse), *Kshudrakathā* (in prose) and *Pravāhalikā* (mixed prose and verse with some Sanskrit passages also), as of Apabhraṁśa works as well.

Hāla's anthology *Sattasaī* (seven hundred) attests the early accumulation of large numbers of stray lyrics, *muktakas* by learned and aesthetic authors, adepts in the art of love. These verses, known 'alia' among Prākṛit poets, doubtlessly continues to be composed in

our period and possibly some found their way into the anthology that passes under the name of Hāla.

The *saṭṭaka* (corresponding to Sanskrit *nāṭikā*) is represented by *Rājaśekhara's Karpūramanjarī* which employs Māhārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī, and presents in four acts called *yavanikāntaras*, a romance of love variegated by the elements of wonder, magic, festival and dance. Some late imitations of the work are known. Prākṛit was employed in texts dealing with technical and arts subjects like polity, love, cosmetics, omens, rearing of animals and so on.

From the beginning the Jains had a predilection for Prākṛit, the Digambaras preferring Śaurasenī related to the Ardhamāgadhī of their canon, and the Śvetāmbaras a variety of Māhārāshṭrī. The earliest Jain Māhārāshṭrī work in this period was the voluminous *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, written in the beginning of the sixth century A.D. by Saṅghadāsa and Dharmasena in a hundred *lambakas* and giving the Jain version of the *Harivaṁśa* and the wanderings of Krishṇa-Vāsudeva. A version of the *Bṛihatkathā* is also imbedded in it. The versatile and prolific Haribhadra flourished in the first part of the eighth century. Originally a Brāhmin, he assumed the title *Vīrahūṅka* when two nephews of his, who were also his pupils were destroyed by the hostile Buddhists. His *Samarāichcha-kahā* deals with Retribution, Nidāna or *Karmavipāka*, in the story of two inimically disposed persons traced through nine births. In his *Dhūrtākhyāna* Haribhadra parodies the miraculous stories in the Brahmanical Purāṇas and epics to cast ridicule upon them; the language here shows traces of Ardhamāgadhī. Other works of the poet known only by name are: *Munipati-charita*, *Yaśodhara-charita* and *Vīrāṅgadā-kathā*. The *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana, pupil of Haribhadra, is a more important story book. The author, also known as Dākshiṇya-chihna, was a Kshatriya of the lunar line, descendant of a Devagupta, author of *Tripurusha-charita*. Uddyotana wrote his work in A.D. 779 at the temple erected by one of his teachers Vīrabhadra at Jābālipura (Jhālor in Marwar) when Vatsarāja of the Pratihāras was ruling there. Though it is in Jain Māhārāshṭrī, it uses Paiśāchī and Apabhraṁśa, and illustrates all the eighteen *deśa-bhāshās* (dialects) with the peculiarities of the men speaking them. It refers to a number of authors and works otherwise unknown to different classes of *kathās* like *ullapa*, *parihāsa* and *vara* not noticed by Ānandavardhana and Bhoja, the features of all of which are combined in this *saṁkīrna* (mixed) *kathā* in *champū* form. In A.D. 868 Śīlāchārya produced *Chaupanna Mahāpurisacharita* on the fifty-three saints. His real name was Vimalamati and he mentions an one-act play of his called *Vibudhā nanda* Vijayasiṁhasūri wrote a *Bhuvanasundarīkathā* in A.D. 917

and the short *Kālakāchārya-Kathānaka* may be assigned to the tenth century.

Pushpadanta, originally a Kāśyapa Brahmin of Śaiva faith, became the leading Apabhraṁśa poet after he took to Jainism. He was patronized by Bharata, minister of Krishṇa III (Rāshṭrakūṭa) and by Nanna, Bharata's son. His first and most important work was the Mahāpurāṇa or *Tisaṭṭhi-maha-purisaguṇālankāra* began in 959 and completed in 965. The author claims that in this work could be found the characteristics of all Prākṛits, polity, metrics, figures of speech, in fact everything in the world of Jainism. Pushpadanta himself added a *Mūla-ṭīkā* (original notes) on which Prabhāchandra based his commentary. The work consists of two parts, an *Ādipurāṇa* in 37 and a *Uttarapurāṇa* in 65 chapters. Two shorter Apabhraṁśa works of the author were a *Nāyakumāracharíu* and a *Jasanaracharíu* (Yaśodharacharita) the latter handling the same theme as Somdevasūri's Sanskrit *champū* (*Yaśastilaka*) written about the same time. Among the authors mentioned by Pushpadanta is the important writer Svayambhū whose *Harivaṁśa-puraṇa* and *Paümacharíu* were both left incomplete and completed by his son Tribhuvana Svayambhū.

Asaga, another predecessor of Pushpadanta, wrote the *Vīracharita* or *Vardhamāna-kāvya* between 853 and 988. Dhavala wrote a *Harivaṁśapurāṇa* in which he mentions many authors and works; some of these are referred to by other writers also. Other Apabhraṁśa works produced at the end of our period are Harisheṇa's *Dharmaparīkshā* (A.D. 988) based on the earlier Prākṛit work of Jayarāma, and the *Bhavishyatta-kathā* of the Bania poet Dhanapāla on the fortunes and final *nirvāṇa* of a merchant prince. The *dohās* of Saraha and Krishṇa (c. A.D. 700) shows that the Buddhists of the East also employed Apabhraṁśa.

In Prākṛit didactic poetry we have the *Upadeśa-pada* of the well-known Haribhadra, with a commentary by Vardhamāna (A.D. 998) and the *Upadeśa-mālā* in 542 *gāthās* by Dharmadāsagaṇi with the commentaries of Siddharshi (ninth century) and of Jayasiṁha, whose *Dharmopadeśa-mālā* with his own gloss (856) is another important work of the same class. Jayasiṁha wrote it under a Bhoja of Kanauj, doubtlessly the famous Pratihāra Mihira Bhoja. In hymnology may be noted Mānatuṅga's *Bhavahara* and *Parameshthi stavas*, Nandiseṇa's *Ajita-Śānti-stava*, and Dhanapāla's *Ṛishabha-pañchāśikā* and *Vīrastava*. Dhanapāla also composed for his younger sister Sundarī a lexicon in 275 verses called *Pāiyalachchhī* (*Prākṛita Lakshmī*) which mentions the Paramāra raid on Mānyakheṭa (A.D. 972). In prosody, Virahāṅka wrote the *Vṛitta-jāti-samuchchaya* in the ninth century; in the next

century we have besides Svayambhū's work already mentioned Nanditāḍhya's *Gāthā-lakshaṇa*. All these writers adopt their own methods of scansion and ignore *yati* (caesura). Svayambhū defines even Sanskrit metres by *mātrās* and quotes fifty authors in Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa, including two poetesses Rāhā and Vijjā. Virahāṅka defines Sanskrit metres in Sanskrit and Prākṛit metres in Prākṛit, and observes that the same metre is sometimes known by different names and that there is no end to metrical varieties as poets invent new forms every day.

Pāli witnessed little development on the purely literary side and was more or less confined to the religion and philosophy of Buddhism. The oldest grammar of Pāli and some chronicles of Ceylon however deserve to be noticed here. Kachchāyana's Pāli grammar was, according to Geiger, later than Buddhaghosha and Dharmapāla. Buddhaghosha does not follow Kachchāyana whose work shows the use of Pāṇini, *Kātantra* and even the *Kāśikā*. Kachchāyana was a South Indian according to the Talaing records of Burma, and two other grammatical works are said to be his, viz., *Mahānirutti-gandha* and *Chuttanirutti-gandha*. The *Dipavaṁśa* is the earliest chronicle of Ceylon which presents in Pāli material gathered from older Sinhalese commentaries; Buddhaghosha knows it. It is anonymous, irregular, and repetitive and is defective in metre and language;. it goes up to the reign of Mahānāman and may be placed between A.D. 350 and 450. Based on it and far better finished in the form of an epic poem is the *Mahāvaṁśa* which uses much additional material and belongs to the fifth or the sixth century A.D. Its author Mahānāman is traditionally identified with a Thera uncle of king Dhātusena. The *ṭikā* on this work which embodies much valuable matter of quasi-historical nature was written perhaps in the tenth century according to Geiger; but Malalaśekhara assigns it to the seventh or eighth century. The *Anāgatavaṁśa* on the future Buddhas by Thera Kassapa, the *Bodhivaṁśa* or *Mahābodhivaṁśa*, a translation or a Sinhalese original by Upatissa who also commented on the *Anāgatavaṁśa* in the tenth century, may also be mentioned. A work of conspicuous literary merit is the *Jinālaṁkāra* of Buddhadatta, a life of Buddha in 250 verses, written not earlier than the sixth or seventh century.

CHAPTER THIRTY (B)

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE—SOUTHERN INDIA

I. ANTHOLOGIES

WITH THE FOURTH century A.D. begins a new epoch in the history of Tamil language and literature as in the political and social history of the Tamil land. A new impulse surged through the Tamil land and its kings and chieftains felt it their duty to collect the ancient poems and arrange them in handy and systematic anthologies. They employed famous poets to do this work. The best poems were chosen, classified according to their subject matter and then again arranged according to their length. Thus in *Ahattiṇai*[1] 400 poems with 4 to 8 lines each were put into one anthology known as *Kuṛundogai* (short collection); another series of 400 poems, 9 to 12 lines each, was made into *Naṛṛinai;* a third group of 400 poems ranging from 13 to 31 lines each became *Aha-nānūṛu.* Besides these individual stanzas, there existed five centums of stanzas each on one *tiṇai* by one poet, and they formed together the *Aiṅguṛunūṛu.* In *Puṛattiṇai* 400 stanzas went into the collection *Puṛa-nānūṛu.* Besides, there were the ten decads of the *Padiṛṛuppattu* of which a detailed account has been given in the previous Volume (II, Chs. XVI and XVII). We may presume that while in some cases the requisite number of poems were chosen from a wide range of competing poems, in others a shortage had to be made good by the composition of new poems. The *Naṛṛiṇai* compiled under the orders of Pāṇḍya Pannāḍu-tanda Māṛan Valudi includes two stanzas by him (97 and 301); a verse of his occurs also in the *Kuṛundogai* (270). Similarly Ukkirap-peruvaludi[1a] who patronized the collection of *Ahanānūṛu* contributes one stanza (26) to it, and another to *Naṛṛiṇai* (98). There are parallel instances in the history of Greek anthologies.

1 See *ante*, Vol. II, Ch. XXI for an explanation of Aham, Puram etc.

1a Not the same as the homonymous king who took the fortress of Kānapper. *pace* Dr. V. Svaminatha Aiyar and Pennattur A. Narayanaswamy Aiyar.

We have no similar evidence relating to the *Puṛanāṇūṛu* of which the colophon is altogether missing, besides two poems and the names of the authors of 14 others. The principle followed in the arrangement of the poems is also not clear. Generally speaking, the grammatical categories of *Puṛattiṇai* were followed in the main, attention being given also to the kings of the Chera, Pāṇḍya and Chola dynasties in that order, and to minor chieftains, *vallals* (patrons) and others with little regard to chronology. Some at least of the poets represented in the collection wrote after the grammatical categories of *tiṇai* and *tuṛai* were fairly settled;[2] some verses may have been culled from works not now traceable, while some situations explained in the colophons to the poems are obviously fictitious or imaginary.

The four collections named above under *Ahattiṇai* are also founded on established grammatical categories. Even *Kuṛundogai* (collection of short poems) knows of *uyartiṇai* (224), *neydarparappu* (114), and *maḍatūrdal* (17), a purely literary convention. So the collection were all made after the first grammatical treatises were written, or at least after grammatical speculations had crystallized in the form of conventional terms. *Tolkāppiyam* frequently adopts the views of earlier authors, some of whom may have lived before some of the poets represented in the collection, and long before the time of the compilers of the collections themselves.

Some facts relating to the eight collections not so far mentioned may now be detailed. *Aiṅguṛunūṛ* (five short hundreds) perhaps the earliest of the anthologies (end of the third century A.D.), contains stanzas of three lines, and was put together by Pulatturai-Kilār under the patronage of the 'Elephant-eyed Chera'. The poet Orambógi composed the centum on *marudam*, Ammūvanār that on *neydal*, Kapilar on *kuṛiñji*, Odal-Andai on *pālai*, and Peyan on *mullai*. The *Kuṛundogai*, compiled by Pūrikko, includes poems by 205 poets. This was also among the first collections to be made, *Naṛṛinai* followed it very soon after. *Puṛanāṇūṛu* contains a lament on the death of the 'Chera of the Elephant-eye'. If this Chera was the hero of the last decad in the 'Ten Tens' (*Padiṛṛuppattu*), then that anthology may also have preceded the Puṛanāṇūṛu. The padigams (Skt. pratīka) to each decad, not found in manuscripts containing only the text, were obviously later additions. There exists old commentaries on *Aiṅguṛunūṛu* and *Padiṛṛupattu*. Only 22 out of the 70 songs of the *Paripāḍal* have survived. An old verse says that it contained 8 poems on Vishṇu, 31 on Muruga, 1 on Kāḍu-kilāl (Kāli) or Kadal (sea accord-

2 Karandai (340), tumbai (283), uliñai (50), kāñji (296, 365), vañji (378, 394); neydal (194, 398).

ing to another reading), 26 on the river Vaigai, and 4 on the city of Madurai. Each poem has a colophon giving the name of the author, of the musician who set it to music, and of the melody to which it is set. The author and patron of the collection are alike unknown. Fragments of a learned commentary attributed to the celebrated Parimel-alagar have survived. *Kalittogai,* in the Kali metre, contains 150 stanzas distributed unevenly among the five *tiṇais—pālai* 35, *kuṛiñji* 29, *marudam* 35, *mullai* 17, and *neydal* 33. Nachchinārkkiniyar, the commentator, makes it clear that Nallanduvanār made this collection; it is seen from the comment on *neydal* 25 that the compiler was also the author of that section; but whether he was also the author of the other sections we have no means of determining. A stanza of doubtful authenticity ascribes the five sections to five different authors, though apart from it there is nothing in the style of the poems to preclude all of them being ascribed to Nallanduvanār. *Ahanānūṛu* has 400 stanzas (excluding the invocatory verse) composed by 145 poets. The poems are numbered schematically; those bearing odd numbers belong to *pālai,* those bearing 10 and its multiples are *naydal;* those having 4 like 4, 14, 24 are *mullai;* those having number 2 and 8 (2, 8, 12, 18) are *kuṛiñji;* those with the number 6 (6, 16, 26 etc.) relate to *marudam.* The scheme, unknown to *Naṛṛiṇai* and *Kuṛundogai,* makes this a later collection; and its alternative name *Nedundogai* (the long collection) modelled on the name *Kuṛundogai* confirms the conclusion. Uruttirasanmar (Rudraśarma), son of Madurai Uppūrikuḍi-kilār was the compiler and Pāṇḍya Ukkirap-peruvaludi the patron. To the royal patron are attributed stanza 26 of this collection and 98 of *Naṛṛiṇai.* The names of the poet and the patron figure prominently in the legend of the Three Saṅgams narrated in the opening paragraphs of the *Commentary On Iṛaiyanār-Ahapporul.* There is an old commentary valuable but meagre, on the first 90 stanzas of the *Ahanānūṛu.*

The *Puṛanānūṛu* is historically the most valuable and perhaps the latest of the collections. Poems numbered 267 and 268 are missing. There is an old commentary up to poem 266. The text of the subsequent poems is not therefore as well established as that of the earlier poems in the collection. Of the extant poems 14 are anonymous; for 118 only the poets' names are available without any indication of the occasion for the song. The poets represented number 157, and the kings, chieftains and others 128. The first 85 poems are devoted to the three crowned kings of the Tamil land, though unevenly distributed among them; 86 is by *Kāverpeṇḍu* (foster-mother) on the heroism of her foster-son. Then the *vallals* (patrons or bene-

factors) are taken up in order. Adigamān Neḍumān Añji and his son (87-104); Vel Pāri (105-120); Kāri (121-126); Āy Aṇḍiran (127-36) Nāñjil Valluvan (137-40); Pehan (141-47); Nalli (148-51); Ori (152-53) Kongāṇangilān (154-56); Eṛaikkon (157); and Kumaṇan (158-65). The first poem on Kumaṇan mentions all the 'seven vallals' best known for their liberality. Then follow (166-81) twelve minor chieftains, each getting one poem, except Piṭṭaṅ-gorran who takes five poems (168-72). This group includes (176) Nalliyakkoḍan, the hero of *Siṛupāṇ-āṛruppaḍai* in the Ten Idylls. In poems 182-95 some general truths and principles of conduct are expatiated upon by kings and poets of distinction. Poems 196-242 are on various aspects of the relations between poet and patron. Then occurs a series of poems in which a note of sadness is predominant. A poet regrets the irrecoverable loss of carefree youthfulness (243), a king grieves over the death of his beloved queen (245, no. 244 being a fragment of only two line) and a devoted queen performs *satī* (246-47). Poems 248-56 are on the state of widowhood and its hardships. Till this point the compilation includes poems on themes of what are technically known as *purappuṛam* and *ahappuṛam,* and poems bearing on war are few. Henceforth the poems begin to bear on war, *puṛam* proper. Similar in some ways to the *shāḍguṇya* of the *Arthaśāstras* are the seven *tiṇais of puṛam* viz., *vetchi* dealing with cattle-lifting, *karandai* with the recovery of cattle—both themes familiar to the *Mahābhārata; vañji* with invasion of foreign territory by a *vijigīshu* (conqueror), *kāñji* with resistance to the invader, *uriñai* and *nochchi* respectively with siege of a fortress and its defence, *tumbai* and *vāhai* dealing respectively with open battle and victory. These technical terms are taken from the names of flowers, and the hero and his army are supposed to wear on their heads the flowers appropriate to the occasion. The poems on these *tiṇais* bear numbers 257-358. From 359 to the end the poems once again relate to *tiṇais* under *puṛappuṛam* and repeat names of some kings and poets that have occurred earlier in the collection. It is probable that though the names of poets and kings and the circumstances of the composition of the poems may be fairly early in date, the *tiṇais* and their subdivisions *tuṛais* were added by the commentator about the twelfth or thirteenth century A.D. on the basis of the *Puṛapporul-veṇbā-mālai,* a work of the eleventh century.[3]

The facts mentioned so far suggest the following as the most probable chronological order of the collections, viz 1) *Aiṅguṛunūṛu,* 2) *Kuṛundogai,* 3) *Naṛṛiṇai,* 4) *Padiṛruppattu,* 5) *Ahanānūru* and 6) *Pura*

3 Cf. Nachchinārkkiniyar on Tol. III, 90.

nānūṟu. The second, third and fifth were compiled at Madurai as seen from their colophons; the first most probably at Toṇḍi, the capital of the 'Chera of the Elephant-eye'; the *Padiṟṟuppattu* being entirely on the Cheras must also have been collected at their capital.[4] On the *Puṟanānūṟu* we have no decisive evidence, but from the facts that the poem immediately after the invocation is on a Chera, and that the Chera occupies the first place among the three kings in the earlier poems, we may infer that it was also compiled at the Chera capital. The first collection goes back to the end of the third century A.D.; the others may belong to the fourth.

The two remaining collections out of the eight, *Paripāḍal* and *Kalittogai*, briefly noticed already, clearly belong to a later age. None of the poets of the *Paripāḍal* figures among the authors in the six anthologies above named.[5] The nature and number of Sanskrit words and expressions in the *Paripāḍal* bespeak its late origin,[6] and late forms of even Tamil words abounds,[7] as also late terminations and late Puraṇic tales like the Ahalyā episode, Prahlāda's story, *samudramathana*, and so on. Social institutions and manners of a late date are also there—e.g. *manmagalir* (7), expert danseunses; *ambāvāḍal* (11), ceremonial bathing of maidens with the companies in the month of Tai (Jan.—Feb.). Women's ornaments, decorations and cosmetics are seemingly more varied than in the earlier anthologies. Lastly, the astronomical data in the eleventh song point to a date about the middle of the seventh century A.D.,[8] and the compil ation of the anthology was perhaps later. *Kalittogai* is also in a similar case. Late terminations like *kūl* in *allākkāl* (124) and *el* as in *Kāṭṭāyel* (144) besides late formations like *ānal* (139) may be noted. Earlier poems are drawn upon as for instance *Kuṟundogai* 18 in *Kali* 137; *Tirukkuṟal* in 139, 142-5. An incident from the *Uttara-Rāmāyaṇa* elaborately described in *Kali* 38, and the story of Udayana pacifying the elephant Nālagiri with the music of his *vīṇā* Ghoshavatī (*Kali* 2) also point to a late date. These two collections which were

4 Neither Aiṅguṟunūṟu nor Padiṟṟuppattu mentions Vañji or Karavūr, though Vañji occurs once in Padigam IX of the latter.

5 Nallanduvanār of *Aham* 43 is called Madurai Āśiriyar; *Aham* 59 mentions Anduvan. These two are different from the poet of the *Paripāḍal* who is called only Āśiriyar Nallanduvanār. Likewise the author of *Puṟam* 182 Ilaṁperuvaludi who died in the sea (*Kaḍalul-māyndu*) was different from the author of Paripādal 15 on Tirumāl (Vishṇu). The former was a Jain as his reference to 'Indirar' in the plural and the highly ethical tone of his poem tend to show.

6 E.g. kavitai (6), amṛitapānam (8), mithunam and mallikā-mālai (11).

7 Amam (6), nān (6).

8. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai gives A.D. 634, *Indian Ephemeries*, I, i. pp. 98-109.

probably made about the eighth century must be taken to be in a separate class which may be styled later Śaṅgam works.

The invocation in the *Paṇḍirruppattu* is missing; in the other five early collections it is by 'Perundevanār who sang the Bhāratam'. The identity of this author is not easy to make out. Some hold him to be the author of *Bhārata-veṇbā* of the time of Nandi-varman III Pallava; if this is correct even the early collections will have to be assigned to the ninth century A.D.[9] But in the Larger Śinnamanūr plates (tenth century A.D.) there is a pointed reference to a translation of the Bhāratam into Tamil which stands in close relation to the establishment of the Tamil Śaṅgam at Madurai. These facts together with the extant colophons to the earlier collections point clearly to the fourth century A.D. at the latest for their compilation. The invocatory stanzas were still later additions.

Of the *Pattuppāṭṭu*, we may doubt if it ranked as an anthology in early times. The *Commentary on the Iṛaiyanār Ahapporul* does not mention it. There is no colophon indicating that the poems formed an anthology. Ilampūraṇar, the earliest extant commentator on *Tolkāppiyam*, mentions the individual poems by name, and gives no indication that he knew of them as a collection. But Nachchinārkkiniyar in his commentary on *Malaipaḍukaḍām* clearly refers to the anthology.[10] Apparently the anthology of the 'Ten Idylls' (*Pattuppāṭṭu*) came into existence as such between the time of Ilampūraṇar and that of Nachchinārkkiniyar, say about the eleventh century. The *Tirumurug-āṛṛuppaḍai* which is placed first in the collection was doubtless a late addition. Tolkāppiyar (*c.* A.D. 500) in his definition of *āṛṛuppaḍai* does not contemplate poems like this. The poem finds a place in the eleventh book of the Saiva *tirumuṛai* (canon). Its composition may be placed about A.D. 700, and its inclusion in *Pattuppāṭṭu* must have been later.

In A.D. 470 a Dramila Saṅgha was established at Madurai under the guidance of Vajranandi.[11] Names like Ulochchanār, Mātīrttan among those of early poets, and the glimpses of Jain cosmology, mythology and austerities in some of the early poems[12] indicate the role of Jainas in Tamil literature from very early times. The reference in the Śinnamanūr plates to the Śaṅgam established in Madurai by one of the successors of Neduñjaliyan of Talaiyālaṅgānam, may well

9 (Kaḍugu) Perundevanār, author of *Naṛṛiṇai* 83, *Kurundogai* 255, and *Aham* 51 was obviously a different poet, and does not come into question here.

10 Discussion on *ānandak-kuṛṛam* under I. 145.

11 E. P. Rice, *History of Kanarese Literature*, p. 24; *JBBRAS*, XVII, (i) p. 74; C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, p. 227.

12 E. g. *Puṛam* 175, *Aham* 59, 193.

be to the institution established or possibly revived by Vajranandi. The tradition of three Śaṅgams in the *Commentary on Iṛaiyanār-ahapporul* (Kalaviyal) may be later than the Śinnamanūr plates which mention only one Śaṅgam. In that tradition Kaḍuṅgon (end of the sixth century A.D.) is connected with the activities of the first Śaṅgam towards its close. This supports the date suggested by the Jain sources for the foundation of the Śaṅgam, a name borrowed from Buddhist and Jaina religious terminology which describes the order of monks as a Saṅgha. The Jainas it may be noted were the most enthusiastic apostles of learning and literature in the Tamil country and elsewhere. While the learned Brahmins generally consorted with princes and nobles of the land, the Jainas found their most loyal lay adherents among the merchant classes and the common people and their literary work was calculated to carry on appeal to these classes.[13] The Jain Prākṛit, Ardhamāgadhī, had many points in common with Tamil such as the tendency to reduce all declensions to one type, absence of the dual number, assimilation of conjunct consonants, and so on. The Jains had wide interests and applied themselves to the study of logic, mathematics, astronomy and other branches of learning with equal ardour. Perhaps grammar was their favourite pursuit. Rapson[14] says: 'They have played a notable part in the civilization of Southern India, where the early literary development of the Kanarese and Tamil languages was due, in a great measure, to the labours of Jain monks.' Though there is no specific record of the activities of Vajranandi's Saṅgam, the remarkable output of grammatical and ethical works soon after its establishment is evidence of its great achievement.

2. GRAMMAR

Tradition credits Agastya with the authorship of the first Tamil grammar. Though some citations in works like the *Yāpparuṅgalam* raise a presumption that there existed in fact an Agastya and a grammar attributed to him, it seems better not to build too much on such facts which are proof only of the existence of a common belief about Agastya in relatively late times. The work of Agastya is not forthcoming and his figure, as has been demonstrated already,[14a] too shadowy to be treated as historical in any specific context. It is also well known that several modern forgeries in the spheres of grammar, medicine, astrology and so on, have been fathered on him. The

13 Cf. Winternitz, *HIL*, II, p. 475.
14 *Ancient India*, p. 56.
14a *Ante*, Vol. I, chapter on Aryanization of the South.

Tolkāppiyam is the earliest of extant Tamil grammars. Its author Tolkāppiyar (lit. the ancient Kāvya, or member of the *gens* of Kavi-uśanas) is said to have been one of the twelve disciples of Agastya, joint-authors of a comprehensive work *Pannirupaḍalam* or *Puṟrappo-ruḷ*. This also is a very doubtful tradition, and the *Pannirupaḍalam* is not known except by a few citations ascribed to it in the commentary of Ilampūraṇar on *Tolkāppiyam*, and perhaps also in the commentary on *Vīraśoliyam*. The *Tolkāppiyam* is directly indebted to Pāṇini,[15] even a verse from the relatively late *Pāṇinīyaśikshā* being rendered in Tamil in *Tolkāppiyam* I, 83. Patañjali's classification of compounds is closely followed, and his technical terms translated.[16] Manu has been studied and utilized by Tolkāppiyar in regard to certain social prescriptions.[17] The thirty-two *tantrayuktis* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* are reproduced at the end of the Tamil work also. Tolkāppiyar also borrows from the *Nāṭya Śāstra* of Bharata and the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana.[18] The earliest date to which Tolkāppiyar may reasonably be assigned is about the date of the establishment of Vajranandi's *Śaṅgam*. The use of the word *orai* (Skt. *horā*) in *Tolkāppiyam* (III, 133) may also be taken to support this date.

Tolkāppiyar appears to have been a Jain by persuasion. In the prefatory verse to his work he is called *paḍimaiyōn*, one who observes the (Jain) vow known as *paḍimai*, and the Jain classification of lives (*jīva*) and non-lives (*ajīva*) is found in the *marapiyal* section of the *Tolkāppiyam* (*sutras* 27-33). The work is said to have been tested and approved by Adaṅgoṭṭāśān (teacher of Adaṅgōḍu) in the learned assembly of Nilandaru-tiruvir-Pāṇḍiyan. Adangodu is a village in the Vilavangoḍu taluq in South Travancore, and some of Tolkappiyar's *sūtras*. (I. 241, 287, 378) relate to linguistic usages which have survived in Malayalam language to this day. The identity of the Pāṇḍya is not clear. The author of the prefatory verse is Panambāranār, a name which occurs in *Kuṟundogai* as that of the author of a poem (52), and a grammar called *Panampāram* is also known, for some of its *sūtras* are cited in the commentaries on *Yāpparuṅgalam* and *Nannūl*. We may perhaps identify the author of the prefatory verse with the grammarian and treat him as an elder contemporary of Tolkāppiyar.

The *Tolkāppiyam* consists of three *adhikāras* (sections). The first section deals with phonology and accidence in nine *iyal*s or subsec-

15 Cf. Tol. II. 557 with Pān. II, 3, 18; 575 with Pan II, 3, 19 and so on.

16 II, 419 and Kielhorn's ed. of *Mahābhāshya* I. pp. 379-80, 382, 392.

17 Manu III, 46-7 and Tol. III, 185.

18 Cf. the eight *rasas* of Bharata (VI. 15) with the eight *meyppāḍu* (Tol. III, 3) and the *daśāvasthas* of *Kāmas*. V. i with Tol. III. 97.

tions; the second section, with syntax in nine *iyals;* and the third with poetical themes, rhetoric (*rasas,* figures of speech), prosody, and usage in nine *iyals.* In the subsection on phonology, it may be noted with interest that the letter-forms of the consonants, in particular of *m* and short *e* and *o* are given in nūn-marapu (13-17). In the same subsection, we find an important piece of original investigation. The structure of words has been studied and the sequence of sounds noted with care (*sūtras* 23-30). This is a feature which has not been found elsewhere in the whole range of Indian grammatical literature, not excluding Pāṇinīyam. The peculiarity of the Tamil language in which the short *u* plays such an important part is also adequately treated.

The next section, i.e., on syntax continues the treatment of accidence or morphology in the earlier subsections. As Tamil is an agglutinative language we see the necessity of treating its morphology *in extenso.* Parts of speech are next dealt with; we find four parts of speech viz., *peyar* (noun), *vinai* (verb), *iḍai* (particles increments, augments etc.) and *uri* (indeclinables, adjuncts etc.). These correspond to the four parts of speech in Sanskrit, viz., *nāma, ākhyāta, upasarga* and *nipāta.* The last subsection on *uri* mainly consists of lexical matter. Tolkāppiyar had liberal views regarding the vocabulary of the Tamil language. He says that the poetic or literary vocabulary consists of common native words, artificial or affected words consisting of homonyms and synonyms, provincial and local words and Sanskrit words (*echchaviyal,* 1). Besides making this general observation, he provides us a cardinal principle for our guidance. He tells us that if in course of time new words get into currency, they should not, on the score of their being new, be treated as unacceptable (*echcha* 56). So far as Sanskrit words are concerned, he uses several of them in his grammar. He defines Sanskrit technical terms, e.g. *sūttiraṁ, paṭ (d) dalam, piṇḍam* (*śeyyul* 161), *ambotaraṅgam* (*śeyyul* 145), *kāṇḍigai* (*marapu* 98). He formulates rules regarding Sanskrit words. e.g. Bharaṇi etc. (*uyir-mayangiyal,* 45), Chittirai (*ibid.,* 84), phalakai (pullimyangiyal, 79), tāmarai (skt. tāmarasa, pullimayangiyal, 98). He translates Sanskrit terms, (e.g. Tam veṟṟumai = Skt. vibhakti; avaiyalmoli = asabhya; nūl = sūtra).

Also he translates Sanskrit *sūtras* (e.g. piṟappiyal, 1 = Pāṇ. Sikshā, 12; meyppāṭṭiyal 3 = Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra VI, 15). He refers to classifications mentioned in Sanskrit works such as the eight kinds of marriage (kalaviyal, 1), ten kinds of poetic defects (marapiyal, 95, 105) and thirty-two kinds of *uktis* (marapiyal 95, 107). In addition to the above Sanskrit elements, he uses several Prākrit words also e.g. *paiyul* (uṟi, 45), *kamam,* (uri, 59) *paṇṇiatti* (seyyuliyal, 173), *paḍimai* (ahatti-

ṇai 30), etc. He adopts Prākrit sūtras, e.g., the 21st and 22nd *sūtras* or *molimarapu* correspond to two *sūtras* of *Prākrita-prakāśam* (1.35.42).

The third section that is on poetic themes etc., deserves careful examination. Some subsections, the first five, are believed to throw much light on the social customs of the ancient Tamils. The subsections one, three, four and five treat of love themes and the second subsection of non-love themes technically known as 'aham' and 'puram' respectively. Taking *Aham* first, some general considerations relating thereto are first mentioned in the first *iyal* (ahattiṇai-iyal). There are seven love-aspects or *tiṇais,* including the five regional *tiṇais.* The first, known as *kaikkilai,* is the one-sided love of a youth for a maid. The last, known as *perundiṇai,* is the unequal love leading to excesses. The five regional *tiṇais* deal with mutual love reciprocated in equal degree, between a youth and a maid well matched in every respect. These are called regional because the Tamil land is divided into five regions—mountainous (*kuriñji*), forest or pastoral (*mullai*), agricultural (*marudam*), maritime (*neydal*) and desert (*pālai*), to each of which a particular love-art is ascribed.[19] This reciprocated love is divided into two kinds, pre-marital love and marital love; the former being called *kalavu* and the latter *karpu. Kalavu,* Tolkappiyar takes care to add, corresponds to the Gāndharva union of the Aryan system of marriages, made famous by the union of Dushyanta and Śakuntalā. The third subsection deals with *kalavu* and the fourth, with *karpu.* The fifth sub-section, *porul-iyal* and sixteen *sūtras* (177-192) of *śeyyul-iyal* treat of some miscellaneous matters relating to love. The second subsection deals with non-love themes (*purattiṇai*) whose subdivisions have been noticed above.

Even this rough outline is sufficient to show the utterly artificial, or at best conventional, character of the treatment. Tolkāppiyar himself recognises the distinction between art and reality in a *sūtra* (ahattiṇai, 56). The former he calls *nāṭaka-valakku* and the latter *ulagiyal-valakku,* corresponding to *nātya-dharmī* and *loka-dharmī* of *Bharata Nātya Śāstra* (Ch. XIV, 69, 73). Hence one must be careful when trying to find out any substratum of reality beneath the artificialities mentioned above. To deduce the existence of free love in ancient Tamilagam on the evidence of these artificialities is to follow the will-o'-the-wisp. The *tiṇais* may have had some meaning and function in pre-Tolkāppiyam days; but they never had any influence on the development of Tamil literature. Today, as it has been for

19 See Vol II, Ch. XXI (*ante*).

many centuries past, they have no meaning except for the antiquarian.

But we may absolve Tolkāppiyar of all responsibility for originating these *tiṇais*. Even in the opening *sūtra* of the third section he refers to previous authors collectively. As Tolkāppiyar was a Jain perhaps we owe to Jain authors these infelicitous classifications. At any rate, the conception of the meeting of the lovers in a grove, all alone, their mutual love of equal intensity and their immediate union so characteristic of the pre-marital love of regional *tiṇais* (*kalavu*) corresponds to the Jain conception of enjoyment in *bhoga-bhūmi*.[20] The famous commentator on Tirukkuṛal defines *kalavu*[21] as the sanctionless union of two lovers who remain changeless being free from disease, old age, and death who are well matched in beauty, wealth, age, family, character, love etc., and who meet each other induced by fate, all alone with no one in their vicinity. The commentator has developed the idea of *bhoga-bhūmi* and made its utterly conventional character quite obvious. But Tolkāppiyar, be it said, keeps the extra-mundane aspect entirely in the background and is more in accord with the spirit of the love-lyrics of the Saṅgam age. He is mainly concerned with the several situations when the various characters in stray love-scenes are entitled to speak. It is only the later grammarians that have tried to piece together a connected love-drama and made it schematic and thoroughly conventional.

Besides the poetic themes, the third section of *Tolkāppiyam* contains a subsection on sentiments and their physical manifestations, another on figures of speech, a third on prosody and finally a subsection on literary usage. These subsections show a master mind of extraordinary profundity of learning. The chapters on sentiments and figures of speech are no doubt based upon works like *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstra;* but the treatment shows a rare inwardness, a brilliant expository power and a crystal-clear formulation peculiar to the author. His subsections on prosody and on literary usage are masterpieces of their kind. His deep knowledge of the works of the earlier grammarians, his thoroughness on the mechanistic side of prosody and his accuracy in ascertaining the usage of words have not been approached by any grammarian since his time.

More than twenty works on grammar are cited in the valuable commentary on *Yāpparuṅgalam*. But none of them seems to be definitely earlier than *Tolkāppiyam*. Some may be contemporaneous.

20 Vide *Divākaram,* XII, 97; *Chūlāmaṇi,* turavu, 186-93; *Iraiyanār* comm. p. 12.
21 Kāmattupa-pāl: Kaḷaviyal, introduction.

Mā-purāṇam and *Bhūta-parāṇam* are held to be such. But *Mā-purāṇam* contains *sūtras* in *veṇbā* metre, contrary to the earlier conception of *sūtra*. It may be a late work of a very inferior quality. Nothing is known of *Bhūta-purāṇam*. *Avinayam* and *Panambāram* are most probably contemporaneous with *Tolkāppiyam*. Of these, *Avinayam* seems to have been a work of exceptional merit, and there was a commentary on it by Rāja-pavittira-pallavadaraiyar, as noted by Mayilaināthar in his commentary on *Nannūl*. There was a compendium to the prosody section of this work, known as *Nālaḍi Nāṟpadu*.[22] Both the text of *Avinayam* and the commentary are now lost. A few of the grammars followed *Tolkāppiyam* in their treatment of the subject and were definitely later. Such for instance were *Palkāyam; Pal-kāppiyam*, *Sirukākkai-paḍiniyam* and *Kakkai-paḍiniyam*. A tradition says that *Sirukakkai-paḍiniyam* was a contemporaneous work, as its author was a co-disciple with Tolkāppiyar. But this tradition cannot be relied upon, as the work deals with metres which came into use in later times. Among the later grammars which deserve special mention is *Mayechchurar-yoppu*. Evidently this was a work entirely devoted to prosody as its name shows. The author made a comparative study of prosody in both Sanskrit and Tamil imported several notions found in Sanskrit works on prosody and rhetoric and explained his *sūtras* with ample illustrative stanzas. He is largely quoted in the commentary on *Yāpperuṅgalam*, and from the terms in which he is referred to, we may infer that he lived not far removed from the time of the commentator. He may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D.

Before leaving Tolkāppiyar's age, a word must be said regarding standard Tamil or 'Śendamil' as it is called by him. For the first time in the history of Tamil language, this term is used by Tolkāppiyar. It is not found anywhere in the entire Saṅgam collections. Its importance may easily be recognized. There is said to be a Śendamil area surrounded by twelve districts which were the sources of provincialisms *(tiśaich-chol)*. Neither the limits of the Śendamil area nor the twelve districts are mentioned by Tolkāppiyar. But, since he gives the number twelve, it must be presumed that the Sendamil area and the adjoining districts were well known in his time. The commentators name the districts with instances of provincialism from each of them, and they also define the limits of 'Śendamil' land to a small area round about Madurai. We may infer from this that during Tolkāppiyar's time, an elementary notion, at least, of linguistic geography was prevalent. An advance on the knowledge of the Saṅgam

22 See *Yāpparuṅgalk-kārigai*, I. com.

poets is certainly observable here. Of the twelve districts, we hear only of three, viz. Kuḍanāḍu, Pulināḍu and Punanādu in Śaṅgam works: we hear also of three tribes, viz. Kuṭṭuvar, Vélir, and Aruvalar from which three more districts might be inferred. The rest are unknown.

The steps by which the language of Madurai rose to the position of the literary norm are not known, but once the recognition of the idiom as the standard began in however small a measure, the existence of the Śaṅgam to which all poets turned for guidance and approbation must have helped to consolidate the position. The minstrels who moved from court to court entertaining their hosts with the recitation of songs and tales must have served as a factor ensuring the spread of the literary idiom all over the Tamil country. Tolkāppiyar's definition of usage (*valakku, marapu* 89) shows that this idiom was close to the speech of upper classes (*uyarndor*) by no means free from dialectical angularities which must have been reduced to a purified norm in literary practice as in Sir Francis Galton's composite photographs of race. Tolkāppiyar came after the establishment of this literary usage and the distinctions between that usage and dialectal varieties of the language had become subjects of observation and speculation. 'Śendamil' corresponds exactly to the word 'Saṁskṛita', a name first applied to the Indo-Aryan speech in the Rāmāyaṇa.[23]

3. DIDACTIC LITERATURE

From the end of the fifth century religious and philosophical controversy began to fill a large place in the life of the Tamil country, and the popular theistic *bhakti* movement led to sharp sectarian antagonisms which were reflected in literature. Hinduism girded itself up against Buddhism and Jainism. Buddhism was academic in its tone, and its activities were confined to preserving and transcribing Buddhist texts, writing commentaries on them, and founding monasteries here and there. Jainism on the contrary aimed at proselytism on a larger scale. The Jains mastered the language of the people and sought their allegiance by writing important works in it, particularly gnomic and didactic poems. To this activity we owe the immortal *Kuṛal*. This work is ascribed by Tamil Jain tradition to the famous Kundakundāchārya, whose original name was Padmanandin and who was also known as Vakragrīva, Elāchārya and Gṛidhrapichchha. But he wrote in Prākṛit and could not have been the author of this celebrated Tamil work. Samaya-Divākara, author of a com-

23 Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

mentary on *Nīlakeśi* who cites the *Kural* frequently as *em-ottu* (our authority) does not ascribe it to Kundakunda. About Valluvar, the real author of the *Kural*, very little is known. A doubtful tradition makes him an out-caste by birth; he has also been taken to have been a weaver, a Vellāla and what not. There is epigraphic evidence in favour of equating Valluvar with Vallabha, a superintendent or king's officer.[24] Valluvar is defined in the *Divākaram* (II, 29) as *ul-padu-karumattalaivan*, chief of the drummer boys who proclaimed the royal commands and were usually drawn from the Pariah caste. Tradition says that Valluvar was born in Mylapore, long known as a Jain centre. Relying on a verse (21) in *Tiruvalluvamālai* some suggest that his birth place was Madurai, also a stronghold of Jainism from the fifth to the seventh century A.D. We may be sure that Valluvar was a Jain from the epithets he bestows on his deity in the opening decad of his work which are jointly applicable only to Arhat as even Parimelalagar reluctantly admtis. Samava-Divākara's testimony to the Jain character of the work has already been cited. The *Kural* is counted among the *kīl'k-kaṇakku* (didactic manuals) which are always distinguished from Saṅgam works as belonging to a later time, their authors being described as *pirchānrôr* (the *élite* of a later day) by perāśirivar.[25] A study of Valluvar's work reveals that he is largely indebted to well known Sanskrit authors such as Manu, Kautilya and Kāmandaka, to Ayurvedic treatises, and to *Kāmasūtra*.[26] Of these works *Kāmasūtra* is assigned to the fourth century A.D. by both Keith and Winternitz, though the former is inclined to give even a later date, A.D. 500.[27] As for Kāmandaka for whom Valluvar has a partiality, Keith puts him as late as *c.* 700, though others have made him contemporary with Varāhamihira.[28] (A.D. 550). The earliest date for the Kural must therefore be found about A.D. 600. This accords well with our date for Tolkāppiyar to

24 M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Āraychchittokudi*, pp. 206-9.

25 *Tol. Seyy.* 158, 235 com.

26 Cf. *Kural*, 41 and 47 on the importance of *grihastha* with *M.* III 78; *Kural* 58 with *M.* V. 155; *Kural* 396 with *M.* II. 218 and so on. Likewise *Kural* 501 and *KA.* 1, 10, 431 and 432 with *KA.* *I.* 6. *Kural* 385 with *Kāmandaka* IV. 1 for the order of the seven *aṅgas* of a state; 385 with 1. 20; 581 with XIII. 28, 29, 31. Again, in the omission of details of administration and in giving prominence to didactic morality the *Nītisāra* of Kāmandaka is followed by *Kural*. *Kural* nos. 984-50 are derived from Ayurvedic treatises; 1101 is a rendering of *Kāmasūtra* I, 2, 11. Cf. also *Kural* 1312 with *Kāmasūtra* VI, 2, 15.

27 Keith, *op. cit.*, pp. 460, 469; Winternitz, *HIL*, III, p. 540.

28 Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 463.

whose work Valluvar is indebted.[29] Linguistic considerations strengthen this conclusion. There is a higher percentage of Sanskrit words in the *Kuṛal* than in the early Śaṅgam works,[30] and in *Tolkāppiyam,* New forms of functional words appear in the *Kuṛal* for the first time and from some notable similarities in the use of new words between Valluvar and Appar, we may conclude that the two lived about the same time *c.* A.D. 600.[31]

Valluvar's great work consists of three books, the first book treating *of aṛam* (*dharma*), the second, of *porul* (*artha*), and the third of *iṇbam* (*kāma*). There are 37 chapters in the first book; the first four called *pāyiram* (which by the way is a Prākrit word) or prefatory matter (invocation etc.), the next twenty about *ill-aṛam* (*grihastha āśrama*) and the next thirteen about *tuṛav-aṛam* (*sanyāsa āsrama*). The second book on *porul* contains seventy chapters, the first twenty-five dealing with kings, their duties etc., the succeding thirty-two chapters with the rest of the constituent elements of a State, and the next thirteen with miscellaneous matters. The third book on *iṇbam* contains twenty-five chapters, the first seven being on pre-marital love (*kalavu*) and the next eighteen on marital love. There are thus one hundred and thirty three chapters in all, each chapter containing

29 Cf. *Kuṛal* 28 with *Tol.* Seyy. 178. The date of Valluvar has become a matter of sentiment among modern Tamils. One writer places him *c.* 1250 B.C. (*Kalaikkadir,* January, 1950). Others begin a Valluvar era from January, 30 B.C.

30 For a list see *Tamilch-chuḍar-maṇigaḷ* pp. 72-3.

31 Nouns including those of *uyar-tiṇai* category, have begun to take the suffix 'gal' to denote plural (e.g. *puriyargal* 919). Verbs have begun to take the infix of 'āninṛu' to denote present tense (e.g. iṛavāninṛa, 1157) and the termination 'an' has begun to take the place of 'al' indicating future tense of Ist person, singular (e.g. *irappan,* 1067).

The subjunctive ending 'el (enin < enil < el) (386) and ānāl (ā-y-in < āyin-āl < ānāl: 53) are late arrivals very far from the 'in' ending of the Śaṅgam post positions fixing themselves to the roots 'en' and 'ā' respectively. The adverbial ending 'mal' added to the negative particle 'a' with verbal themes as in *śey-a-ā-mal*, (101), 313) is unknown to early Śaṅgam works, the earlier ending being 'tu' as in *Naṛṛinai* 306. So also is the negative 'al-l-āl' meaning except, the earlier form being 'anṛi', as in *Naṛṛinai* 27. Moreover, 'vān', 'pān' and 'pākku' are late ending of verbal participles. Of these two occur in the *Kuṛal-aṛivān* (701), *karappākku* (1227, 1129) and *vepākku* (1128). Finally, in the case of words which have been changing their forms in course of time, later forms are found in *Kural-poldu* (412, 539, 569, 930, 1229).

Besides these, many new words which are definitely known to have been in use about the beginning of the 7th cent. A.D. and *not* earlier are found in Valluvar's *Kural*. Examples are *oppāri* (1072, Appar V, 3, 1) *patti* (1074, Appar, V 5 1) *mādu* (wealth: 400, Appar V, 77, 4) *tuchchu* (340, Appar IV, 69, 8); *pākkiyam* (*Kuṛal*: 1141, Appar, V, 48, 6) *pūśanai* (18, Appar, IV, 76, 4) *nāmam* (360; Appar, V, 80, 5), *Kodu-Kondu* (1264, Appar V, 5, 8).

ten distichs in the metre known as Kuṛal. Hence it has become usual to call the work itself by the name of *Kuṛal*, though it is fairly certain that the name given by the author was *Mup-pāl* or the trichotomous (book).[31a]

Never before, nor since, did words of such profound wisdom issue forth from any sage in the Tamil land. It is true that Valluvar drew his material from Sanskrit sources, as indicated above, but his genius transmuted them into real gold. Manu had features which were peculiar to his own time and to the times of his subsequent redactors. His society was god-ordained, hierarchic in its structure, and unalterably fixed by the Kārmic influence. It denied equality between man and man in the eye of the law. Kauṭilya was more a politician than a statesman. He found in his great work room for a state-craft motivated by an unquenching thirst for conquest and characterised by a mechanistic efficiency and thoroughness which we now associate with the Germans. He would regard humane considerations as weakness. Vātsyāyana devoted his *Kāmasūtra* to a treatment of carnal pleasure in all its details, and he had no eye for the ennobling aspect of lover. Valluvar, the Tamil sage, excels each one of these ancients in their respective sphere. He makes humanity and love the cementing force of his society, and considerations of birth are of no account to him. His political wisdom is characterised by a breadth of vision at once noble and elevating. The sexual love which he depicts with inimitable grace and delicacy is idealistic, even if it be schematic and mannered. Its romance is ethereal and carries us to an atmosphere where purity of emotion, freshness and beauty reign supreme. No wonder his great work took by storm the learned academicians of Madurai, as tradition would have it. The utter simplicity of his language, his crystal-clear utterances, precise and forceful, his brevity, his choice diction, no less his inwardness, his learning, culture and wisdom, his catholicity and eclecticism, his gentle humour and his healthy balanced outlook have made him an object of veneration for all time and his book is considered the Veda of the Tamils. The genius of the Tamil race has flowered to perfection in this great author believed to be a man of lowly birth.

The influence which his work exercised over the mind, life and literature of the Tamils is phenomenal. Gods and goddesses and poets of different times considered to be members of the Madurai Academy, are said to have poured out their grateful encomia in verses collected together under the name of *Tiruvalluvamālai*. Almost all the later poets are indebted to Valluvar's work in one way or

31a See *Tamilch-chuḍar-maṇigal*, pp. 83-88.

another. Some have enshrined a few of his sayings in their own verses. Some have composed works illustrating selected sayings with Puranic and other stories. Several poets have been inspired to compose works on didactic morality, an apparently inexhaustible theme. Several eminent scholars, as many as ten, have tried to understand the mind of Valluvar by writing commentaries on the work, the greatest of them all being Parimél-alagar, a Brahmin commentator of the fourteenth century. Some scholars have written notes and glosses on the commentaries themselves. Above all, the work itself has been the subject of reverent study ever since its appearance. People of all ages, from children to old men, of all sorts and conditions, and of all religious persuasions have been so devoutly studying this work that followers of every religion claim him as their own. In short, he became a universal poet and his work became a universal work, appealing to the widest human interests and the simplest human emotions. When law-courts were first instituted in the Tamil country, the judges and lawyers used to cite the *Kuṛal* as authority. Like the *Bible* it was held sacred and used in administering oath to witnesses in courts. Even at the present day, it is studied as much as ever and it has been translated into several European languages.

The inspiration kindled by Valluvar produced a few works very much on the same lines as the *Kuṛal*. The *Nālaḍi Nānūṛu* (lit. the four hundred quatrains) was one of these. According to tradition it was a selection of four-hundred stanzas from out of eight thousand stanzas by eight thousand Jaina ascetics, the selection being based on the miraculous way in which the stanzas established their merit going up the river Vaigai against its strong current. But we may infer that it was the joint production of some Jaina ascetics, the stanzas being collected, classified topically, and made into an anthology by one Padumanār of later times. When it was thus collected, it is impossible to say. The collection is mentioned in the commentaries of *Yāpparuṅgalam,* and *Yāpparuṅgalak-kārigai.*[32] The commentaries were most probably written in the twelfth century.[33] So the collection must have been made before this date. As it is frequently quoted as a work of great authority and as it is referred to with great reverence (e.g. *Nālaḍit-tévar*), a few centuries must have elapsed between the date of its collection and the date of these references. We may be certain of one thing. Two stanzas of the

32 Dr. V. S. Iyer's edition, p. 150 and *Nannūl* (Mylai, p. 14).

33 M. Raghava Iyengar's *Sāsanat-tamilk-kavi-charitam,* pp. 39-44 and my '*Kāvya* period in Tamil literature.'

work (200, 296) speak eulogistically about the rich feasting and the great wealth of a Peru-muttaraiyar. The Muttaraiya family came into prominence only at the beginning of the seventh century and the Peru-muttaraiyar referred to was most probably Perum-biḍugu-mattaraiya, the feudatory of Paramesvaravarman Pallava I who had the title Perum-biḍugu and who flourished in the middle of the seventh century.[34] Some of the Nālaḍi stanzas are either translations or adaptations from the Sanskrit *Pañchatantra*, and Bhartṛihari's (d. 651) *Nītiśataka*. A *Muttaraiyar Kovai* is mentioned in the commentary of *Yāpparuṅgalam* (p. 486) and its hero is perhaps this Perum-biḍugu-muttaraiya. This is made very probable by the fact that some *ahapporul* stanzas in *Kalitturai* metre are found in the Śendalai inscription relating to this *Muttaraiya*.[35] These facts lead us to conclude that some of the Nālaḍi stanzas were composed about the middle of the seventh century A.D. At the earliest the collection could have been made about A.D. 675 or 700. We may also note that there are some striking parallels between *Kuṛal* and *Nālaḍi Nānūṛu*, and the latter is also counted as one of the *kīlk-kaṇakku* works.

Another *kīlk-kaṇakku* work which appeared a little later was *Palamoli Nānūṛu*. Its author was a certain Munṛurai Araiyan, a Jaina chieftain of Munṛurai, a place not yet identified. Some of the deeds attributed to the *vallals* of the Śaṅgam period are in this work mentioned as ancient events.[36] Some stories relating to the Śaṅgam celebrities but not found in Śaṅgam poems are given in this work (6, 230, 239, 381). The episodes of Manunītakaṇḍa Chola and Poṛkaip-pāṇḍiyan which do not occur in Śaṅgam poems and which are found in *Śilappadikāram* only (XX, 53-55·XXIII, 42-53) are referred to in this work, the first as having occurred in ancient days. It may be noted here that the earliest mention of this episode is found in the *Mahāvaṁśa* XXI, 15ff) of fifth century A.D. Moreover, Palamoli is largely indebted to *Nālaḍi Nānūṛu* and other works.[37] A variety of paddy known as 'pirambūri' occurs both in *Palamoli* and in Appar IV, 20, 7. Two inscriptional usages *marichhāti* (118), and *manriviḍal* (288) find place in this work. Considering these facts, we may conclude that *Palamoli* was probably composed *c.* A.D. 725.

Śiṛu-pancha-mūlam and *Elādi* are two other didactic works belonging to the *kīlk-kaṇakku* group. They are respectively by the Jaina poets Māk-kariyāśān and Kaṇi-medāviyār, both pupils of Māk-kāyanār. As

34 *Sen Tamil* VI, pp. 6-18.
35 *Sen Tamil* X, pp. 228-236 and pp. 281-88.
36 St. 74, 242 (T Chelvakesavaraya Mudaliyar's edition).
37 E.g. 49=Nālaḍi 70, 230=Nālaḍi 109; 79=Nālaḍi 186; 95=Nālaḍi 112 etc.,

the first work treats of five things in each stanza and the second of six things, we may take it that the former was the earlier of the two. It is interesting to note that the story of the notoriously hypocritical cat is referred to in *Śiru-pañcha-mūlam*.[38] With uplifted arms the cat performs severe austerities on the bank of the Ganges; and he is ostensibly so pious and good that not only the birds worship, but even the mice entrust themselves to his protection. He declares himself willing to protect them, but says that in consequence of his asceticism he is so weak that he cannot move. Therefore the mice must carry him to the river—where he devours them and grows fat. This story is found in the *Mahābhārata*, (V, 160). 'Durnāmaka' is a technical term for piles and this occurs along with other technical terms of diseases in st. 76. The name *durnāma* occurs in *Ashṭāṅga-hridaya* and *Amarakośa* (c. A.D. 700). In st. 54 five persons are enumerated as those who are to protect a women, viz. husband, brother, uncle, son, and father. Manu mentions (V, 147-149) only three, father, husband, and son. This again argued a late date. Finally, this work is greatly indebted to *Palamoli*, a few stanzas occurring in both with very slight variations.[39] Hence we may reasonably assign this work to *c.* A.D. 800. *Elādi* owes much to *Śiṟu-pañcha-mūlam*.[40] So it may be assigned to the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. To the same date may be referred another work of *kīlk-kaṇakku, Tiṇaimālai-nūṟaiṁbadu*, by the same author Kaṇi-medāviyār on *ahapporul*.

It was not only Jains that were inspired by Valluvar's great work. Hindu works also drew their inspiration from the same source. *Tirikaḍugam* of about 100 stanzas was the earliest of such works. Its author was Nallādanār, a Vaishnavaite who belonged a Tiruttu near Mukkūḍal in Tirunelveli district. It treats of three things in each stanza. Besides its obvious indebtedness to *Kuṟal*, it owes much to *Nālaḍiyār* also.[41] Hence its date may be about 725. Next comes *Nānmaṇikkaḍigai* which treats of four things in each stanza. The author of this work also is a Vaishnavaite, Vilambināganār by name. Vilambi may be either a place name or a professional name. This work also consists of 100 stanzas. Its scheme shows that it was written after *Tirikaḍugam*, of which some of its stanzas seem to be echoes.[42] Hence it may be assigned to *c.* A.D. 750. The next work that may be noticed is *Modu-molik-kāñji*. This consists of ten sections, each of ten verse-lines. The title seems to be modelled on the

38 St. 102, Madras University edition.

39 *Śiṟu.* 18 = *Pala.* 389; *Śiṟu.* 22, 23 = *Pala* 93.

40 Compare st. 75-77 of the former with st. 37 and 36 of the latter respectively.

41 Compare *Tirikaḍugam*, st. 9, 76 respectively with *Nālaḍi* 340 and 380.

42 See *Nānmaṇi* 22, *Tiri.* 11.

name of *Palamoli*, and a definition of it is found in *Divakaram* (followed *Tol. Purat.* 24) and in *Puṛap-poruḷ Veṇbāmālai* (269). That it is largely indebted to *Kuṛaḷ* is obvious.[43] It also uses very late words.[44] So we may assign *Mudu-molik-kāñji* to *c.* A.D. 775. *Iṉṉānāṛpadu* (the harmful forty) probably appeared next. The commentator on *Vīraśoliyam* (p. 52) mentions this work first and then only *Iniyavai-nāṛpadu* (the beneficial forty), and in manuscripts also the same order is observed. Its author is Kapila-devar, apparently a different person from the Saṅgam poet, Kapilar. There are numerous parallels between this work on the one hand and *Tirikaḍugam* and *Palamoli* on the other.[45] Most probably *Innā-nāṛpadu* is the borrower. A number of late words also occur, some perhaps for the first time in the language.[46] We may assign this work to *c.* A.D. 800. Upon this work *Iniyavai-nāṛpadu* is directly based as may be seen by comparing st. 5 with st. 23 of *Innā-nāṛpadu*. It has also borrowed largely from *Tirikaḍugam*.[47] Brahmā worship in temples is mentioned in the invocatory stanza. This and the words *poliśai* (st. 40) and *kuḍar* (st. 12) betray the lateness of the work. Pūdañ-jendanār is the author and the date of the work may be about A.D. 825.

Closely connected with the above works on morals is another, *Achārak-kovai*, which deals with the rules of conduct, customs and daily observances of the Hindus. Its author was Milliyār of Veṇkayattūr, son of Peruvāy. It consists of one hundred stanzas based upon material drawn, as the author avows (st. 1), from the Sanskrit Smṛitis. *Āpastamba Gṛihya Sūtra, Āpastamba Dharma sūtra, Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, Gautama Sūtra, Vishṇu Dharma Sūtra, Vasishṭha Dharma Sūtra, Manusmṛiti, Yājñavalkya Smṛiti, Vishṇu Purāṇam, Parāśara Smṛiti, Uśanas-saṁhitā, Śaṅkha Smṛiti, Laghu Hārīta Smṛiti* are all laid under contribution. Often the original is literally translated. The *Laghu Hārita Smṛiti* is placed by Kane between A.D. 600 and 900. This gives us some indication as to when the *Āchārak-kovai* was composed. There are parallel ideas between this work

43 See 1, 1 and *Kuṛaḷ* 134; 1, 6, and *Kuṛaḷ* 1019; 1, 7 and *Kuṛaḷ* 409, 2, 5, and *Kuṛaḷ* 429, 2, 6 and *Kuṛaḷ* 979; 3, 3 and *Kuṛaḷ* 611; 4, 8 and *Kuṛaḷ* 651; 5, 2 and *Kuṛaḷ* 52; 6, 1 — *Kuṛaḷ* 61; 6, 8 —*Kuṛaḷ* 238; 6, 7 — *Kuṛaḷ* 1043 etc.

44 *Kuttiram* (2, 7) *mippu* (3, 2) and a late phrase *son-mālai; kuttiram* is found in *Divakaram* only, *mippu* in the commentary of *Puṛanānūru* and *son-mālai* in *Murugaṛṛuppaḍai* and in Appar's *devāram* (IV, 12, 1).

45 Cf. *Innā*, 24, 30, 32, 38, 41 respectively with *Tiri.* 81, 20, 20, 6 and 63; cf. also *Innā* 15, 22 respectively with *Palamoli* 214 and 226.

46 E.g. *iḍaṅgali*, 12; *sattiyān*, 1; *veṛum*, 39; *pākku*, 40.

47 E.g. *Ini*, 31 and *Tiri*, 63 where the similarity is quite obvious.

and some of the *kilk-kaṇakku.*[48] We may assign this work to about A.D. 825.

We have so far dealt with twelve works of *kīlk-kaṇakku* and there are six works more. Of these five treat of *aham* subject-matter and one work, *Kalavali,* treats of the destruction wrought on a battle-field, a subject-matter of *puṛam.* The five *aham* works are *Kainnilai* by Pullaṅgāḍanār of Māṛôgattu-mullināḍu, *Aintiṇaiy-aiṁbabu* by Māṛan Poṛaiyanār, *Aindiṇaiy-elupadu* by Mūvādiyār, *Kār-nāṛpadu* by Maduraik-kaṇṇan-Kūttanār, and *Tiṇaimoliy-aiṁbadu* by Kaṇṇan-Śéndanār. Nothing is known about these authors. Perhaps Kūttanār and Śendanār were brothers, both being sons of Kaṇṇan. *Kainnilai* which consists of 60 stanzas uses *tārā* (duck) in st. 40, a word which occurs in *Tiṇaimālai-nūṛraiṁbadu* (139) and which is known in any earlier work. That the work last mentioned is definitely later than *Kuṛal* may be inferred from the use of such expression as *sembāgam* (69-*Kuṛal* 1092), *oruvandam* (103=*Kuṛal* 563 and 593) and from the reference in st. 85 to *Kuṛal* 247. It is also later than *Kalittogai.* Compare st. 52, 53 and *Kali.* 149; *vantaiya* (st. 138=*kali* 63), *vayantakam* (st. 128=kali 79). But it is earlier than *Chintāmaṇi*: comp. 47 with *Chintā.* -Ilakkanai. 80. Such late words as *āṭṭai* (st. 143) in the sense of lord, *alaṅkāram* (st. 127), *suvarkkam* (st. 62), *naykar* (st. 134), *pālikai, chālikai* (51) *tāra* (st. 139) and the inscriptional sense of the word *virutti* (st. 121) enable us to fix the approximate date of the work. It may be observed that the author is not so felicitous in his expression in his *Elādi* as he is in this work on *aham. Kārnāṛpadu* (40) uses *indu* (shortened form *īndu,* date-palm) which also occurs in *Tiṇai-mālai-nūṛraiṁbadu* (104) only. The work *potaru* occurs both in *Tiṇai-moliy-aiṁbadu* (29) and *Tiṇaimālai-nūṛraimbadu* (71). We may infer that these three works were almost contemporaneous with *Tiṇaimālai-nūṛraimbadu. Aindiṇaiy-aiṁbadu* and *Aindiṇaiy-elupadu* were probably slightly earlier. All the five works may be assigned to the first half of the ninth century.

The last work *Kalavali* presents a problem which is somewhat dif ficult of solution. According to the colophon at the end of the work, a fight took place at Porp-puṛam[49] between Śolan Śeṅgaṇān and Cheramān Kaṇaikkāl Irumpoṛai, when the latter was completely routed, taken captive and put in prison. Poygaiyār, the poet, composed this poem in praise of the victor and got the Cheramān released. We do not know who added this colophon; but it is fol-

48 *Āchāra.* II=*Innā,* 2, so also parallelism exists between *Iniyavai Nāṛpadu* (19) and *Āchāra* 4 and 34. But *Tirikaḍugam* 4 is probably followed in *Āchāra* 68.

49 Another battle took place here between Cheramān Kuḍak-ko-Neḍuñjeral-ādan and Sōlan Veṛ-Pahṛaḍakkai Peruviṛarkilli, *Puram,* 62, 63 368.

lowed in other works[50] also which name the poet but not the Kings. A different tradition is found under the 74th stanza of *Puṟanāṉūṟu,* in the colophon explaining the occasion when it was composed. It is said that the Cheramān while in prison wanted water to slake his thirst, water was first refused and later on given. Then the Chera felt the indignity and without drinking the water, gave up his life (*tuñjiṉāṉ*). Some scholars interpret this word to mean 'fell into a swoon', but this is against its commonest meaning. We may note that the stanza does not refer to any king by name and the occasion detailed above does not find support in the stanza itself. Moreover, the colophon does not say anything about the poet Poygaiyār or about the release effected by him. The *Tamil Nāvalar Charuai* improves the occasion and adds that the stanza was sent by Kaṇaikkāl Irumpoṟai to Poygaiyār. Save in this colophon, neither Śolan Seṅgaṇāṉ nor Cheramān-Kaṇaikkāl-Irumpoṟal occur anywhere else in the whole of the Saṅgam literature. A Kaṇaiyan is mentioned in st. 44 and 386 of *Ahanānūru,* Kaṇaiyan of Aham 44 being merely a Chera commander-in-chief fighting with the help of Nannan and some other confederates of his, and the Kaṇaiyan of Aham 386 being just a wrestler. Poyaiyār was the author of three poems (*Nāṟṟiṇai* 18, *Puṟam* 48 and 49). In the Naṟṟiṇai stanza, Kaṇaikkāl is not referred to and the Puṟam stanzas mention Cheramān Kokkodaimārypan as the poet's patron and *not* Kaṇaikkāl. Hence, so far as the colophon in *Puṟanāṉūṟu* is concerned, we may set it aside as a late addition by some one who wanted to add to the picturesqueness of the stanza by giving unauthenticated details. The colophon at the end of *Kalavali* is not worth a moment's notice as it is directly contradicted by the poem itself. St. 39 says clearly and the old commentary makes the meaning clearer still, that the Chera king was killed in the battle. So the traditions embodied in the colophon have no historical foundation at all. A new light is thrown on the matter by the old commentary on the *Kulottuṅga-śolan-ulā* (II. 19-20) published by Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer. It says that the king who got the *Kalavali* was 'Tañjai Vijayālayan', the founder of the later Chola dynasty. It was probably copied from an old manuscript by Chidambaranāthan of Paṟṟamaḍai (Tirunelveli district) in A.D. 1640. The commentator is unknown; but whoever he may be, he has taken great trouble in tracing the various references in the ulā. Most probably his identification is correct, and if that is so, the slender information we possess of Vijayālaya's activities is slightly increased. We know that his son Āditya I conquered Koṅgu-deśa

50 *kaliṅgattup-paraṇi* (182), *Vikkiramaśoḷn ulā* (14), *Kulottuṅgaśolan ulā* (19) and *Rājarājan ulā* (18).

and governed it in addition to his own.[51] Vijayālaya also may have made an earlier but similar attempt, though it did not materialise in the shape of a conquered territory. To celebrate this attempt which ended most probably in the death of the Chera enemy, Poygaiyār composed *Kalavali,* basing his poem on a contemporary historical fact. The poem mentions the defeat of Koṅga people (14), capture of Kalumalam, the scene of battle (36), and compares the Chola victor to Śeṅgaṇmāl (Vishṇu) in several stanzas (st. 4, 5, 11, 15, 29, 30, 40). The last mentioned comparison gave the author of the colophon the idea of making Śolan Śeṅgaṇān, the hero of the poem. Since Vijayālaya's date is about A.D. 850 the poem also must be assigned to that date. The poem has taken some of its ideas from *Peruṅgadai*[52] and has supplied a good many ideas to *Chintāmaṇi.*[53] This fact also suits very well the date we have assigned. Some words found in *Kalavali* also support this date.[54]

We have been thus far considering the activities of the Jains mainly in regard to ethical literature, and the activities of their co-religionists, the Hindus, trying to emulate them. The literary attempts of the followers of both the religions on love themes have also been mentioned in some detail. The ethical themes tended towards an idealistic atmosphere and the love-themes towards an imaginative atmosphere. Both the kinds of literatures developed a literary style learned, polished, artistic and reminiscential. Their diction is in the main archaic, sweet, and felicitous, occasionally enlivened with words in current speech, raised by force of usage to the rank and dignity of literary words. But neither school was in intimate association with life as then lived and with the current language as then spoken except in a larger sense. Even such a work as *Kalavali,* which aimed at the approbation of a living kind and which could do so with success only if the approach was real, looks too reminiscential in style and hankers too much after figurativeness to be of lasting, permanent interest. But there were exceptions like the *Kuṛal* and the *Nānmaṇikkaḍigai* whose glory shines all the brighter in the murky atmosphere which enveloped them.

4. RELIGIOUS HYMNS AND LYRICS

Let us now hark back to the time when the immortal *Kuṛal* came into being. There was a bloodless revolution in the Tamil country slowly working its way to a tremendous power. The success of the

51 *Kongadeśa Rājākkal,* p. 10 (Madras Govt. Or. Series).

52 E.g. 7 and *Peruṅ* I. 44 II. 81-84; 14 and I, 53, 27.

53 9 and *Chin.* 2236; 4 and *Chin.* 2237; 26 and *Chin.* 2242.

54 E.g. Mārvam (21), toṭṭam (24) kaṇṇāḍi (28) araśuvā (35), uvaman (36).

Jains set them athinking and a rival religious force strong enough to stem the tide of the overspreading Jainism had to be created. The ancient religion of Hinduism served as a power-house generating the requisite force. The Brahmin centres of learning known as ghaṭikās were select and exclusive in their constitution. The *yāga* performance was still more solemn and it was more rigid in its exclusion of the non-brahmins. Neither in the *ghaṭikās* nor in the *yāgas* were the people at large allowed to participate. Brahminism had to be transformed into Hinduism in which all and sundry could take part. In this transformation, the Puranic lore was the main plank. People loved to hear tales of gods and goddesses, often times miraculous and oftener still savouring of human weaknesses. An absolute belief in the most extravagant miracles alleged to have been worked by these deities and an implicit acceptance of every monstrous detail of their legendary history were insisted on. The relationship of the human soul to the divine was described in the language of human love, and illustrated with images and allegories, suggestive of conjugal union. The long course of development of *aham* in Tamil literature and grammar gave a peculiar relish to Tamil poets in treating of this relationship. Purāṇas came to be written for the express purpose of exalting one deity or the other to the highest position. Śiva and Vishṇu were the two serious rivals to this place of honour. Some Purāṇas exalted Śiva at the expense of Vishṇu and some other Purāṇas did the reverse. Hagiology and hagiolatry followed soon and the great Bhakti cult originated. In the practice of this cult the followers knew no distinction of caste among themselves, at least temporarily. They saw that the popularity of the doctrines inculcated by them depended on their attracting adherents from all ranks, high and low. Hence most of the great religious revivalists proclaimed the social equality of all who enrolled themselves in the same society, as worshippers of the same deity. Another fact may also be noted. However much the devotees of Vishṇu and Śiva differed and quarrelled among themselves, they showed equal vigour in contending against Jainism.

Political powers also took sides in this grim battle of religions, and whichever the religion the kings embraced and espoused, it commanded the greatest influence among the people and it became, for the nonce, the state religion. Sometimes, these religious squabbles invaded the precincts of royal households and set their members one against the other, queen working against their kings and ministers intriguing against their royal masters. But whatever disunion such partisanship of political powers created both in the families and outside, it did a lasting benefit to the country. Big temples with towers

of enormous proportions were constructed by them. Temple walls and towers were adorned with beautiful paintings, festivals were instituted with grants of lands for their annual performances, musical entertainments and dances in the temple, were arranged for. Thus several branches of the fine arts received encouragement. More, these structures became centres of education also. Itihāsas and Purāṇas were expounded here for the benefit of the masses, including women and non-brahmins. Though Vedic and auxiliary studies received their due share of attention in the temple halls, we are not at the moment concerned with them.

The Bhakti movement attracted large crowds of people of every sort and it became a popular movement in the real sense of the word. Even learned non-brahmins who had embraced the Jain religion on conviction returned to their old fold and worked for the propagation of the religion of their birth. Brahmins of liberal spirit dared to join the Bhakti movement which set at nought all rules of caste, and they soon occupied the van of this advancing force. Controversies rose to a high pitch. The popular feeling became a powerful weapon which a leader could not neglect and it had to be kept red-hot, never being allowed to languish. Large concourses of people went from place to place, chanting their way, visiting temples old and newly built, and offering worship. In front of the deity, they poured out their hearts in fervent recitations of songs composed by their leaders and such joint recitations necessitated a kind of simple chorus music in which any one could join. Thus developed the *paṇ* system of music, so peculiar to the Tamils. It must not be supposed that the *paṇs* were invented by the religious leaders. The oldest of them were presumably popular melodies to which in very early times semi-religious songs were sung at communal celebrations and national festivals, and we may compare their origin and development with those of the ancient music of the *Sāma Veda*.[55] But from our point of view the most important result of the religious movement is its reaction on the Tamil language. The language of the masses and their racy idiom got into the very texture of the literary language, and made an appeal to them at once direct, clear and forceful. The Sanskritic diction of the Brahmin leaders was another element which added to the richness of the language. Mainly on account of this admixture, the Tamil language became flexible and resilient. Music also, however simple it might be, was a help in this direction. Thus the language of the people prevailed and the literary language so

55 Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 167.

artistically and arduously cultivated mainly by the Jains took a back seat for a time.

This sixth century saw the beginning of the Bhakti movement and in the course of a century, the movement developed, gathered strength and momentum, and reached its culminating point about the first quarter of the seventh century. The great Itihāsas were translated into Tamil, the *Mahābhāratam* first and then the *Rāmāyaṇam*. We have seen that the *Mahābhāratam* may have been translated by Perundevanār whose poems stand as invocations at the head of some of the Śaṅgam anthologies.

About the Rāmāyaṇam translation, no information is available. The commentary on *Vāppruṅgalam* (p. 239) mentions a *Rāmāyaṇam in pahroḍai veṇbā* metre. This was perhaps the earliest translation of the *Rāmāyaṇam* and it may be ascribed to *c.* A.D. 650. These two Itihāsas in Tamil must have provided ample material to excite the interest of the Tamils in mythological stories of national importance and the Bhakti cult drew its sustenance from the inexhaustible store of these ancient legends. Two separate but parallel movements are noticeable, one Śaivite and the other Vaishṇavite. The first great saint poet among the Śaivites was Tiru-nāvukkaraśu. He is also variously known as Appar or Vāgīśa. He is considered to have lived during the time of Pallava Mahendravarman I (A.D. 600-30). At first a convert to Jainism, Appar mastered the Jaina lore and became by sheer merit the head of the Jaina *mutt* at Tiruppādirip-puliyūr (Pāṭaliputtiram), modern Cuddalore in the South Arcot district. Later on, dissatisfied with the Jaina doctrine, he came back penitent to the religion of his birth. Through his influence, Mahendravarman, the Jaina king, became a convert to Śaivism. With all the zeal of a neophyte, this king destroyed the Jaina temple at Pāṭaliputtiram and built with the materials a Śaivite temple at Tiruvadigai, naming the deity Guṇabhara after his own title.[56] But the saint was not interested in such deeds of intolerance. He travelled from place to place, offering worship at the temples there, and singing the glory of the Lord in a company of *bhaktas* (devotees). The *bhaktas* increased in number and his fame spread, not only as a great *bhakta* but also as a poet who sang the praises of Śiva in melodious language with a rare appeal to earnest souls seeking spiritual communion. Sundarar says (stanza beginning with aṇikolāḍaiva-am) that Appar composed 49000 hymns though we have 311 *padigas* 3110 hymns at

56 *Periya.* Tirunāvukkaraśu. 145, 146. (This traditional account is not free from difficulties. Sundarar's date (*c.* A.D. 700) has been accepted as the controlling factor Ed.).

present.[57] Not given to verbosity or florid style, his poems are simple, soulful utterances which reach the innermost recesses of our being. In a particular kind of composition, *tāṇḍaka,* he has no equal and he has rightly earned the name 'tāṇḍaka vendu' (master of *tāṇḍaka).*

In one of his pilgrimages, he heard of a younger saint-poet, Tirujñāna Sambandar and hurried to Śīkāli (Shiyali) where the latter lived. Sambandar heard of this and went in advance to receive him. Appar made obeisance by falling at Sambandar's feet while the latter reciprocated and then embraced him in utter abandonment of ecstatic frenzy. It may be mentioned here that Appar refers to Sambandar in his *Devāram* (IV, 56, 1; V. 50, 8). Sambandar was a young brahmin boy of Shiyali, precocious in his learning, piety, and saintly life. Too young to walk to the several distant shrines, he was carried by his doting father on his shoulders. Unlike his elder and more sober contemporary, this young prodigy thirsted for controversies with the Jainas. And with his smiling face, his charming personality, his prodigious learning, his resourcefulness, and his argumentative powers, he always came out successful. He was a terror to the Jains wherever he went. He had a large coterie of disciples and comrades[58] among whom we might mention Śiruttoṇḍar *alias* Parañjoti. The latter led for the Pallava king an expeditionary force to Vātāpi, the ancient capital of the Chālukyas, won a great victory and razed the city to dust.[59] So Śiruttoṇḍar and Sambandar must have flourished about A.D. 650. The saint's progress to the *Pāṇḍya* country deserves special mention. The king of this country, like Mahendravarman I, was a Jain. His queen was a Chola princess[60] and she was a Śaivite by religion. Deeply concerned for the spiritual welfare of her lord she with the assistance of the minister Kulachchirai.[61] sent messengers to Sambandar imploring him to visit her capital Madurai, convert her lord to Śaivism and rescue the country from the evil influence of the Jains. Sambandar agreed and proceeded to Madurai, visiting temples on the way and offering worship. At Madurai a controversy took place between the Śaivite saint and a Jaina leader and the latter was worsted. Never more did the Jainas regain their political influence in the South. They confined themselves to literary, scientific and cultural activities. It may be noted

57 For a discussion about the Devāram hymns, see *Sen Tamil*, I, pp. 439-447.
58 Sambandar, I, 61, 10; III, 63; 7; & 8; *Āludaiyapillaiyar Tiruvulāmālai* II, 71-73.
59 *Periya,* Sirutt, 6.
60 Sambandar, II, 120, I.
61 Sambandar, III, 120, 4.

in passing that the cultural centre, which was Madurai during the Saṅgam age, shifted north to the Chola country during the age of this Hindu revival.

Amidst his busy life this young found time to compose an enormous number of devotional lyrics. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi says that he sang 16,000 *padigams*.[61a] Perhaps *padigams* here means single stanzas and not decads. Even so, the total output is prodigious, and we have at present only 384 *padigams* or 3840 lyrics of remarkable beauty and felicity of expression. A *padigam* of 11 stanzas on Tiruviḍaivāy of the Nannilan taluk, Tanjore district, has been recovered from an inscription of the twelfth century.[62] The style of the hymns is ornate and the language picturesque; but of emotional appeal there is only a very moderate quantum. The title *Tamil-ākaran* (lit. the ocean of Tamil learning) by which he is frequently called by Nambi Āṇḍār[63] aptly describes him.

Prodigies are generally short-lived, and our saint, as his biographer Śekkiḷār says, entered the divine glory with his bride and others at the time of his marriage An old stanza says that this took place in his sixteenth year.[64] During the half century after Sambandar there lived six poets of importance in the Śaivite world, and they are all mentioned in the *Tiruttoṇḍat-togai* of Sundarar. The first among them is the lady-saint Kāraikkāl Ammaiyār. She was the author of two *padigams*, of an *Irattai-maṇi-mālai*, and of *Arpudat-tiruvandādi*, the total number of stanzas being 143. Of these, the last named poem is deservedly popular.[65] The next poet mentioned by Sundarar is Tirumūlar, the well-known mystic. He was the author of *Tirumandiramālai* or *Tirumandiram*, as it is popularly called, consisting of a little over 3000 stanzas.[66] Tirumūlar is said to have lived for 3000 years and composed at the rate of one stanza every year.[67]

61a *Aluddaiya pillaiyār Tiruvulāmālai* I. 63.

62 *ARE*. 1913, p. 147.

63 *Op. cit*., 33.

64 K.S. Srinivasa Pillai in his *Tamil varalāru* (pp. 49-54) gives A.D. 655 as the date of Sambandar's demise.

65 Two stanzas beginning with 'vañji velya' and 'Karaipparperu' are ascribed to this poetess and Auvaiyār jointly by Nachchinārkkiniyar (*Tol. Seyyul*, Nacch. p. 66). Contrary to this the former stanza is ascribed to Poygaiyar exclusively (*Yāp*. com. p. 350) and the latter to Bhūtattālvar and Karaikkārpeyār jointly (*Yāp*. com. p. 352) by the commentator on *Yāpparuṅgalam*. Poygaiyar and Bhūtattār, it must be noted, are Vaishṇava saints. Kāraikkārpeyār may be assigned to *c*. 700.

66 *Tirumandiram*, 99.

67 *Periyapurāṇam*, Tirumūla, 26, 27. But in the *Tirumandiram* itself a stanza says that the author lived for seven crores of Yugams before he composed the work (st. 74)

He claims that Patañjali, clearly the author of *Yogasūtra* and not of *Mahābhāshya,* was his co-disciple under Nandi (st. 67). The work contains a lot of Tāntric and Āgamic matters. A good deal of similarity exists between this work and *Tiruvāśagam.* It is interesting to note that one of its stanzas (204) is cited with a slight variation in the commentary of *Yāpparuṅgalam* (p. 352). Most probably the date of *Tirumandiram* is about the first quarter of the eight century.[68] Avvadigal-kāḍavar-kon is another poet who sang about sacred places in *Kshetrat-tiruvenbā.* The poem consists of 24 stanzas and as many as 22 shrines are mentioned. As the name indicates, the poet was an ascetic belonging to the Pallava royal family. Finally *Tiruttondat-togai* refers to a poet Kāri by name. This poet composed a *Kovai* in Tamil, and named it *Kārik-kovai,* as the *Periyapurāṇam*[68a] clearly states. Nothing more is known about him or his *kovai.*

The poet-saint who has mentioned all these and many more Śaiva devotees is Sundaramūrtti-nāyanār, an *ādi-śaiva* of Tirunāvalūr. His date is fairly certain, as he himself says that the king who ruled the sea-girt world during his time was Kalar-chimgan of the Pallava dynasty and canonises this ruler as a Śaiva saint. This can be no other than Narasiṁhavarman II (A.D. 680-700) who built the famous Kailāsa-nātha temple at Kāñchī, had the titles 'Srī-Śaṅkarabhakta' and Śiva-chūḍāmaṇi, and who was said to have destroyed his Kārmic impurities by walking the path of 'Śaiva-Siddhānta (*Śaiva-siddhānta marge-kshata-sakala-mālā*).[69] His feudatory who adopted Sundarar was called Narasiṅga-munaiy-araiyan after his name and Sundarar himself

68 Tirumūlar himself seems to refer to the Devāram hymns of Sambandar, Appar. and Sundarar (st. 76) and to the five *mandalas* of the Tamil country (1646). All that Sundarar says of him is 'I am the slave of the slaves of our master Tirumūlam'. Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi says that Tirumūlar sang devotional hymns. It is only Sekkilār who says that he was the author of *Tirumandiram.* Perhaps Sundarar's Tirumūlar and the author of *Tirumandiram* are two different persons. Many late works are found utilised in this work E.g. *Tiruman* 2847 = *Palamoli* 339; *Tiruman* 2069 = *Iniyavainār* 41; *Tiruman* 167 = *Nāladi* 26. *Ashṭāṅgayoga* of Patañjali (*Tiruman* 549 = 639); week-days are mentioned in *vāra-saram* and *vāra-śūlai* (*Tiruman* 790-798). Very late words also are found used e.g., oddiyānam (st. 818), tindādi (st. 2779), olakkam (st. 540), kankāni (st. 2067), tāvadi (376), āḍambaram (1655). At any rate there is no doubt that there is a good number of interpolated stanzas in the work.

68a *Kārināyanār* 1.

69 *SII.* I. 12-13. See *Ālvārgal-kālanilai* (M. Raghava Iyengar), pp. 135-136. Dr. C. Minakshi's attempt to identify the contemporary king of Sundarar with Nandivarman III (A.D. 835-60) in her *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas.* pp. 299-305. is based on very flimsy grounds. For the date given here for Nandivarman III, see K.A.N. Sastri's paper 'New Light on Later Pallava Chronology' in *M.M. Potdar Commemoration Volume.*

refers to him.[69a] These are very strong grounds for assigning this poet to the beginning to the eighth century A.D.

The number of *padigams*, probably stanzas or hymns, sung by the poet is traditionally given as 38,000; but we have at present only 100 *padigams* or 1000 hymns. The conditions of the times is reflected in these hymns. The danger to the Śaivaite religion from the Jains had disappeared, and there is not even a single reference to the Jains in Sundarar's hymns. The storm and stress of religious controversy had cleared and a time had come when a calm spirit prevailed. Even sacred things were made fun of, life was taken easy, and saints too enjoyed the pleasures of the sense without rousing disapprobation. The poet is said to have lived for only 18 years. Within this short life he married twice, first within his caste and next from a family of danseuses attached to the temple at Tiruvārūr. He served the cause of hagiology by listing all the Śaiva saints up to his time including his own parents. He has also left for us his autobiography in verses, and this pleasure-loving saint treated his god as a friend on equal terms who would cater to his foibles and weaknesses. Śaivism had lost its austerity and had assumed a more human aspect, thus making an approach to Vaishṇavism.

A contemporary and friend of Sundarar was Cheramān-perumāl-nāyanār, a king of the Chera country. But this is not the name by which he is called in *Tiruttoṇdat-togai*. Kalaṛiṛṛaṛivār is the name given (st. 6) and it is explained as one who would understand anything spoken by any being.[70] This could not but be a title and the author of *Periyapurāṇam* gives the proper name as *Perumāk-kodaiyār* (st 5) A humorous situation showing his great reverence to *bhaktas* is referred to by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi and narrated in detail by Śekkilār. When the saint-poet accepted the sovereignty of the Chera kingdom after the death of Śengol-poṛaiyan, he was taken in a procession through the streets of his capital. On the way he met a man whose body was white with washing-lye. Mistaking him for a Śaiva devotee besmeared with holy ashes, he got down from his palanquin and fell down at the washerman's feet in obeisance to him. The latter in full horror fell down at the king's feet and cried that he was the king's washerman. The king in his turn, said he was the slave Chera'. But the poems of this Chera do not betray any such eccentricity. They are *Pon-vaṇṇatt-andādi*, *Tiruvārūr-mummaṇik-kovai* and *Tiruk-kaiyilāya-jñāna-vulā*, and in these we find him a

69a *Tiruttoṇdat-togai.*
70 *Periyapurāṇam*, Kalaṛ. 14.

poet of a superior order and a great scholar. The *ulā* is also variously known as *Ādiy-ulā* or *Tiruvulāppuṛam*. These works are mentioned by Śekkilār.[71] There is absolutely no reference to Sundarar in any of these poems, nor do we find any in Sundarar's *Devāram* to the Chera saint except the one about Kala-iṟṟarivār already mentioned. Yet *Periyapurāṇam* says that both were very intimate friends and that they visited several shrines together to offer worship. The *purāṇam* refers also incidentally to a Chola king who had married a Pāṇḍya princess.[72]

The poems deserve to be more widely known and studied. No doubt they follow the Śaṅgam stanzas in their *aham* portions; but they are charming and their style is elevated and dignified. The felicity of expression which the poet wields compels our admiration. We have reason to believe that he was the inventor of a new kind of *prabandha* known as *ulā*.[73] They were intended to be and were actually sung during festival processions of deities by the danseuses of the temples. Contemporary life and manners were reflected in these poems and later, the history of the shrine to which these related was also given. The *Ādi-ulā* has incorporated two *Kuṛals*[74] and refers to the author of the *Kuṛal* as 'paṇḍaiyor', the ancient.[75]

Tiruttoṇḍat-togai mentions also a group of poets under the general name *Poyyaḍimaiy-illāda-pulavar* and Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi names three poets specifically, and they are Kapilar, Paraṇar and Nakkīrar. These names occur among poets whose poems are collected in the 'Eleventh Tirumuṛai', and are different from the Śaṅgam poets who were the great literary luminaries of the ancient period. Nakkīrar, the author of *Tirumurug-āṟṟuppaḍai* might seem an exception. But sufficient reason has been shown in the introduction to my edition of the work that he was a different poet from

71 Kalaṟiṟ. st. 87 and Vellānai 47; and the second *mummaṇik-kovai* is also referred to (Kalaṟiṟ st. 69).

72 Kalaṟiṟ. 92.

73 For an interesting note on the textual criticism of this *ulā*, see *Chera-Vendar. Seyyut-Kovai*, II, 144.

74 *Kuṛal* 752 = ulā. l. 136-7; 1101 = ll. 175-6.

75 A tradition in Kerala country says that a certain Cheramān Perumāl become a convert to Islam, left his kingdom and went on a pilgrimage to Mecca in A.D. 825. and that the Kollam era was inaugurated in that year to commemorate that event. An enterprising scholar identified this king with our Cheramān Perumāl who went to Kailās with his friend Sundarar and assigned both of them to A.D. 825. But it is a well known fact that the era was started to commemorate the foundation of Quilon. We may summarily dismiss the scholar's identification and date without any comment.

the author of the Saṅgam poem *Neḍunelvāḍai* and lived much later. Sambandar has a poem on Paraṅguṉṟu, but he has nothing to say about the presence of Muruga in this hill as do *Murug-aṟṟuppaḍai* and *Paripāḍal.* The Muruga shrine must have been built after A.D. 650. In the eleventh Tirumuṟai, *Tirumurug-aṟṟuppaḍai* is included, and we would be perfectly justified in dating this poem and its author to about A.D. 700. The other two poets Kapilar and Paraṇar of this Tirumuṟai probably flourished about the same time at the earliest. These might very well be later than Sundarar as he does not specifically mention them. They bear the names Kapila-deva-nāyanār, Paraṇa-deva-nāyanār, and Nakkīra-deva-nāyanār, sufficient indication that they were different from the Śaṅgam poets. Nambi Āṇḍār's statement in this respect is not of much historical value.

Nakkīrar is also the author of nine other poems, two of these, are of special literary interest. *Tiruv-elu-kūṟṟirukkai* is quoted in the commentary on *Yāpparuṅgalam* (p. 500) with *varia lectio.* Most probably Sambandar's *Elukūṟṟirukkai* (I. 128) served as a model. *Kār-eṭṭu,* contrary to our expectation, is not a poem on *aham* subject matter. Kapila-devā-nāyanār is the author of three poems. From his *Mūtta-Nāyanār Tiruv-iraṭṭai-maṇimālai,* two stanzas (6 and 20) are found cited in Ilampūraṇar's commentary on Tolkāppiyam Seyyul-iyal (175). Paraṇa-deva-nāyanār is the author of only one poem, *Śivaperumān-tiruv-andādi.* This consists of 101 stanzas in *veṇbā* metre and in most of the stanzas, some sacred place or other is mentioned.

The congregational *bhakti* of the Śaivas as a genuine popular movement probably came to an end about the first half of the eighth century A.D. After Sundarar's time, the movement must have taken a different turn. Individual devotees must have carried on the *bhakti* cult, perhaps in a languid and lifeless manner for about a century more. This period is probably represented by such poets as Adirā-vaḍigal, Ilamperumānaḍigal and Kallāda-deva-nāyanār, included in the 'Eleventh Tirumuṟai'. In the poems of these authors, the language of the people, the current diction and idiom, was shoved into the background and the old artificial style was again adopted. They have never been popular and had it not been for their inclusion in the *Tirumuṟai,* they would not have survived at all. Probably Ilamperumānaḍigal is identical with Koṭṭāṟṟu Ilamperumānār of the Śendalai inscriptions.[76].

76 *Sāsanat-tamilk-kavi-charitam,* p. 19.

After this period of decline, we come across Śaiva poets, some of them of very great eminence, who had nothing to do with the *bhakti* movement as such. The name of Māṇikka-vāśagar stands out in superb splendour among these Saiva poets. During the early days of Tamil literary research scholars were contending hotly whether this poet lived earlier or later than the three great saints: Appar, Sambandar and Sundarar. Now scholars are almost unanimous in holding that he was posterior to Sundarar: it need only be mentioned that he refers in his *Tirukkovaiyār* (306, 327) to Varaguṇa Pāṇḍya II (A.D. 862-80) and to Śaṅkara's (died *c.* 820 A.D.) doctrine of *māyāvāda*.[77] A number of divine sports are mentioned by him. We may be certain that he flourished during the latter half of the ninth century A.D.[78]

The *Tiruvāśagam* and the *Tirukkovaiyār* are the two great works written by the saint. Of these, the first by itself is counted as the 'Eighth Tirumuṛai'. The second is exclusively a poem on *aham*. But there need be no doubt about the authorship, for it is ascribed to him under the name, Śivapāddiyan (Śivapadahṛdaya) by Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi in his *Koyil-tiruppaṇṇiyār-viruttam* (st. 58). It contains 400 stanzas in Kalitturai metre on almost all the approved themes of *aham* subject-matter, schematically arranged. The felicity of diction and the polished style are noteworthy. One of its stanzas (86) mentions Vishṇu's shrine at the entrance of Naṭarāja's shrine at Chidambaram. But the *magnum opus* of this poet is his *Tiruvāśagam* which consists of 4 *ahavals* and 654 stanzas. It is a modest production so far as quantity goes, but its merit gives it an exalted place among the devotional lyrics of the Śaivites. Its sincere and earnest utterances coming as they do from the great depth of a noble soul, reach the innermost recess of our being making it resound with answering echoes. We hear the voices of the saved and the doomed. Even Silence seems to be a speaker in the poet's rhapsody. The mystic insight into the spiritual world, the bursts of vision lyrically realised, and the ecstatic delight stand clear in his words. Expression seems to halt in trying to portray the varied experiences of his soul. From this spiritual height the poet sees the world of common men and women and they look like children playing on the seashore of Eternity. The poet becomes himself a child for the moment and in the simple delightful language of the sporting children sings of truths of great spiritual value. To read *Tiruvāśagam*

77 *Tiruvāśagam*, IV, 54-55.

78 For a detailed study of the question, see 'Sidelights on Tamil authors' II, date of Māṇikka-vāśagar in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, VII, part I.

with intentness and earnestness is to get drunk with joy. The saying goes that if a person does not melt at the sweet strains of this great master, he will never find himself in a melting mood at anything he hears.

We have now reached the summit of the Śaivite *bhakti* cult which, in the last resort, is intensely personal. A parallel movement, that of the Vaishnavites, began probably somewhat later than the Saivite movement. It is represented by twelve Ālvārs who flourished between A.D. 700 and 900. The earliest of these are said to be the three Ālvārs, Poygai, Bhūtam and Pey and each has sung a centum of *veṇbās* in *antādi* order. The first centum by Poygal is called 'mudal (first)-tiruvandādi'. This must have been the earliest of the Vaishnavite hymns and the Ālvār's utterances where they do not comply with rules of prosody are said to be 'ārshas'.[79]

Poygai Ālvār was born at Kāñchī under the asterism Jyeshṭhā. A record of the ninth year of the Chola king Ko-Parakeśarivarman *alias* Vikrama Chola Devar (A.D. 1129) registers the gift of 780 *kalams* of paddy out of the interest of which worship during thirteen days of Jyeshṭhā, the constellation of Bhūtattālvār and Poygai Ālvār was to be performed every year.[80] Later *Guruparamparais* give Aviṭṭam and Tiruvoṇam as the respective *nakshatras* of these two. Bhūtattālvār was born at Tirukkaḍalmallai and Peyālvār at Mylapore. All the three Ālvārs were contemporaries since they are traditionally said to have met for the first time at Tirukkovalur (referred to by Poygai and Bhūtam) and afterwards at Tiruvallikkeni (referred to by Peyālvār) also to enjoy the companionship of Tirumaliśai whom we shall notice below. Perhaps Peyālvār was a younger contemporary of the other two Ālvārs.

About the date of these Ālvārs, nothing definite is known. Poygaiyār and Peyār has referred to a *Viṇṇagaram* in st. 77 and 62 of their respective *antādis*. This *Viṇṇagaram* is identified by some with

79 *Yāp.* com. (p. 350). Two of his stanzas (51, 69) are cited in the commentary (pp. 220, 459-460). The other stanzas beginning with 'aramalar-āyndakaṇ' and 'āli-y-nalppa' are also ascribed to Poygai by this commentary (pp. 220, 518); but they are not hymns at all and we do not know where they are cited from. If any reference can be drawn from the exclusive devotion of this Ālvār to Vishṇu, we may hold that Poygai, the Alvār, and Poygai, the poet, were two different persons. After all Poygai was the name of a *nāḍu* (district) and a *nagar* (town, see *Perundogai*, st. 2146) and any prominent person hailing from either could be named Poygaiyār; Per-āśiriyar refers (*Tolkāppiyam*, Seyyul 239) to the *antādi* of Poygaiyār as an example of *virundu* (new composition) and this must be the Ālvār's work.

80 *IMP*, I, cg. 315.

Parameśvara-viṇṇagaram[81] and by others with the Nandipura- viṇṇagaram,[82] this Nandi being taken as Nandivarman I who it is alleged was a devotee of Vishṇu. Since nothing is known about Nandivarman I except that he was the father of Simhavishṇu and the Pallava line itself is known as the Simhavishṇu line, the latter identification has to be given up. Moreover, Nandipura-viṇṇagaram, the modern Nāthankoyil is in the Chola country near Kumbakonam, and it was Simhavishṇu who brought the region watered by Kāverī for the first time under the Pallavas. Parameśvara-viṇṇagaram was built by Nandivarman II (731-96) so called by his personal name which was Parameśvaran. This identification also may not be accepted. But there is one fact which indisputably settles the question of date. Bhūtattālvār has in his *Iraṇḍam Tiruvandādi* (70) referred to Māmallai which is no other than the modern Mahābalīpuram. Its original name was Mahāmallapuram and in spite of the ingenious arguments put forward to show that Mā-mallai had nothing to do with 'mahāmalla',[83] we have to hold to the contrary. The fact is too obvious to be blinked. Even tradition says that this Ālvār was born at Kaḍal-malai which is the same as Mahāmallapuram. Now Mahāmalla was the famous Narasiṁhavarman I (630-60). So Bhūtattālvār could have lived only after A.D. 650. We have already stated that he and Kāraikkārpeyāl were contemporaries, being joint authors of a stanza and that Kāraikkāl would have to be placed about A.D. 700 (p. 1141, 65 n.). Poygi and Bhūtam must be assigned to the same period. Peyālvār, who was according to tradition, a younger contemporary of theirs refers also to *viṇṇagar* (st. 61-62), Tiruvallikkeni (st. 16) and Ashṭabuyakaram (st. 99) in his *Mūnṛān Tiruvandādi.* These three Ālvārs most probably lived in the first quarter of the eighth century.

Next we may take up Tiruppāṇ-ālvār, as he is mentioned immeditely after 'mudal-ālvārs' in *Rāmanuja-nūṛṛandādi* (st. 11), the earliest and most authoritative work mentioning the Vaishṇava saints in a certain order. *Divyasūri Charitam* and Guruparamparais give different orders with several particulars not easily reconciled. But the above *andādi,* well-known as *Prapanna-gāyatrī* among Vaishnavites, seems to be most reliable. Tiruppāṇ, like Tiru-nīlakanta-vālppāṇar of the Śaiva hagiology, was a musician of a low caste, but in addition, he was a poet also. He is the author of a single poem *amalanādi-pirān* consisting of ten stanzas. The poem must have

81 M. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Tamil Studies,* p. 301.

82 M. Raghava Iyengar, *Ālvārgal Kālanilai,* pp. 50-51.

83 *Alvargal-Kālanilai,* 31-2, and 143 etc.

been set to music, though its tune is not given anywhere. How the divine beauty of the several limbs of Lord Śrī Raṅganātha affected a lady who had fallen in love with Him is the subject-matter of the poem. Its exquisite simplicity and the deep sincere emotion it evokes make it an outstanding contribution among the poems of the Vaishnavite Tamil saints, generally known as *Nālāyira-Divya-Prabandam.* The ancient musical system of the Tamils has completely disappeared, but we can appreciate its power and sweetness from this specimen left to us by Tiruppāṇ-ālvār. There is nothing to indicate the date of this poet except a tradition which states that he lived for 80 years. He belongs to the distinguished galaxy of genuine lyric poets such as Periyālvār, Āṇḍāl and Kulaśekharar, and in the world of poetic thought at least, he is nearer to them than to the other Vaishṇava saints. Considering the order in the *Rāmānuja-nūṟṟandādi* and considering also the dates to which Periyālvār and others could be assigned we may perhaps suggest the first quarter of the ninth century as the date of Tiruppāṇ-ālvār, allowing an interval of a century between the first three Ālvārs and this Ālvār. 'Udara-bandhanam' (4) and 'vāram' (5) are two late words used by him.

Tirumaliśai-ālvār is mentioned next. Credited by legend with a life of 4300 years, he may be regarded as the Vaishṇava counterpart of Tirumūlar, though there is little in common between the Ālvār's virus against Śaivism and the unconventional cosmopolitan and at times even iconoclastic outlook of Tirumūlar. The story that Tirumaliśai met the three earliest Ālvārs may indicate that his real date was later than that of Tirumūlar and fell in the ninth century. The miracle of the rejuvenation by Tirumaliśai of an old prostitute with whom king Pallavarāya fell in love after her youth was restored is apocryphal. It may be that he introduced the use of *śrīchūrṇa* in the Vaishṇava caste-mark (*nāmam*) and this is perhaps commemorated in the story that he discovered the place where the red earth for that mark was available. His *Tiruchchanda Viruttam* and *Fourth Tiruvandadi* are inferior as literature. He mentions the shrines of Tiruveṅgadam (Tirupati) and Śrīraṅgam, and many smaller ones including Tiruvallikeṇi (mod. Triplicane) where a record in the twelfth year of Dantivarman Pallava is found. His verses are reminiscent of the *Āchārakkovai* and other works. His date may not be earlier than A.D. 850.[84]

84 His use of *guṇaparan* (*Antādi* 93), a surname of Mahendravarman, can have no chronological significance in the face of much later forms of words like ***podu-pokku*** (*Ant,* 82), *vāl-āṭṭu* (*ibid.,* 38), *urukinṟen* (*ibid.,* 41) etc.

Toṇḍar-aḍip-poḍi *alias* Vipranārāyaṇa was also a staunch sectarian as is seen from his *Tirumālai*. The other poem *Tiruppalliy-eluchchi* is a piece of remarkable beauty, challenging comparison with Māṇikka-vāśagar's poem of the same name, both songs to be sung when waking up the deity in the morning—one of the *rājopachāras* (royal honours) that formed part of daily worship in temples. Two stories one about Mudgala and the other about Kshatrabandhu are traceable to the *Vishṇu-dharmottara-purāṇa*.[85] This *purāṇa* is later than Brahmagupta (A.D. 628) whom it cites and earlier than Alberuni (A.D. 1030) who studied the *purāṇa* minutely.[86] The *Tirumalai* may be assigned to the second quarter of the ninth century. In form and expression the poem owes much to Appar particularly his *Tiru-neriśai* and *Tirukkuṛu-tāṇḍakam*.[87] The reference to the squirrel helping Rāma in the construction of the causeway to Laṅkā (*Tirumālai* 27) is popular and unique. The recitation of *Tiruppalliy-eluchchi* in the Śrīraṅgam temple is provided for in an inscription of A.D. 1085.

Kulaśekhara Ālvār was probably a Koṅgu-Chera chieftain, though he mentions no sacred shrine in the Chera country and there is nothing to indicate his nationality except possibly his use of the word *achchan* in one of his verses.[88] He may have preceded *Toṇḍar-aḍip-poḍi* who perhaps took that title from one of Kulaśekhara's verses (II, 2), If this is correct, Kulaśekhara may be placed around A.D. 850. He sings about Tillaichchitrakūṭam, the shrine of Govindarāja in Childambaram, which seems to have come up later than the time of Sundarar who does not mention it. Kulaśekhara composed 105 stanzas known as *Perumāl Tirumoli*, consisting of five decads on *Śrīraṅga*, and other shrines, and five decads on the *avatāras* of Krishṇa and Rāma, the latter being of great poetic merit. His hymn 'teṭṭarumdiral' was recited at Śrīraṅgam according to an inscription of A.D. 1085.[89]

Periyālvār, whose personal name was Vishṇuchitta, won a bag of gold by his victory in a religious contest in the court of the Pāṇḍyan king and spent it in improving a flower-garden for his deity. The *ālvār* himself calls the Pāṇḍya *Ko-Neḍumaṛan* (IV, 2, 7) and the *Guruparamparai* identifies him with Śri-Vallabha. The king was perhaps Śrī-Māṛa Śrī-Vallabha (*c.* A.D. 815-62). 'Periyālvār and his celebrated foster daughter Kodai (Godā) or Āṇḍāl may be assigned to the

85 T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *History of Sri-Vaishnavas*, p. 20 for Kshatrabandhu; the other story is traced to the *purāṇa* by an ancient commentator.

86 Winternitz, *HIL*, I, p. 580.

87 Cf. *Tirumālai*, 34 with Appar IV, 75, 3; and 17 with *Tiruk*. 13.

88 *Perumāl Tirumoli*, II, 9.

89 K. A. N. Sastri, *The Colas*, II, p. 479.

middle of the ninth century.[90] Periyālvār was the author of *Tirup-pallāṇḍu*, besides 460 stanzas. We are reminded at once of Sendanār's *Tiruppallāṇḍu* in the 'Ninth Tirumuṛai' of the Saivites. Sendanār must have flourished probably in the last quarter of the tenth century. Of the 460 stanzas, a major portion deal with the child-life of Srī Krishṇa under the topics of the 'Pillait-tamil' *prabandha*. This shows clearly that Periyālvar could not have lived earlier than the ninth century A.D. The rest deals with the life of Srī Rāma. Though his poetry is of a higher order, it is his language that arrests our attention. He avoids the learned style and uses colloquialisms, mostly brahmin, of his age. A proverb *paṇḍanṟu paṭṭinaṁ kāppu*[91] very much in vogue during his time is found in a whole decad (*V*, 2). He introduces Krishṇa stories which must have been current in the Tamil country in his days, e.g. story of Simālikan (II, 7, 8). He refers to Tirukkoṭṭiyūr and the royal *purohit* of that place (IV, 4, 8), Tirup-per (II, 9, 4), Tiruvellaṛai (I, 5, 8) Tirumāl-iruñ-jolai (V, 3) Kuruṅguḍi (I, 5, 8), Villiputtūr (II, 2, 6).

Āṇḍāl was the author of *Tiruppāvai*, besides 142 stanzas. It had its origin from a religious observance (*vrata*) among maidens of marriage-able age. More details of the practice of this *vrata* in her days become clear from this section. The Jains also have a similar poem; but we do not know when it was composed. This type of poem was called 'pāvaip-pāṭṭu'.[92] In *Paripāḍal* 11, the *vrata* is clearly described and in *Kalit-togai* (50) also there is a reference to it. Āṇḍāl seems to refer to her father's *Tiruppallāṇḍu* in *Tiruppāvai* 26. Like her father, she uses colloquial expressions.[93] She uses expressions from previous pro-verbs[94] and sings about conventional themes like *kuvir-pāṭṭu* (V. 1-11). The expressions *māṟṟolaip-paṭṭavar* (X, 2) seems to have refer-ence to slave-dealing. Āṇḍāl takes a high rank among religious poets.

Tirumaṅgal Ālvār is the next saint referred to in the *Rāmānuja-*

90 On the strength of Āṇḍāl's *Tirrup-pāvai* (V, 13) M. Raghava Aiyangar choses December 18, A.D. 731 as the day which the poetess had in mind. But he says also that A.D. 885 or 886 would equally meet the case. Astronomical arguments about the remote past are by no means so decisive as they appear.

91 Cf. *Puṟattiraṭṭu*, 1562.

92 *Tol.* III, 461 Perāśiriyar. See M. Raghava Iyengar's *Arāchchittokudi* pp. 185-203.

93 E.g., Kalakkalital (pāvai 5); kiśukiśu (*ibid.*, 7); marumagal (*ibid.*, 18); ettanai-podum (*ibid.*, 19); śiru-ch-chiridu (*ibid.*, 22), śirarañ-jirukāl (*ibid.*, 29); śiramapaṭṭom (II, 3); para-viḍāy (III, 7); parakkalittu (XII, 3), mel-āppu (XIV, 3).

94 Arikkiḍugo-pūśal *ini—ix*, 2, x, 1 = *Puṟattirattu* 1519; Tammaiyugappārait-tāmu-gappar XI, 10. (Puṇṇir-pulippeyadai-pola XIII, 1; varivalaiyil pugundu vandi paṟṟum valakku IX, 3).

nūṛṛandādi under the name of Nīlan. He is believed to have been born of Kalvar caste and to have followed a robber's life. The *Divya-sūri-charitam* says that he robbed Śrī-Raṅganātha and Srī Āṇḍāl when they were returning to Śrīvilliputtūr. The third wall round the shrine of Śrīraṅgam is ascribed to him. He is the author of 1361 stanzas, consisting of *Periya-tirumoli, Tirukkuruṇ-dāṇḍakam, Tiruneḍun-dāṇḍakam, Tiruveluk-kūṛṛirukkai, Śiṛiya-tirumaḍal* and *Periya-tiru-maḍal.* He seems to be the most learned of all the Vaishṇavaite saints. Though born at Kuṛaiyalūr of Āli-nāḍu, he spent his last days at Tirukkuṛuṅguḍi in Tirunelveli district. He is referred to by several names, viz., Kaikanṛi, Kaliyan, Parakālan, Arulmāri, Araṭṭamukki, etc. These titles indicate perhaps his real profession. He must have lived in stirring times, chosen a military career, and won high distinction in it.

This Ālvār, unlike several of the Tamil poets, has left clear evidence of the time when he flourished. He has sung about Parameśvara-viṇ-ṇagaram (II, 9) which was built by Nandivarman II (A.D. 731-96): The terms in which he refers to this Pallava worshipping the deity shows that it was a past event perhaps lingering in the memory of his generation. He has referred also to Vayiramegham (Nandivarman's son) Dantivarman (A.D. 765-836) in his decad on Aṭṭa-bhuya Karam, (II, 8, 10). Here Vayiramegha's power and glory are mentioned as things of the past. It may also be noted that in the twelfth regnal year (A.D. 797) of this Vayiramegha, a certain Pugalttunai-Viśaiyaraiyan redeemed a field of the Pārthasārathi Svāmin temple at Tiruvallikkeṇi previously mortgaged by the temple priests, and restored the usual quantity of rice-offerings every day.[95] Perhaps this temple was built about A.D. 790. Pugalttuṇai of the inscription was perhaps a descendant of the Nāyanār of the same name mentioned by Sundaramūrtti. During the days of Peyālvār, Tiruvallikkeṇ was perhaps without any temple-structure, though it had attained sacredness as a Vishṇu shrine. One of the Guruparamparais says that Tirumaṅgai lived for 105 years. He must have been a long-lived person to induce this belief, and we may assume that he died at about his 70th year. Taking all this into consideration, we may be justified in concluding that he lived between A.D. 800 and 870.

Literary and linguistic evidences support the above conclusion fully. References to *Kuṛal* (A.D. 600) occur here and there in Tirumaṅgal's poems.[96] A stanza in *Nālaḍiyār* (A.D. 680) is referred to in *Śiṛiya-tirumaḍal.*[97] A number of proverbs in *Palamoli* (A.D. 725) are used

95 *IMP,* Ms. 326.
96 *Kuṛal,* 1137, *Periya-tirumaḍal,* couplet 39.
97 St. 114 = couplet 4.

here and there.[98] Vāsavadatta's story in *Peruṅgadai* (c. A.D. 700) is in *Siṛiya-tirumaḍal* (couplet 65). The type of poem named Śappāṇi (I, 6) is very similar both in Periyālvār (c. A.D. 850) and in Tirumaṅgai (X, 5) one line actually occurring in both; so also *Aśodai tan śiṅgam* of Tirumaṅgai (*Periya-tirumoli* VI, 8, 6) and *Aśodai-yilam-śiṅgam* (*Tirup-pāvai* 1) of Āṇḍāl (c. 850) are similar. There are some similarities between Tirumaṅgai and Māṇikkā vāśagar. For instance 'Koltumbi' occurs in both.[99] 'Achcho' occurs in Periyālvār, Tirumaṅgai and Māṇikkā vāśagar. Tirumaṅgai has also introduced some new types of poems such as Kulamani-turam, Pongattam pongo, molai, tokkai, tara, parakkalital, mochchu, ullal.

It has been already noted that Tirumaṅgai was a very learned poet. He had made use of the hymns of Sambandar, Appar and Sundarar. The type of composition, Tiru-neḍundāṇḍakam is evidence enough. Phrases and expressions of these saints are also found in Tirumaṅgai's poems. He is considered by the Vaishṇavites themselves as a controversialist-poet and there is a tradition which says that he worsted Sambandar in a poetic contest. The tradition has no foundation in fact.[100]

The next and last of the Ālvārs mentioned in *Rāmānuja-nūṛrandādi* is Śaḍagopa (Skt. Śaṭhakopa), better known as Nammālvār. He is considered the greatest of the Ālvārs and was certainly the most philosophical among them. With him the *Bhakti* movement reaches its culmination and a disciple of his, Madhurakavi by name, composed a decad in honour of his *guru* and ended the long lines of Vaishṇava Saints. This Madhurakavi is also counted as an Ālvār.

Nammālvār is the author of four poems, viz., *Tiruviruttam* (100 stanzas in Kalitturai metre), *Periya-tiruvandādi* (87 stanzas in Venbā metre), *Tiruvāśiriyam* (seven stanzas in *āśiriya* metre), and *Tiruvāymoli* (1000 stanzas divided into ten section, each section containing ten tens). The stanzas in each of these four poems are in *antādi* arrangement.

The *Guruparamparai* says that Tiruvaludi-vala-nāḍar, the seventh ancestor of Nammālvār in his father's line, obtained his son on his reciting *Tiruppāvai* for a year. It is also said that our Ālvār lived for 35 years and taught in his *archāvatāra* the whole of *Nālāyira-Divya-Prabandha* to Nāthamuni, the first of the Āchāryas. This

98 St. 223 = Periya tirumoli, XI, 8, 6; st. 358 = VII, 10, 4; st. 252 = X; 9, 8, 253 =XI, 8, 3; 370 = *Siṛiya Tirumaḍal* couplet 3.

99 *Periya-tirumoli* V. 3, 4 = *Tiruvāśagam* X.

100 *Alvārgal Kāla-nilai*, p. 137.

Āchārya was born at Vīra-nārāyaṇapuram and died at Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-cholapuram. These statements of *Guruparamparai* give us some indication of the date of Nāthamuni and therefore of Nammālvār. Vīra-nārāyaṇa was the surname of Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-53) and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-chola of Rājendra-chola (1912-44). So Nāthamuni's date might be from A.D. 940 to 1020. He is said to have lived for 330 years on account of his *yogic* powers. Probably he was taught Nālāviram about A.D. 975. If we assign Nammālvār to the second half of the ninth century, the data noticed so far will be covered. A certain Śrīnātha is mentioned in the Anbil plates,[101] and he might very well be Āchārya Nāthamuni especially because his age, according to this record, would be the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century A.D.

The date suggested for Nammālvār received full corroboration from his poems themselves. Of the shrines he has sung, two are of utmost importance in this connection. One is Varaguṇamaṅgai or Varaguṇamaṅgalam, named after the Pāṇḍya king Varaguṇa. There are only two Varaguṇas known to history, the earlier of whom reigned from about A.D. 780 to 820. Another shrine is Śrīvaramaṅgalam or Vānamāmalai, and this came into existence in the reign of the Pāndya king Ko-Māraññjaḍaiyan under the circumstances set forth in the following extract from a copper-plate grant of that king. 'While the seventeenth year of the reign of Neḍuñjaḍaiyan, the most devoted follower of Vishṇu, was current . . . he gave with libations of water the village of Velaṅguḍi in Tenkalavali-nādu, having cancelled its former name . . . and having bestowed on it the new name of Śrīvaramangalam to Sujjata Bhaṭṭa'. Ko-Mārañjaḍaivan is now identified with Varaguna I and so the grant must have been made towards the end of the eighth century. This shows clearly that Nammālvār must be ascribed to a date later than A.D. 800.

There are some linguistic evidences which indicate that Nammālvar is later than Periyalvar, Āṇḍāl and Tirumaṅgai.[102] So Nammālvār must have lived later than A.D. 870.

101 *SI*, XV, p. 54.

102 Community of words and expressions are strong pieces of evidence and I shall mention only a few of these 'Ārkkiduko-pūśal-ini' occurs with a slight variation in *Nāchchiyār Tirumoli* (IX, 2) and in *Tiruvālvāymoli* (VIII, 2, 6); Śakkarach-chelvan occurs both in Tirumaṅgai (*Tirumoli* V, 9, 5) and in Nammālvār (*Tiruvāymoli* VII, 7, 10). So also pirakkal (Tirumoli X, 5, 2 — Tiruvāy III, 7, 5). More than all these the verbal termination 'kinru' functioning as an adverb (e.g. vakukkinṛu, *Tiruvāy* I, 4, 9) occurs eight times in *Tiruvāymoli*, but only once in Tirumaṅgai's poems (*Periya-tirumadal*, 92). Incidentally one other peculiarity may be noted. The negative form of verb *nillā* takes in the future tense, *nillāppai*, in the second person singular and similar

This is made more than probable by another consideration. A rare proverb occurs both in Māṇikka-vāśagar's *Tiruvāśagam* (91) and in Nammālvār's *Tiruviruttam* (94), and the mode of citation in the latter poem makes it highly probable that this poem has taken it from somewhere else. It may be noted that there are very many similarities between the *Tiruvāymoli* and the *Tiruvāśagam*.[103] Even the names are highly suggestive both being identical in sense. *Tiruviruttam* corresponds to *Tirukkovaiyār*. Rare expressions like 'val-mutal' occur in both. *Kil*, originally an infix added to verbal roots and to infinitive forms of verbs to denote ability, was later used by some poets as an independent verbal root with finite forms of its own. Such finite forms are found both in *Tiruvāśagam* and *Tiruvāymoli*.[104] Tirumaṅgai uses a very rare form, *kiṛkinṛilen*.[105] Finally pārallels in sentiments and ideas are found in plenty. Hence we would be perfectly justified if we place Nammālvar a little later than Maṇikka-vāśagar, that is, later than A.D. 875.

In an inscription at Ukkal, of the 13th year of Rājarāja the Great (i.e. A.D. 998), the deity of the place is called Tiruvāymolideva and another inscription of the same king (16th year i.e., A.D. 1001) at Vijayanārāyaṇam refers to the temple of Śathakopa-viṇṇagara-perumānaḍi in the village.[106] *Tiruvāymoli* is the name of the most important of Nammālvar's poems and Śaṭhakopa is a surname of the Ālvār himself. Allowing even a century for the fame of this Ālvār to spread and for his pre-eminent position among the Ālvārs to be recognised, the last quarter of the ninth century would be the most probable date for this Ālvār.

The spiritual wisdom enshrined in the poems of this greatest of the Ālvārs has rightly earned for him an exalted position similar to that of Māṇikka-vāsagar. It has called forth several commentaries, the most elaborate and famous of them being the 'Īḍu' of Periyavāchchān Pillai. Successive generations of scholars and specialists in the Vaishnavaite lore engaged themselves in writing out the expositions as they heard them from their spiritual masters. But the

forms are used in a many as four places, of course, the personal termination changing to accord with the person and the number. *Periya-tiruvandādi* 23, 60, 83. See M. Raghava Iyengar's *Ārāychchit-tokudi*, pp. 304-308.

103 Vāl-mudal, *Tiruvāś*. 143, 144 = *Tiruvāy*. II, 3, 5; pollāmhi Tiruvāś; 438 Vis *Tiruvāy* V, 1, 2.

104 *Tiruvāś*. 37, 45 = *Tiruvāy* III, 2, 6.

105 *Periya-tirumoli* I, 9, 5.

106 K. A. N. Sastri, *The Colas*. I, pp. 493, 499.

credit of laying the foundation of this stupendous structure goes to Śrī Nāthamuni who was the first of the Āchāryas. He collected all the poems included in the *Nālāyira-Prabandham*, classified them, and set them to tunes with the help of his two nephews. In this he did a service similar to that of Nambi Āṇḍār Nambi of the Śaiva faith. The parallelism does not end here.

5. SECULAR LITERATURE: MINOR PRABANDHAS

Though the Bhakti cult was the main force which directed the current of literary activities in this period, there were other and more ancient forces which could not be entirely suppressed. The latter help to relieve the monotony and give us a glimpse of the political life in the country. We learn, for instance, that, even during the first onset of religious enthusiasm, Neḍumāṛan, the Pāṇḍya contemporary of Sambandar was glorified in a poetic composition, known now as *Pāṇḍik-kovai*. This name is found in the commentaries of *Kalaviyar-Kārigai* and *Ilakkaṇavilakkam* a late grammatical work of the seventeenth century. The *Pāṇḍik-kovāi* as a whole has been lost, though a substantial portion of it (as many as 353 stanzas) is found embodied in the commentaries on *Iṛaiyanār Ahapporul* and *Kalaviyar-Kārigai* (ed. 1931). About twenty battle-fields are mentioned in the poem and one may legitimately doubt whether the engagements in all these relate to one and the same king. It may be noted that some of the battle-fields such as Nelveli, Śennilam etc., are referred to in the Velvikuḍi grant and the Śinnamanūr plates. Some of the titles of the hero or heroes of the poem are Arikeśari, Parāṅkuśan, Adiśayan, Ranāntakan, Ranodayan, Uchitan, Śembiyan Māṛan, Neḍumāṛan, Pūliyan, Mummadil Vendan, Vānavan Śembiyan, Vānavan Māran, Varodayan, Vichāritan, and Vijaya-charitan. Perhaps the work is a *Kovai prabhanda* on some of the early Pāṇḍyas of the 'Hymnal period'. The date of the work may be about A.D. 700. There were other Kovais also, such as the *Muttaraiyar Kovai* (*Yap.* Comm. p. 510) composed a little later.

The lengthy and highly schematic form of the Kovai must have palled on the ears of the Tamils. Its unrelieved metrical monotony must have been wearisome to the utmost. Hence a new type of poem, *Kalambagam*, came into vogue. It admitted variety both in metre and in substance. *Nandikkalambagam* is one of the earliest of this kind. The edition of the work published by the Madura Tamil Śangam contains many interpolated stanzas and its editor has taken care to note this fact. Perhaps the original work contained only ninety stanzas in accordance with the rules of Pāṭṭiyal. The

hero of the poem was Nandipottaraiyan (Nandi Varman III) of Pallava dynasty, the victor of Tellāṛu. Since this Nandi ruled from A.D. 826 to 849, the Kalambagam would have to be assigned to the first half of the ninth century. *Tirukkalambagam,* a Jaina work by Udīchi-devar belongs perhaps to the same century.

The above types of *prabandhas* contained matter which was not quite germane to the object of the poem. By virtue of necessity they had to deal with several extraneous matters. The kings whom the poems tried to please were too busy with state-affairs and all that they required was plain unvarnished statements of their exploits, of course flattering to them and to the memory of their ancestors. To serve this purpose Meykkīrtti (*praśasti*) compositions came into vogue, and they began to be inscribed on stones and copper-plates. The Pāṭṭiyal works like *Pannirupāṭṭiyal* describe their characteristics. Perhaps the earliest of such inscriptions belongs to the reign of the Chola king Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-55).

Besides the works mentioned above there were other types of *prabandhas* also, described in the Pāṭṭiyal works. Pillai Tamil, Andādi, etc. may be specially noted.

Another work of great poetic merit, the *Muttollāyiram* must also be ascribed to the last quarter of the ninth century. A reference in the commentary of *Ilakkaṇa-vilakkam* (pāṭṭiyal s. 88) says that this work consists of less than a thousand stanzas; and so the number of stanzas in this work was 900 and not 2700 as generally believed. Most probably each of the Tamil kings, Chera, Chola and Pāṇḍya was sung in 300 stanzas. Perāśiriyar mentions this as a *virundu* (Śeyyul 239) and the same commentator says that several stanzas of the work relate to *kaikkilai* or one-sided love. The work consisted mostly of veṇbā quatrains; but some stanzas contained as many as six lines. Some of the most exquisite love lyrics in Tamil are found in his classic and the *Puṟattiraṭṭu* contains 65 stanzas of this kind, besides 44 stanzas treating of other themes such as the three capital cities, the territory of the enemies, battle-field etc.[106a] The author was a Śaivaite; but nothing else is known of him. Some scholars (e.g., M. Raghava Iyengar) are of opinion that the iddustrative stanzes of *Purapporul-Veṇbāmālai* may have belonged to *Muttollāyiram.* The Palamoli stanzes are freely drawn upon by its author.[106b]

6. SECULAR LITERATURE: KĀVYAS

The absolutely secular nature which characterised the literature of the Saṅgam Age began to assume, as we saw, an ethical aspect

106a Purat 1464, 1465.
106b Purat 1506.

with the appearance of the great *Kural*. People were struck with admiration for the ideals set before them; but something more was needed to catch their imagination. National epics supplied this need. Tha *Mahābhāratam* and *Rāmayaṇam* were first popularised in the Tamil country by translations, and the followers of the Vedic religion were satisfied by such efforts for a time. The Jains tried to gain the allegiance of the people by writing stories about royal personages who figured largely in the history of their religion and culture and about their saints and other great men. Being literary craftsmen of a higher type, they produced works of great literary importance in Tamil. We shall consider these works now.

The Jains first directed their efforts to adapting in Tamil famous works in Sanskrit which were very widely read and appreciated. The *Bṛihatkathā* drew their attention. Indian literary tradition attributes this work to Guṇāḍhya who, it is said, wrote it in Paiśāchī language. It is not extant now. But it was perhaps first translated into Sanskrit by the Gaṅga king Durvinīta, a Jain, towards the end of the sixth century A.D., though some scholars doubt this.[107] The Tamil version known as *Peruṅgadai* is the work of a certain Koṅguvel and most probably it followed the Sanskrit version. In Guṇāḍhya's work, Naravāhana-datta is the hero; but in the Tamil *Peruṅgadai*, Udayana is the hero. It has adopted the *Kural* couplets in a few places;[108] and *Nāladiyār* stanzas in others.[109] It uses 'nān' for the first person singular, *kinṛu*, *ippaḍi*,[110] the adverbial form and the vocative suffixé in *uyartiṇai*,[111] all late developments. Since *Nālaḍi* was collected somewhere about A.D. 700 Koṅguvel's work could hardly be earlier than A.D. 750. The linguistic peculiarities noted above support this date.

The *Peruṅgadai* is composed in Ahaval metre, the nearest equivalent being the well known blank verse in English. We may guess that it consists of about 150 sections or *gāthas*, each section ending in 'en' and following the *antādi* order. It is a pity that only a fragment of this great work has survived. This fragment consists of five Kāṇḍas, but several sections of the last are missing. About 100 sections or *gāthas* are available. Virtually the whole of Udayana's story is covered and the narration goes up to Naravāhanadatta's marriage with Madana-mañjikai and the separation of the latter. How effectively and delightfully the *ahaval* metre can be employed

107 Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 268, fn. 2.
108 V. 7, 148-9=*Kural* 783; I. 35, 234-4=*Kuṛal* 969.
109 I. 35, 156-8=*Nāladi* 370; II, 7, 74-5=*Nālaḍi* 384.
110 III, 14, 251; 27, 116.
111 IV, 7, 70. I, 36, 150.

in narration is well illustrated by this work. The monotony is relieved by various devices, and our interest in the story never slackens. The author has great poetic powers and his command of language is far above that of any other poet known till then. The sweet diction, the liquidness of his style and the magnificent flow which is sustained throughout place him in the front rank among Tamil poets.

Like *Peruṅgadai,* another work also was written with *Bṛihatkathā* as its basis. This was *Vāsudevanār-śindam* mentioned in the commentary on *Yāpparuṅgalam* (p. 350). It was a Jaina work, and there is a Prākṛit work *Vāsudeva-hiṇḍī* by name which deals with the story of Guṇāḍhya's reputed work.[112]

The Buddhists also did not lag behind the Jains in writing narrative poems in Tamil. But they concerned themselves with the life of the Buddha and with the Buddhist legends. There was a *Vimbasāra Kathā* from which a few lines are cited in the commentary of *Nīlakeśi,* a late Jain work. Bimbisāra (543-491 B.C.) was a king of Magadha and contemporary of Gautama Buddha. The lines cited refer to the birth of Buddha. Nothing else is known.

7. SILAPPADIKĀRAM AND MAṆIMEKALAI

These works deal with romantic tales and historical incidents which were of North Indian origin. Soon following them, efforts were made to utilise stories and incidents of the Tamil Land for composing Kānyas. Probably *Śilappadikāram* was the first among them. Kaṇṇagi, the heroine of the poem was married to Kovalan, both belonging to a rich merchant class of Kāverippūmpaṭṭinam in the Chola country But soon Kovalan deserted his wife in favour of Mādhavi who was like Vasantasenā of *Mṛichchhakaṭika,* a virtuous courtesan of the city. He spent all his wealth on his mistress and being reduced to poverty came home to his wife in a repentant attitude. Both the husband and the loyal wife left for Madurai in the Pāṇḍya country, there to retrieve their fortune. Leaving his wife under the protection of Mādari, a shepherdess, in the outskirts of Madurai, Kovalan went into the city for selling one of his wife's anklets (*śilambu*). The goldsmith of the royal household to whom the queen's pearl-anklet had been entrusted for repair met Kovalan and, with the intention of appropriating the royal ornament in his custody, accused Kovalan of theft. The king, without investigation, ordered capital punishment, and Kovalan was unjustly killed. Having come to know of this, Kaṇṇagi went into the royal presence, accused the king of injustice,

112 K. M. Munshi: *Gujarat and its Literature* p. 23; also *PEN,* April, 1949.

and proved the innocence of her husband by breaking her anklet of rubies and showing its contents. The king died brokenhearted at the enormity of his injustice, and the queen also followed her lord. Kaṇṇagi's rage was not appeased. She tore off her breast, flung it at the city of Madurai, and the city was destroyed in flames. Then she left the city for Śeṇgunṛūr in the Chera country. The king of this country heard of her presence and of her going to heaven with her husband from his tribesmen named poet Sattanār who happened to be there in the company of Ilaṅgo, the king's younger brother, proclaimed himself an eye-witness of Kaṇṇagi's deeds, narrated all the details and wound up saying that everything was the result of Karma. Requested to explain himself, the poet gave the history of the persons in their past birth, as revealed to the heroine by the guardian-deity of Madurai and heard by himself while resting at night in the Vellivambalam. King Cheran Śeṅguṭṭuvan on hearing the story desired to perpetuate the memory of Kaṇṇagi. With this object in view, he went north to the Himalayas, defeating on his way several Aryan kings, brought a stone consecrating it by bathing it in the waters of the Ganges, sculptured an idol of Kaṇṇagi, finished the shrine and inaugurated Kaṇṇagi worship in the land. At the worship, several kings were present—the Aryan kings brought captive from the northern expedition and now released, kings already in prison, Koṅgu princes of the west, Mālava kings, and king Gajabāhu of the sea-girt Ceylon. These kings prayed that Kaṇṇagi might be pleased to grace their celebrations of her with her presence. She granted the prayer in an aerial voice. Then Seṅguṭṭuvan sat in state in a decorated pavilion, with his brother, the poet. The divine Kaṇṇagi entered the spirit of her brahmin friend Devantikai and explained the reason why the poet had turned an ascetic. In the end the poet exhorts all those who heard his narration to lead a virtuous life in this world and secure what would be a help in the world to come.

The poem consists of three Kāṇḍas, viz., puhārk-kāṇḍam, Maduraik-kāṇḍam and Vanjik-kāndam. The first two *kāṇḍas* deal with the life of Kaṇṇagi in her mundane existence and the last, with her as a deity in a shrine.

We may also state here that Kovalan had a daughter named Maṇimekalai by his courtesan-wife Mādhavi. Her life-history as a Buddhist nun is narrated by Śāttanār, the companion of Ilaṅgo, in a separate *kāvya*, well known as the *Maṇimekalai*. This poet was first asked to enshrine the life-history of Kaṇṇagi in a narrative poem: but he excused himself and said that Ilaṅgo was better fitted for the task. Accordingly Ilaṇgo composed the poem and named it 'Śliappadi-

kāram' after the 'śilambu' which establishes the justice of Kaṇṇagi's case. The two narrative poems, *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai* are by some called the 'twin epics', though they do not exhibit any of the characteristics of epic poetry.

Śeṅguṭṭuvan was a king of renown in the Śaṅgam period and his exploits form the subject-matter of the 5th decad of *Padiṟṟuppattu* and of two other stanzas one in Aham (212) and another in Puṟam (369) all by Paraṇar. Ilaṅgo does not occur among Śaṅgam poets, but 'Sāttanār' does. Gajabāhu of Ceylon is also a well known king and more than that, he furnishes a clue as to the date of Śeṅguṭṭuvan and of the Śaṅgam period in general. Basing his conclusions on this synchronism, Kanakasabhai fixed the Śaṅgam Age as the second century A.D. and actually drew a picture of the Tamil civilization and culture during the Śaṅgam Age in his book *The Tamils 1800 years Ago*. Seeing the many historical difficulties in accepting this position, M. Raghava Aiyangar brings the Śaṅgam age itself down to the fifth century A.D.[112a]

The most important fact we must bear in mind is that *Śilappadikāram* is essentially a story. It is not a history treating of actual events. Most of the chapters of the work are called 'Kādai' by the author and the commentaries explain this term as meaning 'that which contains a story or *kathā*. The story has been till within recent times developing, gathering and adding new materials to itself to suit the varied tastes and fashions of the Tamils at different periods. A popular ballad *Kovalan Kadai* even now read or recited with great relish in rural parts, contains many elements not found in *Śilappadikāram*. In this Kāvya, a story from even *Pañchatantra* is given and Kovalan is said to have a part in it.[113] Surely this is proof enough of the purely imaginative character of the work. It is full of miraculous elements; a wicked person who pokes fun at Kovalan and Kaṇṇagi and makes indelicate suggestions is cursed by a Jaina nun and he becomes at once a jackal and cries for mercy; the Sun-god prophesies that Madurai would be consumed by fire; Kovalan after his death revives at the touch of Kaṇṇagi and speaks to her. Such things clearly show that the poet does not distinguish between fact, fiction, marvel and miracle. Supernaturalism was the very atmosphere in which he lived, and his religion which was Jainism brought him up in that element. We must need be extremely cautious in drawing any historical conclusion from any statement of his. We must seek corroboration from a reliable source for everything that has the seeming appearance

112a *Seṅguṭṭavan*, first edition.
113 Ch. 15, ll. 54-74.

of a historical fact. Fortunately we have a trustworthy work which ought to satisfy us in this respect. It is the *Padiṟṟuppattu* whose decads are contemporaneous with the kings they celebrate. The *Maṇimekalai* which is contemporaneous with *Śilappadikāram* itself is helpful in a different way.

Let us consider some of the main statements which have a historical verisimilitude. It is said that Ilaṅgo the author of the *Śilappadikāram* was the young broher of Cheran Śeṅguṭṭuvan. Not even the *Maṇimekalai* corroborates this statement. *Padiṟṟuppattu,* as we have seen,[114] does not also support this, and differs in many other ways from the narrative of the *Ślappadikāram.* The most important statement from a historical standpoint, that Gajabāhu of Ceylon was present at Śeṅguṭṭuvan's court, stands singularly uncorroborated. *Śilappadikāram* itself contradicts this in its Uraiperu-Kaṭṭurai. The 5th decad of *Padiṟṟuppattu* does not say anything either of Ceylon or of Gajabāhu. In fact no reference at all to Ceylon and its kings occurs in the whole of *Padiṟṟuppattu.* The *Maṇimekalai* also, though it mentions Śeṅguṭṭuvan and his consecration of Kaṇṇagi's temple at his capital, is silent about Gajabāhu. Finally the *Mahāvaṁśa* does not say anything either about this king's attendance during the consecrating ceremony at the Chera capital or about his introducing the Kaṇṇagi worship in his own country.[115] Paraṇar who is the author of 65 poems besides the decad on Śeṅguṭṭuvan in *Padiṟṟuppattu* and who is one of the most allusive of Śaṅgam poets, has in all these 55 poems, not a word to say about Śeṅguṭṭuvan instaling Kaṇṇagi as deity or about Ilaṅgo being Śeṅguṭṭuvan's bother or about Gajabāhu.

If Ilaṅgo's relationship with Śeṅguṭṭuvan were true, it would mean that he was a poet of the early Śaṅgam period. He has not contributed even a single stanza to any of the existing authologies of the period. He does not show personal acquaintance with any poet except Sāttanār, nor do the other poets of the period know even of the existence of such a poet as Ilaṅgo. The author of the *Maṇimekalai* was no doubt a Sāttanār. But he was not the same as the Śaṅgam poet Śīttalai-sāttanār. The latter lived during the time of Chittiramāḍattut-tuñjiya Nanmāṟan and has sung about him (*Puṟam* 59). The Śāttanār of *Maṇimekalai* was a contemporary of Araśu-kaṭṭilil-tuñjiya Neḍuñjeliyan, for it was this king who, according to *Śilappadikāram* ordered the execution of Kovalan. No poet of the Śaṅgam

114 *Ante,* Vol. II, Ch. 16 where this and other discrepancies have been discussed.

115 It is only *Rājāvali,* a late chronicle of the sixteenth century, that connects Kaṇṇagi worship with Gajabāhu and this is not of any historical value and cannot be relied on.

period has sung about this Neḍuñjeliyan, and he is most probably a fictitious person. Śāttanār of the *Maṇimekalai* was a deeply religious Buddhist, and secular poetry could not have attracted him. On the other hand Sīttalai-sāttanār was the author of ten secular poems, nine on love and one on Nanmāṛan already referred to.[116] Neither in the *Śilappadikāram* nor in the *Maṇimekalai* is found the adjunct 'Śīttalai' which is crucial. The diction and style of the two poets are so entirely different that it is impossible that they could be identical.[117] The whole course of the development of the Tamil language is against such identification. To hold, on this basis, that Ilaṅgo was a Śaṅgam poet is absolutely unsustainable.

We may now consider the chief characters of the poem, Kovalan and Kaṇṇagi. In the *Maṇimekalai* which is according to the commentator Aḍiyārkkunallāar, earlier than the *Śilappadikāram,* it is said that Kovalan was ninth in descent from his ancestor, another Kovalan, and that this ancestor was a friend of Imaiyavaramban Neḍuñjeralādan.[118] From *Padiṟṟuppattu* we know that the Cheralādan was the father of Śeṅguṭṭuvan. If the former statement were correct, then it would follow that Kovalan, Kaṇṇagi's husband, was removed from Śenguṭṭuvan by eight generations. In another context *Maṇimekalai* makes Kovalan and Kaṇṇagi anterior even to the Buddha by several generations.[119] Kaṇṇagi as deity informs Maṇimekalai that to expiate her sin of destroying Madurai, she and Kovalan would be undergoing births and deaths for generations together in this world[120] and at long last they would hear the dhārmic word from the mouth of the Buddha himself and then they would get the final release. These statements show clearly that Kaṇṇagi and Kovalan are not historical figures.

The fictitious nature of these characters is apparent also from another reference in *Naṟṟiṇai* (216). The passage is obscure; but there is in it a clear reference to Tirumāvuṇṇi who tore off one of her breasts.We might well doubt if it is a reference to Kaṇṇagi; but if it is her story it is more ancient than the Śaṅgam period and must have differed materially from the *Śilappadikāram* version. We hear in the Buddhist *Divyāvadāna* and *Jātakamālā* stories in which tear-

116 *Aham,* 53, 134, 229, 306, 320; *Kuṛun;* 154; *Naṟṟinai,* 36, 127, 339; *Puram,* 59.

117 Even words like *aṇḍa* (27, 85), *inḍu* (22, 155), *appaḍi* (29, 400) *ippaḍi* (29, 469); tense infixes like *kiṟu* (29, 125), *kinṟu* (29, 294) and *āninṛu* (29, 205) occur in the *Maṇimekalai.*

118 XXVIII, 103, 123.

119 XXVIII, 141-46.

120 Such stories of births, deaths and final release occur frequently in Buddhist literature. Winternitz, *HIL,* II, p. 161.

ing off of breasts occur.[121] And we might easily infer that the story was originally of Buddhist origin. Sāttanār has given us the Buddhist version of the sequel to Kaṇṇagi's story; but it was Ilaṅgo-aḍigal who with his genius turned this a story of remarkable power and beauty, tense with dramatic situations. He adds Jain and Hindu elements to the original story, and he shows equal reverence to the Buddha and his religion. It is idle to expect historicity in tales like the *Maṇimekalai* and the *Śilappadikāram* where witchcraft; and birth-stories relating the action of Karma in determining present life abound; gods and minor spirits mingle freely in ordinary life, curses take effect immediately and transform people into all sorts of animals, and spirits of dead people visit men and women in ordinary life and relate to them events long past and predict the future. In such tales, the love of the marvellous is fully satisfied by tales of adventures at sea with shipwrecks and strange rescues, of wanderings on land to strange places like camphor-land, and of travelling through air by means of *mantras*. But regard for reality has never been the aim of these authors.

So much about the historicity of the personages and events referred to in the two narrative poems. We shall now consider their date. As already noted, the *Śilappadikāram* was the later of the two. It is not a work of the Śaṅgam Age. Nowhere in the whole of the Śaṅgam literature is anything mentioned about the Pattini worship, i.e., the worship of Kaṇṇagi as a deity, which was unknown in ancient Tamil country. In canto XXI, when the Pāṇḍya king and his consort fell down in a swoon, Kaṇṇagi praising the country of her birth, as having produced women of exemplary virtue, makes a vow that, if she is in truth a chaste wife, she would destroy the city of Madurai along with its king. In quick angry tones, she enumerates six of the above paragons of virtue and none of them is known to Śaṅgam literature.[122] A few countries like Karṇāṭaka and Bengal (XXV, 156-7) which were known to the Tamils of the Śaṅgam period are mentioned. Some sacred places like Śrīraṅga and Veṅgaḍam are mentioned in *Śilappadikāram* (XI, 35-51) and these attained religious importance only in later times. Śaṅgam literature knows Veṅgaḍam only as the hill which bounded the Tamil country on the north and no religious importance was attached to it in ancient times. Religion

121 Winternitz, *HIL*, II, p 290.

122 The eminent scholar who edited this work has in a footnote identified Karikāl Vaavan-magal with Ādimandi and Vañjikkon with Āṭṭan Atti (canto XXI, 1, 11), There is no justification for this. Ādimandi's story occurs in Paraṇar's poems (*Aham*, 45, 76, 222, 236, 376 and 396) and *Kuṟundogai* (31) is by Ādimandi herself. Both are dancers.

also has advanced a great deal in the twin Kāvyas from what we find in the Śaṅgam literature. For instance, the *pañchākshara* and the *ashṭākshara* and the ninety-six kinds of Pāshaṇḍas are referred to in *Śilappadikāram*. Kāvirippupaṭṭinam is described in *Paṭṭinap-palai*, a Śaṅgam work as wel as in the Kāvyas. The latter description shows great development in the city. The name Kāviri itself, has during the time of *Śilappadiākram* gegun to be pronounced Kāveri, and a puranic derivation making the river the daughter of the sage Kavera has been found for it in the *Maṇimekalai* (III, 55-6); so also the *paṭṭinam* has acquired a new name Kākandi on the basis of a puranic story (XXII, 32-8). As already noted, the birth-stories of several people which abound in both the Kāvyas clearly indicate a later date than the Śaṅgam period where this feature is entirely absent. The social life and habits as portrayed in these works point to a later age. For instance compare Kaṇṇagi's marriage with the marriage described in *Aham* 86, 136, and 221.[123] The references to *Kūttachchakkiyar*,[124] and to *talaikkol*[125] show a later stage than the simple dancing of *kūttar* and *viṛalis* of the Śaṅgam period. The many passages of Śaṅgam works which have found place in *Śillappadi-kāram* show no doubt the vast scholarship of Ilaṅgo, but at the same time show also that he was definitely a later poet.[126]

Linguistic evidence also supports a later date. A number of words that became current in the language about eighth century and later are found in *Śilappadikāram*.[127]

The metrical verieties that we meet within the *Śilappadikāram* are a further proof of the lateness of the work. Such varieties are not found in the Śaṅgam classics. The development of *varippāṭṭu* in all

123 'Marriage in ancient Tamil-agam': *Dinamaṇi Kadir*, dated 3. 8. 1950.

124 *Silap*, XXVIII, 77.

125 III, 120.

126 See also *Kāvya Period in Tamil Literature*.

127 A few instances may be noted. *Śilai* (Canto 16, 1, 147 = *Nāladi* 377). *ammami* (29.5), *māmi* (29, 9), *nāttūṇ* (16. To 19.) *tambi* (c. 17 paḍakkai- pparaval; 1); *kaḍai* in the sense of shop (6, l. 139). Here are a few word forms that came into use slightly earlier; *nān* (c. 29, Dhanti-śol etc.) *inda* (21, l. 51), *un* (23, 29), *pinnai* (13, 136), *allāl* (14, l. 44), *uṇḍel* (14, 57). The tense infixes like 'kinṟu' (14, 125) are also features that came into use in later times. The frequent use of the expletive 'tān' and 'tām' in their several cases to indicate the inflexion of the main words is also another characteristics of later times. For instances see my *Kavya Period in Tamil Literature*. The use of Sanskrit words and compounds in greater numbers (c. 10. ll. 180-187) and of foreign words like *śuruṅgai* (c. 14, l. 55) may also be specially noted. Of the latter words, which is of Greek origin, Keith observes: 'probably later India borrowed *śuruṅga* from syrinx in the technical sense of an underground passage' *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 25.

its varieties is a unique feature of this *kāvya,* also a sign of its lateness.

Above all, the literary evidences clinch the matter finally and once for all. The whole of the third canto of *Śilappadikāram* is based on *Bharata Nāṭya Śāstram.* A story from the *Pañchatantra* is given in canto XV (ll. 54-74) and the well-known *śloka* beginning with *aparīkshya na kartavyam* is actually indicated. This means that the *kāvya* is later than A.D. 500.[128] Besides these, a number of later works in Sanskrit, though their dates are not definitely ascertained have been made use of or referred to by Ilaṅgo. They are treatises like *Mayamata*[129], *Ratna-parīkshā*[130], a treatise on the art of thieving, on Āyurveda and on dreams and auguries. It may be noted that Apahāravarman of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra-charita* follows the rules laid down by Karṇīsuta. The knowledge of astronomy and astrology which the author of *Śilappadikāram* displays as in canto XXVI (25-26) is noteworthy. He mentions the twelve *rāśis,* the positions of *grihas* and the five elements known as *pañchāṅga.* He also refers (canto XXIII, ll. 133-137) to the eighth *tithi* and *Friday* of the week (*velli-vāram*). This is very important for our purpose, more of this later. The *Maṇimekalai* in its 29th canto follows Diṅnāga's *Nyāya-praveśa* which proves that this *kāvya* as also its companion is later than the fifth century A.D.

Turning now to Tamil works which were utilised by Ilaṅgo, we are able to get a more definite idea about his date. I pass over his indebtedness to *Padirruppattu*[131] and *Tolkāppiyam.*[132] A famous couplet from the *Tirukkuṛal* (55) is found used both in the *Maṇimekalai*[133], and in the *Śilappadikāram.*[134] In the former, the author of the *Kuṛal* is referred to as the poet who never utters (lit. is without) an untruth. *Nānmaṇikkaḍigai* (84) is the source of the first *veṇbā* at the end of canto XX of *Śilappadikāram. Palamoli* (46) is the source of canto XXI, ll. 3-4. These two works are assignable to the latter half of the eighth century.

It is well known that *Udayanan Peruṅgada* is one of the works which Ilaṅgo has utilised in his *Śilappadikāram.* The commentator Aḍiyārkkunallār strongly suggests this in his *uraippāyiram,* and there

128 Keith, *op.cit.,* p. 262.
129 XIV, 97 comm.
130 XIV, 180-200; XVI, 180; V, 44; XV, 106 comm.
131 88 *Śilap.* 28, ll. 135-149.
132 Puṟat. 63, 79—Śilap. 25, ll. 131-45.
133 XXII, ll. 59-61.
134 XXIII, final *veṇbā.*

are several parallel passages in support of this.[135] We have seen that the *Peruṅgadai* was composed about A.D. 750. *Aṛaneṛich-chāram* and *Āchārakkovai* are two other works which have been laid under contribution by Ilaṅgo.[136] These two works as already stated are assignable to the first quarter of the ninth century. Hence *Śilappadikāram* must be assigned to a date later than A.D.825.

The *Maṇimekalai* is the earlier of the two *kāvyas*. Aḍiyarkkunallār specifically mentions this fact at the end of his *uraippāyiram*. In adjuncts of several proper and common names, descriptions in several places, in similes and metaphors, in phrases, in collocation of words and in ideas, there is considerable agreement between the two works.[137] There is no doubt that Ilaṅgo had the text of *Maṇimekalai* in his mind while composing his great work. Now most of the arguments above set forth will apply equally to this Buddhist *kāvya*[138], for which the first quarter of the ninth century may be considered a suitable date. It follows that the *Śilappadikāram* was most probably composed about the middle of the ninth century A.D.

The late L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai gathered together all the astronomical data relating to the time when Kovalan and Kaṇṇagi left Kāvirippūmpaṭṭinam for Madurai and to the time when the city[139] according to prophesy, would have been consumed by fire,[140] and came to the conclusion that A.D. 756 was the one year which would satisfy all the data.[141] Nobody would take the burning of Madurai to be a historical fact. The astronomical conjunction must have been the result of backward calculation either by the poet or somebody who knew astronomy. So all that can be inferred from the astrono-

135 *Perun.* I, 35. 219 = *Śilap.* III, 168, *Peruṅ* I, 36; 266 = *Śilap.* V. 137; *Perun* II. 5, 6 = *Silap.* V, 157.

136 See Aṛa. 59 = Śilap. XI, ll. 156-7; Aṛa. 67 = Śilap. XXVIII, ll. 179-80; *Achā.* 64 = *Śilap.* XXI, 53-4; *Āchā.* 95 = *Śilap.* XVI, I. 13.

137 For instance compare *Maṇimekalai,* canto XXVIII, II. 31.50 with *Śilap.* canto V, ll. 22-48.

138 A few interesting points may be noted. The story of hunger-stricken Viśvāmitra trying to eat dog's flesh, mentioned in Manu is referred to in this Kāvya also. (M. X, 108 = *Maṇi* XI, 84-87). Either Harsha's *Nāgānanda* (7th cent.) or Jātaka No. 543 or *Jātakatthavaṇṇana,* (5th cent. A.D.) seems to be indicated in canto. XI, l. 70. About the indebtedness to Diṅnāga, the famous Buddhist logician, mention has already been made. An incident in Udayan's story is referred to (*Maṇi.* V, 61-6. *Nālaḍi* and *Palamoli* are drawn upon. (*Pala.* 376 = *Maṇi* Xiii, 103; *Pala.* 21 = IV, ll. 107-108. *Nāl.* 285 = *Maṇi.* XI, ll. 76-7; *Nāl.* 153 = *Maṇi* XVIII, 3; Nāl. 315 = *Māṇi.* XX 50.)

139 *Silap,* X, ll. 1-3.

140 *Silap,* XXIII, 133-7.

141 *An Indian Ephemeris,* I, pt. 1, app. iii.

mical result is that *Śilappadikāram* was composed later than A.D. 756. That the author has mentioned a week-day has already been noted. With regard to this, the obscervations of A. B. Keith are relevant: 'We know that, according to Dio Cassius, the calendrical use of the names of the planets was regular in his time and in 321, Constantine gave the seven days' week its definite sanction by appointing Sunday as a day of rest... It is supported to some extent by the fact that the first case of the use of a name of this kind in an inscription is in A.D. 484, after which it is still rare down to A.D. 800.'[142] This shows that the date we have arrived at is quite in consonance with our knowledge of the calendar as it was in the ninth century A.D.

There are two references in *Śilappadikāram* which are of special interest in this connection. One is Toṇḍi[143] and the other is Paṅgalar.[144] Toṇḍi is said to be a port in the east and the kings of Chola branch of this place are said to have brought to Kūḍal, the Pāṇḍya capital, large quantities of *agil,* silk, sandalwood, spices like musk (*kastūri*) and camphor (*karpūra*) as tributes in flotillas wafted ashore by the wind blowing from the east. This could not be the Toṇḍi of the Cheras on the west coast, nor could it be the Toṇḍi of the Pāṇḍyas in the east coast near Ramnad. If we may rely upon the statement of the poet as explained by the commentator, the reference must be to a Chola settlement in the Far East, and over this settlement the Pāṇḍyas had perhaps some sort of suzerainty. There was some connection between the Pāṇḍyas and the Śailendras in the eighth century A.D.[145] This also supports the date we have indicated above. As regards Paṅgalar, which means the people or the kings of Bengal, we may at once say that it is a late name. The ancient names of the country is Vaṅga. It is said to have derived its name from a prince of the *Mahābhārata* to whose portion it fell on the partition of Bhāratavarsha among the prnices of the Lunar race. But a city called Bangala, near Chittagong, which is now washed away, appears to have given the name Bangala. This word, according to *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (s. v. Bengal), was first used by the Mussalmans.[145a] The earliest use of 'Pangala' in Tamil appears in a Tamil inscription the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of Rājendra Chola (A.D. 1012-44)

142 *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 531.

143 XIV, ll. 106-112.

144 XXV, l. 157.

145 K. A. N. Sastri, *History of Śrī Vijaya*, p. 47.

145a This is wrong. The earliest mention of *Vaṅgāla* is found in the Nesārikā Grant of A.D. 805 of the Rashṭrakūta king Govinda III (794 = 814), see *EI*, XXXIV, pp. 123-40. For a discussion on *Vaṅgāla*, see *HBR*, pp. 18-19 *HABM*, pp. 1012 and my ***Itihā O Saṁkriti*** **(in Bengali), Calcutta, 1977, pp. 172, pp. 172-174. KKDG.**

Perhaps this late name found its first entry in Tamil about two centuries before. In *Yaśastilaka Champū*,[146] which was written in A.D. 959, the name Vangāla occurs, and this is perhaps the earliest reference to the country in classical Sanskrit literature. The name could not have come into vogue much earlier than this date.[147]

It remains now only to note the importance of this great classic in the history of Tamil poetry. This is the earliest extant work to employ *varip-pāṭṭu* in its composition. The nature of this stanza must be carefully distinguished from the hymnal stanzas of Nāyanārs and Ālvārs. The former might have for its subject-matter either a god or human being; it would generally consist of triatic quatrains eminently suitable for being sung to the accompaniment of *vīṇā* or other musical instrument and its emotional content would often require repetition of the second line. A special favourite of the Jains, it must have been a development from the hymnal pieces, eschewing monotony both in content and form. Elaborate treatises existed, on this *varip-pāṭṭu,* and though it disappeared with the decline of Jain literature, its musical quality continued to pervade the *viruttam* metre which came into use about the time of the *Śilappadikāram.* Another new feature which the *Śilappadikāram* introduced and which unfortunately was not followed up in the Kāvyas of later times was the metrical variations to suit the ideas and situations portrayed. Take the very first canto (Mangala-vālttup-pāḍal) of the work. The variety and the artistic finish of the stanzas and the verses have set a very high standard for the poetic art. A third feature which is noteworthy is the mixed prose and verse found in several cantos, each supplementing the other. No earlier instance of this kind of composition is met with in Tamil literature, though Tolkāppiyar refers to this type.[148] About this type, Winternitz observes that 'it was ever a favourite method in ancient India to enliven narrative prose by verses and to introduce or to garb narrative verses by explanatory prose passages.'[149] The Buddhistic Jātaka tales among others adopted this type, and the *Śilappadikāram* also followed this ancient practice. A fourth feature which characterises the *Śilappadikāram* is the dramatic presentation of the story sustained by dialogues of extraordinary quality. The author's genius is quite apparent here and it is only in Kamban that we again meet with a genius of surpassing merits. Yet another feature which is of special interest is the introduction of foreign matters such as the details of Nātya Śāstra in

146 Book III, p. 431.
147 K. K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian culture,* p. 516.
148 Sevvul-iyal, s. 166.
149 *HIL*, II, p. 118.

canto III into the very texture of the story. Several incidents and situations are merely opportunities for instruction. This feature is found in other literatures also. The Sanskrit romanticists are fond of displaying their specialistic knnowledge of this kind. Though Ilaṅgovaḍigal is open to a similar charge, we have reason to be grateful to him for imparting to us some knowledge of the twin arts, music and dancing of the ancient days.

The *Maṇimekalai* from one point of view is of greater importance than the *Śilappadikāram,* for it is the only Buddhist *kāvya* extant in Tamil literature. In this also, as in *Śilappadikāram,* there are thirty *gāthas* or sections. But the story which concerns the different lives of almost all the characters in it is too complicated to be summarised briefly. It is said that Maṇimekalai would, after several male births, ultimately become the first among the disciples of the Buddha and attain *nirvāṇa* (XXI, 175-79). From this we may infer that the story must be traced to an *avadāna* about the past births of either Sāriputta or Moggalāna, the chief disciples of the Buddha.

From a study of the chronology of the Sanskrit sources to which the *Maṇimekalai* is indebted, we may gather that this Buddhistic *kāvya* could not have been written earlier than the seventh century A.D. But the citations from the early Tamil works clearly indicate that this classic could have come into existence only about the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.

As already noted, a number of works ending in '*eṇ*' like the *Maṇimekalai* were composed about the same time. We have lost most of them; but the name of one of them, the *Kalyānakathai*[150] is interesting, and reminds one of *Mananūl* which is another name of the well known Tamil classic *Jīvakachintāmaṇi. Yāpparuṅgalam* mentions also another work *Amirtapati* (or *Amirtamati*) which might be ascribed to about the same date. It dealt with the story of Amirtamati occurring in *Yaśastilakachampū.*[151]

We have seen that *Śilappadikāram* was based upon the fifth section of *Padirruppattu.* Another section of the same historical work, the eighth, was made the basis of another classic, the *Tagaḍūr-Yāttirai,* which is now lost. It is referred to as a *toḍar-nilaich-cheyyul* by Nachchinārkkiniyar,[152] and hence there is no doubt it is a *kāvya.* The work is also mentioned as an illustration of *tonmai* by Perāśirivar. Ancient classics like *Puṛanāṇūṛu* and *Ahanāṇūṛu* were utilised in the preparation of this work. Kīlk-kaṇakku works like *Nālaḍiyār* were also

150 *Yāpparuṅgalam,* s. 74, p. 262.
151 Yāp. 487, *Kalaik-kadir,* special issue, 1950, pp. 38-43.
152 *Purattiṇai* 17, comm.

laid under contribution.[152a] *Chintāmaṇi* has borrowed ideas and phrases from this work.[152b] Hence this may be assigned to the latter half of the ninth century. It is said that this is like Champū, a work of mixed prose and verse, the prose section predominating.[153] It also contained a large admixture of foreign words.[153a] All that is left to us of this ancient work (about 44 pieces) is included in the anthology of *Puṛattiraṭṭu*. The author was a follower of Vedic religion[154] and nothing more is known of him.

The work deals with the military expedition of Cheramān against Tagaḍūr (the modern Dharmapurī, Salem district) belonging to Adigamān. Yāttirai is a technical term meaning military expedition. These two kings were cousins[155] and hence the work, like the *Mahābhārata*, is an account of a war between cousins due to land-hunger.

Some Śaṅgam poets such as Ariśil-kilār and Pon-muḍiyar, and Śaṅgam kings such as Adigāmān and Cheramā occur in this work as *dramatis personae*. Ariśil-kilār and Pon-muḍiyār are the court-poet of Cheramān. Perumpakkan, perhaps a translation of Mahā-pārśva, is the commander of Adigamān's army and Neḍum-keralan is the commander of the Cheramān's forces. A pitched fight between these two warriors seems to have caught the imagination of the poet, who describes it with great skill and in elaborate detail. While besieging the city of Tagaḍūr, Neḍum-keralan falls in the battle-field and his mother seeks his body pierced through and through and lying on a bed of arrows. This touching scene is described in very poignant terms.[156]

The beginning of the tenth century saw a renewal of literary activity by the Jains and the *Jīvakachintāmaṇi* may be taken as the first fruit of this activity. This poetic *kāvya* was composed in *viruttam* metre which found its way slowly from Sanskrit prosody. Its author was Tiruttakka Devar who probably lived during the reign of Satvavākya Koṅguṇi Varma Būtagap-perumān-aḍigal (A.D. 908-950).[157]. So Tiruttakka-Devar must have lived in the first half of the tenth century. The Sanskrit sources which Devar used were *Kshatra-*

152a *Puratt.* 227 = Naladi, 307.
152b *Puratt.* 1405 = Chinta, 2286-87.
153 *Tol. Porul.* 485, Pērāśiriyar.
153a *Tol. Porul.* 485, Nach.
154 *Puṛattiraṭṭu,* 19.
155 *Puṛat.* 776.
156 *Puṛat.* 1405. We may be sure that this work was extant about the time of Machchinārkkiniyar. The editors of the last century such as Kalattur Vedagiri Mudaliyar were making claims that they possessed manuscripts of his work and even mentioned it as one of the works under preparation for the press.
157 See Introduction to the Samājam edition of *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*.

chudnmani of Vādībha-simha (ninth century) and *Gadya-chintāmani*, and we find literal translations from them. Lines from earlier classics are also found imbedded in this Tamil work and several stanzas from *Kalavalinārpadu* are borrowed freely. Just as Devar utilised these ancient works, his work, in turn, was utilised by several poets of later times. It is considered a masterpriece, though its construction is defective in many respects.

Jīvaka-Chintāmani is one of the Pañcha-kāvyas, the other four being the *Śilappadikāram*, the *Manimekalai*, the *Valaiyāpati* and the *Kundalakeśi*. The *Valaiyāpati* has, except for a few citations, completely disappeared. Even the story of the poem is not known. A later Purāna in Tamil, *Vaiśiyapurānam*, gives a story purporting to be the theme of the *Valaiyāpati* wherein Kālī is made the supreme goddess. But this is impossible. From its stanzas cited by ancient commentators,[158] we might infer that its author was a Jain. There cannot be any reasonable doubt that this was a Jaina *kāvya*. There are some 66 stanzas from it included in the *Purattirattu*. Two other stanzas are found in the commentary of *Yāppauṅgalam*, and we might surmise that some of the stanzas occurring in the commentary of *Śilappadikāram*[159] belong to this work. The commentary on *Takkayāgapparani* (425) says that the poet (Ottakkūttar) thought highly of *Valaiyāpati* for its poetic beauty. It is interesting to note that this work also like the *Śilappadikāram*, the *Manimekalai* and the *Chintāmani* has incorporated a Kural (345) in one of its stanzas.[160] Being one of the earliest works in *viruttam* metre, it may be justly ascribed to the first half of the tenth century.

The last of the *Pañcha-kāvyas*, the *Kundalakeśi*, is another work not now extant. But its story is preserved in the commentary on *Nīlakeśi* (st. 176). It is also found in the Pāli *Therī-gāthā*, the songs of the Lady Elders. Hence we may be certain that it was a Bauddha *kāvya*. Its authoris Nāthaguptā. The story is as follows:

Kundalakeśi was a Vaiśya maiden. One day while she was playing on the terrace of her mansion, she happened to see a Vaiśya youth, *Kālan*, who under sentence of death was being escorted to the state prison. With this youth, who, though a follower of Buddhism, was a gambler and robber, the maiden fell violently in love. Her father approached the king, influenced him to pardon the youth, and gave his daughter in marriage to him. One day, in one of her love sulks Kundalakeśi charged Kālan with being a thief. This hurt him and he resolved to kill her. With this object in view, he inveigled her to

158 *Silap.* IX, l. 13 com., *Tolkāppiyam;* śeyyul. 148, Nach.
159 VI, ll. 82-108.
160 *Purat.* 422.

visit a mountain with him. As soon as the couple reached the summit of a hill, Kālan disclosed his intention to kill his wife. She in her turn made a secret resolve to put an end to his life first and said to him, 'If I am to be killed let me first circumambulate you and then die'. She was allowed to do so. When she was just behind him while going round, she pushed him over the steep hill. Kālan fell down and died; but being a Buddhist he attained salvation. Kuṇḍalakeśi, stricken with remorse and grief for her departed husband, renounced the world and turned an ascetic. She held disputations with the leading exponents of several religions and established the supreme excellence of Buddhism. She led a devout Buddhistic life and finally attained Moksha.[161]

This *kāvya* is referred to by the commentator of *Vīraśoliyam* as 'Agalakkavi', that is an elaborate poem, and it is also believed to contain many rare words of unknown meaning.[162] From the definition of Agalakkavi or Vistārakavi[163] we might infer that this *kāvya* partook of the nature of the tripartite Tamil—*iyal, iśai* and *nāṭakam*, and that it displayed a knowledge of the several arts. There are 19 stanzas of this work in *Purattiraṭṭu*, besides 25 stanzas in full and about 180 fragments in the commentary of *Nīlakeśi.*

Besides this work of polemics, there were other works of the same nature, which must also be ascribed to the latter half of the tenth century. One of these works is *Nīlakeśī*, a Jain work which takes the stanzas of *Kuṇḍalakeśi* and controverts them in detail. There is a valuable commentary on this work by Samaya-divākara Munivar. The plot of the story is not edifying; but it throws considerable light on the nature of medieval controversies. *Nīlakeśi* is mentioned along with *Añjanakeśi* and *Piṅgalakeśi* in *Yāpparuṅgalam* commentary (p. 40). But of these other works nothing is known and there is absolutely no trace of them anywhere.

The Jains have produced minor *kāvyas* as well. Most of these are very inferior productions and it is very doubtful whether they would be entitled to a place among *kāvyas* of merit. These have been recently clubbed together and styled as Aiṅ-jiru-kappiyam (the five minor *kāvyas*). There is no authority for this grouping. One *kāvya* only deserves to be known and it is *Chūḍāmaṇi*. Its author was Tolāmolit-tevar. The subject-matter of the work has been taken from the Sanskrit *Mahāpurāṇa* which was written in A.D. 897. Hence this

161 The Therīgāthā substitutes Bhadra and Sattuka for Kundalakeśi and Kālan respectively.

162 Alaṅkāram, 4.

163 *Yāp* Com. p. 513, Divākaram (XII, 51).

kāvya must have been composed in the first half of the tenth century. A Sanskrit *śloka* and the Tamil *Rājarājan-ulā* (couplet 186) mentions this work after *Chintāmaṇi;* we may be justified in ascribing this work to A.D. 950. In poetic diction, in felicitous phrasing, in the sweet melliflous flow of verse, this work takes a very high rank among Tamil *kāvyas.*

The Jain authors were well known for their versatility. In addition to literature, they also interested themselves in lexicons and grammars. The earliest *Nighaṇṭu* (lexicon) in Tamil, *Divākaram,* is a Jain work. Forgetting this, Śaivaite scribes and editors have paced Śiva's names at the beginning of the first section in contravention of Jain practice. Its author was Divākarar and as it was composed under the patronage of Śendan,[164] son of Aruvandai and a chieftain of Ambar, it was named 'Śendan Divākaram'.

The work consists of twelve sections, each called a *togudi.* This name reminds one of the Sanskrit term *nighaṇṭu* which means a collection. The first ten sections of *Divākaram* deal with class-vocabularies, that is to say, vocables divided into sections according to subject-matter, such as names of gods and heavenly bodies, of ranks and orders of men and parts of the body, names of birds, beasts, insects, names of plants and trees, names of places, countries, rivers, names of tools, weapons, names of natural products, names of qualities and of actions, and terms connected with sounds and words. The eleventh section deals with homonyms and the twelfth with group-names arranged in arithmetical progresion.

The Ashṭānga-yoga is given in detail and the work betrays a knowledge of Patāñjali's *Yoga-sūtra bhāshya* (*c.* sixth century A.D.)[165] Hence the work was composed later than the sixth century A.D. The Chālukyas and their boar-banner are mentioned in this work. There is a clear reference to Pañchāṅga in astrology and this may imply a date subsequent to the eighth century. The eighteen Purānas and Upa-purānas are enumerated. Lastly the term 'abhava' occurs as a name of the Cholas in general. Hence we may conclude that the work was composed about the tenth century A.D.

The colophons at the end of the 9th and the 10th sections of the *Divākaram* say that the patron Śendan composed an *antādi* on Śiva's consort and sang about the strong bow which destroyed the Rākshasas, the famous bow which routed the enemies in the Mahābhārata battle and the Javelin which killed Dārukāsura. Probably these

164 Puṛam 385 is in praise of a certain Ambar Kilavon Nall-aruvandai. Probably this Aruvandai was an ancestor of Śendan.

165 Macdonnel, *India's Past*, p. 154; Keith, *HSL*, p. 490.

poems formed part of some small *kāvyas,* and if so, the *antādi* and the *kāvyas* must be ascribed to the tenth century A.D. The nature of these works leads us to infer that Śendan was a follower of Hinduism. There was a contemporary poetess, Auvai by name, who composed a panegyric poem on this patron (colophon 3rd section).

The Jains interested themselves in the preparation, not only of *nighaṇṭu,* but also of various works on Tamil Grammar. Some of these works mentioned in *Yāpparuṅgalavirutti* may be ascribed to the tenth century A.D. *Aṇiy-iyal* dealt probably with rhetoric; *Panniru-pāṭṭiyal* and *Pāṭṭiyal marapu* with the characteristics of the several kinds of poems known at the time; *Śeyiṟṟiyam* and *Vilakkattanar-kūttu* with dance and dramaturgy; *Kaṇakkiyal* was perhaps an arithmetical work like *Līlāvati. Śaṅga-yappu* must have ben a work on Tamil prosody. *Purimāṇam* probably treated logic. The variety of subjects noted here gives us an indication of the activity of Jains in this period, in regard to the several departments of knowledge.

Of these works, *Panniru-pāṭṭiyal* is available in full. It is believed to be a joint production of twelve authors; but the authors in the edition now available number more. Some of them bear names familiar to us in the Śaṅgam age. Ffrom a close study of this work, we might gather an idea of the extent of Tamil literature in the tenth century.

The Śaivaite authors were no less active. Gaṇḍarāditya wrote some hymnal pieces of great merit, and he is usually identified with the son of Chola Parāntaka I. There is reason to think that a few grammatical treatises such as *Mayechchurar-yāppu* (ninth century) were also written by them. The Vaishṇavites were engaged in preparing a collection of their sacred hymns. Śrī Nāthamuni is, as we have seen, the accredited anthologist.

The period we have been treating is the longest and most important in the history of Tamil literature. The Śaṅgam works, both the earlier and the later, were collected into anthologies during this period. The influence of the Aryans steadily and rapidly increased in the South till it reached its culmination in the great Bhakti movement between the seventh and the ninth centuries. The hymnal literature was a result of this. The Buddhists and the Jains gave a moral tone to the Tamilian society and literature and inspired them to literary expressions of a diversified character. The didactic works, grammars, *kāvyas,* lexicons and other works were produced in abundance. The Tamil language also grew rich owing to its contact with the Sanskrit language and its literature. Technical terms belonging to several departments of knowledge found entry in our language, and

the complexity of life which was the result of the great religious movements gave rise to new modes of expression. The style became more flexible and resilient and new metres were adopted by poets in their versification. The *Tolkappiyam*, the *Kuṛal*, the *Devāram*, the *Śilappadikāram*, the *Tiruvāśagam* and the *Nālāyiram* were the outstanding productions of the Tamil genius.

Chapter Thirty-One (A)

ART AND ARCHITECTURE NORTHERN INDIA

I. ARCHITECTURE OF NORTHERN INDIA A.D. 320 TO A.D. 985

The Gupta period marks a turning point in the history of Indian architecture. The architectural activities in the earlier period, it has been observed in the previous volume, were mostly concerned with cave excavations and simple erections in wood or brick. Caves continue to be excavated during the period under review and the elaborate cave excavations of the Deccan and the South furnish us with some of the most magnificent examples of this expression, beautiful alike for their rich sculptures and their bold and varied conceptions. Sometimes they are found to have been embellished with fine and elegant paintings. The caves of the period belong to all the three principal religious denominations—Buddhism, Brahmanism and Jainism, and in each group there are a few that may be recognised to be outstanding creations in the history of Indian architecture. With this magnificent series the cave style, which may be regarded as a continuation of the earlier practice and tradition, reaches its utmost fruition leading ultimately to an exhaustion and decline of the tradition. In this respect the period marks the close of a brilliant era in the history of Indian architecture.

On the other hand, our period saw the ushering in of a new epoch which is particularly connected with the growth and development of structural monuments of distinctive forms and styles. The remains of the earlier structural buildings, constructed chiefly of impermanent materials like wood, bamboo, brick, etc., are now too fragmentary in character to be of any real use for a study of the development of the structural types and forms. In the Gupta period a new zeal and sensibility marked every sphere of human activity and pursuit, and architecture took a rational character with the use of dressed stone which, apart from the use of brick, came to be employed in a gradually increasing degree. Our period thus saw the beginning of the structural procedure in right earnest, and the serious application of structural mode and principles put immense

power in the hands of the builders. It is this first definite step toward the technique of building construction and the principles of architectural composition that foreboded immense possibilities. Apart from the use of the structural mode in the architectural forms already established like the stūpa, the chaitya hall or the monastery, this new movement is particularly concerned with the erection of temples for the proper enshrinement of images. Varied experiments were conducted till suitable forms were crystallised. With regard to the growth and development of the monumental temple styles the Gupta period may hence justly be regarded as a creative and formative age, an age portent with tremendous future possibilities.

With the above general observations regarding the main tendencies of the period it will be possible for us to confine our discussion to the monuments of Northern India and trace the history of architecture during the whole period under review. It should be emphasised, however, that for the earlier part, say, up to the eighth century A.D., it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate regionally the march of the architectural movement which retains a more or less all-India character. Moreover, the monuments of the North have suffered most from the successive political avalanches from which the South remained comparatively immune. We shall have to refer frequently hence to the South for the sake of completeness and for a better elucidation of the various points involved in the study of the monuments of Northern India in a historical and stylistic perspective.

CAVES

In the Deccan and the South, up till the eighth century A.D., there is felt a marked persistence of the rock-cut method and some of the finest examples of the rock-cut mode were executed during this period. In Northern India, however, the rock-cut mode does not appear to have been as persistent as in the South. A few caves are known to have been excavated in the North during the period under notice; but they seem to have been localised in certain areas where the mode was in vogue in the earlier times. Moreover, the North-Indian caves, except the Buddhist series at Bagh (Gwalior), do not pretend to be such elaborate and magnificient conceptions as those of the Deccan or the South. They were more in the nature of simple excavations without either the elaborate details of their plan or their rich ornamentation and decorative style.

As those in the South, the caves of Northern India belong also to the three principal religious orders—Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism. The Brahmanical caves appear to have been the earliest. The remains of one such cave, possibly the only instance of a cave shrine in Bengal, may be found at Susunia in the Bankura district of

West Bengal. The cave, according to the inscription, was dedicated to the god Chakrasvāmin (Vishṇu) by Mahārāja Chandravarman, son of Mahārāja Siṁhavarman, Lord of Pushkaraṇā.[1] Pushkaraṇā may be identified with Pokharna, a village with extensive ruins on the river Dāmodara in the Bankura district, and Mahārāja Chandravarman appears to have been a local ruler of South-west Bengal. It is also possible that he was identical with Chandravarman mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudra-gupta along with other king of Āryāvarta who were forcibly uprooted by that monarch. The cave dedicated to the god Chakrasvāmin thus belonged apparently to the fourth century A.D. Only the back wall of the cave containing the inscription now remains and we are not in a position to ascertain the plan or other arrangements of this cave shrine. The technique as well as the practice are new to the locality and the shrine appears to have been nothing more than a rude and primitive cell dug out of the ledge of the rock.

The hill of Udayagiri, near Bhilsa (Bhopal), contains a series of cave shrines, nine in number, partly rock-cut and partly stone-built.[2] There are two inscriptions belonging to the reign of Chandra-gupta II, one being dated in the (Gupta) year 82 corresponding to A.D. 401-02. Evidently all the caves represent one single movement which may hence be dated about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Cave no. I, also known as the 'false cave', represents apparently the earliest of the series. Here we find a natural ledge of the rock converted into a primitive shrine with the addition of a pillared structural portico projecting from the front. The other caves of the series, each consisting of a plain and rectangular sanctum cella, dug out of the rock, preceded by a shallow structural portico with pillars in front, indicate a gradual advance of the design. Partly excavated and partly stone-built, these shrines follow the type and conventions of the contemporary structural temples to be noticed hereafter. In the fundamentals of their plan, in their richly carved doorways of the typical Gupta style, in the design and ornamentation of the pillars of the portico and in their columniation we may recognise the same principles which are noticeable in the structural temples of the age; and in the gradual refinement of the treatment of the various features it is easy to discern signs of an advance of this style in which the two modes—the rock-cut and the structural—have been pleasingly combined. Cave no. IX, locally known as the Amrita

1 *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 317f; XIII, p. 135; *ASR*, 1927-28, p. 188f.
2 *ASC*, X, p. 41f.

Cave, represents perhaps the latest example of the series, not only on account of its spacious dimensions and introduction of new features consequent thereto, but also because of the finished treatment of its decorations. In the entire series the cella of the Amrita Cave is the largest, being 22 feet by 19 feet 4 inches, i.e., nearly twice the size of the others. This increased spaciousness of the cella led to an innovation in the arrangement of the interior as may be seen in the four massive pillars, naturally hewn out of the rock, which are left in the centre of the hall to serve as additional supports for the mass of the rock forming the roof. It is this necessary feature that inaugurates further development of the design and is to be noticed equally in the cave excavations as well as in the structural forms of the subsequent days.

In the Buddhist group mention should be made of the series of caves in the neighbourhood of Bagh in the now-defunct Gwalior state.[3] Situated in the southern slopes of the Vindhyan range on the left bank of the river Wagh or Bagh, a small tributary of the river Narmadā, the caves extend over a frontage of nearly 750 yards. There are no inscriptions in any of these caves to help us to determine the dates of these excavations with a certain amount of exactness and precision. But stylistic considerations of architecture, of sculpture and, above all, of paintings which form a distinctive feature of their embellishment, point to a period between A.D. 500 and 600 as the approximate age of these caves.

There were altogether nine caves in this series, but due to the friable nature of the rock a good many of them are now in an utter state of collapse. The porticos in front of the caves are now all gone and only the bases of the pillars supporting the roofs remain. Of the nine caves, nos. II, III, IV, V and VI are found in a comparatively fair state of preservation to enable us to form some idea regarding their plans and interior arrangements. The earliest in the series appears to be cave no. I, which consists of a single rectangular chamber, 23 feet by 14 feet, with a group of four pillars in the centre of the hall for support of the roof. This component of four central pillars appears to be a characteristic feature of the Bagh caves where the peculiarly friable nature of the rock makes this complement a functional necessity to support the mass of the rock forming the roof. The rock is not such as to sustain a bearing of considerable length and hence some central supports were thought necessary and were provided for by the group of four pillars forming a central square inside the hall. The Amrita Cave at Udayagiri, it is signifi-

3 London, *The Bagh Caves;* India Society.

cant to note, has also this complement of four central pillars provided, no doubt, for the same purpose.

Cave no. II at Bagh represents an elaborate monastic establishment and chapel combined. Locally known as the Pāṇḍavas' cave, it consists of a square monastic hall with ranges of cellas on the three sides, a pillared portico in front and a chaitya chapel preceded by an ante-chamber at the farthest rear end. The face of the portico with the six octagonal pillars has collapsed. Three doorways are provided in the back wall of the portico for access to the monastic hall and two windows in between for admission of light and air. The doorways as well as the windows exhibit a succession of receding reveals, which constitute a characteristic feature of the ornamentation of the openings in all the caves of the series. The monastic hall has twenty pillars ranged along its four sides in front of the cells with an additional complement of four in the centre. The pillars in the centre have tapering round shafts with spiral flutings and end at the top in square blocks under the brackets with sixteen-sided and octagonal bands as transitions. The pillars forming the colonnade in front of the cells are of varying designs. They are all square at the lowest sections with a plain torus moulding at the base. The supper sections are varyingly treated, some octagonal and sixteen-sided, others dodecagonal and twenty four-sided, with bands either of spiral flutings or of oblique reedings or of diverse other patterns. The pillars are surmounted by bracket capitals of a type reminiscent of bundles of rods fastened together by an ornamental band. There are twenty cells, including one each on either side of the portico, each representing a bare chamber with a single lamp niche at the back. The chaitya chapel at the rear end, driven axially further into the depth of the rock, is preceded by a rectangular ante-chamber with two twelve-sided pillars in front. A narrow passage connects the two. In the chapel is enshrined a rock-cut chaitya, resting on an octagonal base with bold mouldings. It consists of the usual cylindrical drum and the hemispherical dome with the *harmikā* and the parasol, all complete and measuring over 14 feet in height. Though the chaitya retains its place of honour in the sanctuary, image of the Master is by no means unknown in the monastic caves at Bagh. The side walls of the ante-chamber preceding the sanctuary in cave no. II are decorated each with a group of three figures, apparently the Buddha between two Bodhisattvas. The back wall of the ante-chamber is likewise embellished by two Bodhisattva figures, one on each side of the passage leading to the sanctuary.

The monastic establishment at Bagh, as seen in cave no. II, is not

unlike those at Ajaṇṭā, numbered XVI, I, II and XXIV, in plan and general arrangement, though a marked divergence may be recognised in the massive form of the pillars and in their decorative treatment. The four central pillars also supply a discordant note and the interior appears to be more congested. But they provide for a necessity which was less felt at Ajaṇṭā because of the strong and homogenous fabric of the rock there. It should be mentioned, however, that this feature appears in a few of the Ajaṇṭā caves, such as the lower storey of cave no. VI, belonging to a period of experimentation in the varied modes of interior columniation. The most significant divergence, however, is noticed in the sanctuary which, unlike those in the Ajaṇṭā caves, has a chaitya, instead of an image of the Buddha, as the chief object of worship. The sanctum of cave no. IV at Bagh has also a chaitya enshrined in it, and in this respect the *vihāra* caves at Bagh may be found to have retained the ancient practice of enshrining a chaitya in the sanctuary, whereas in the nearly contemporary caves at Ajaṇṭā the image of the Master occupies the place of honour in the chapels. It is on account of this significant feature that Vogel thinks that the Bagh caves represent a stage in transition prior to the development of the full-fledged monastic type at Ajaṇṭā showing the image of the Buddha in the sanctuary at the rear end of the hall.

Cave no. III, locally known as the *Hāthīkhānā* or elephant stable, is in a damaged state, much of the front having collapsed. From whatever is preserved it appears to have been of a singular type, not usually found in the monastic caves we are familiar with. The central hall is rectangular with its roof supported on eight octagonal pillars in two rows and has ranges of cells on the two longer sides and another hall, also supported on eight pillars, at the back. These halls are connected with each other by three doors. The hall at the back has no connecting cells and from its unfinished appearance appears to have been a later addition. Of the cells flanking the outer hall, one set slightly at the back on the north-east side has a two-pillared ante-chamber in front. On account of this distinction and from the presence of painted effigies of the Buddha accompanied by kneeling worshippers on the wall this cell appears to have been the chapel of this establishment. The hall as well as the other cells are embellished with paintings and must have looked quite different from its present gloomy appearance.

About 250 feet apart from cave no. III are situated three caves, nos. IV, V and VI which are contiguous to one another. The first two are joined together by a continuous portico which once ran along the entire length of the facades of the two caves, while

no. IV is connected with no.V by a broad passage linking up the two, It is not impossible hence that these three caves were contemporary to one another. Cave no. IV, locally known as the *Rang Mahal* from the fine series of paintings that still survive, was the most important of all the Bagh caves. The portico which ran along the facades of the two caves is now almost entirely gone. With three entrance doorways and two windows in the back wall of the portico, with the square hall with colonnaded corridors on the four sides and the central complement of four pillars inside the colonnade, with ranges of cells on the three sides and with the chaitya chapel slightly set back at the rear end, cave no. IV shows a plan and general arrangement not unlike those of cave no. II. The pillars in the colonnade, however, number 28, instead of 20 in cave no. II, and in this respect it has a parallel in cave no. IV at Ajaṇṭā. Moreover, a highly ornate porch projects inwards from the middle of the colonnade on each side, except on the side of the frontal portico. Each porch is supported on two columns, circular in shape and decorated with fine flutings, vertical as well as spiral, and elegantly carved decorative bands. These columns hold up a deep entablature adorned with seated buddha figures and chaitya windows with human heads. This kind of ornamental porch inside is singular in its appearance in this cave and is not known to occur anywhere else. It is not impossible that these columns with deep entablatures, though having the appearance of ornamental porches in front of the colonnades, were primarily functional and were inspired by the desire to lend extra supports to the spacious roof, such additional precaution being felt necessary on account of the extremely soft and friable nature of the rock. The pillars of the surrounding colonnades, though of the same general design as those of cave no. II, exhibit more variegated decorations. The doorways and windows in the back wall of the portico are likewise elaborately carved. All the designs and patterns, whether on the ornamental porches or on the doorways and windows are exquisitely chiselled and the diversified and fine execution of the carvings, combined with the novel features in architectural setting, marks a distinct advance on the style presented by cave no. II. The rich carvings, coupled with the elegant paintings that were made to cover every available space, provided a highly decorative and colourful appearance to cave no. IV which may hence be regarded as the finest in the whole series.

Cave no. V consists of a rectangular hall with a central doorway and four windows in the back wall of the portico and with sixteen round columns in two rows supporting the roof, but without any range of connecting cells. The columns are all of the same pattern

and entirely devoid of any fluting or of any other decorative device. Each row stands on a common plinth that extends from end to end of the hall, and parallel to it and at the foot of each wall there runs a raised platform, evidently intended as a seat. An almost similar arrangement may also be recognised in the Mahanwada cave at Ellora. The appearance of this cave at Bagh is singularly bare except for the paintings on the walls, pillars and ceiling. This cave, it has already been stated, is joined to cave no. IV by a continuous portico and is usually described as the *śālā* attached to the *vihāra* cave. It is possible that it served as a refectory, or perhaps an oratory, for the inmates of that *vihāra*.

The next cave, no. VI, is connected again with no. V by a broad passage and consists of a hall with cells opening out on its two sides. It has a single doorway flanked by two windows; the portico, had there been any, has entirely collapsed. The four octagonal pillars that supported the roof of the hall has also fallen and little is left of the painted decorations that once adorned the walls. The remaining three caves, no. VII, VIII and IX, call for little attention as they have entirely collapsed. Of these, the first appears to have been an establishment not unlike cave no. II, though not so decorative in appearance as the latter.

Though few in number and in decayed states, the Bagh caves are interesting in more than one aspect. The chaitya hall, a familiar type in the earlier period and persistent also in the period under notice at other places, is singularly absent in the Bagh series. Like those at Ajaṇṭā and Ellora the principal caves here represent monastic establishments and chapels combined into one, though a significant divergence is recognised in the sanctuaries at Bagh which, unlike those at Ajaṇṭā, contain chaityas, and not images of the Buddha, as the chief object of worship. The group of four central pillars, as already noted, forms a characteristic feature of the Bagh caves and added to this, the three ornamental porches fronting the colonnades in cave no. IV strike an altogether new and singular note. The plan of cave no. III constitutes also a novel arrangement not found elsewhere, while that of cave no. V is very rarely met with, the only other instances of this plan being the Mahanwada cave at Ellora and the Durbar cave at Kanheri. The massive pillars and their decorative treatment, as we find in the Bagh caves, have no exact prototypes elsewhere. In all these respects the Bagh series appears to have represented an independent local movement, parallel to, and possibly synchronous with, the group of Ajaṇṭā caves belonging to the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period. Because of the fragile nature of the rock, sculptures formed a minor part of decoration in the

Bagh caves. But the art of painting was fully exploited in the embellishment of the caves and from the scanty remains the pictorial art seems to have been in a highly developed state, in no way inferior to the style and tradition that we find at Ajaṇṭā.

Buddhist excavations belonging to the period may also be found in Rajputana at Dhamnar, halfway between Kota and Ujjain, and at Kholvi, 22 miles south-east from Dhamnar. The former group of nearly sixty to seventy excavations is laid without any regular plan and even the principal establishments lack the ordered and harmonious design that we recognise in the caves at Ajaṇṭā, or at Ellora or at Bagh. Cut in a coarse laterite conglomerate they have suffered greatly, and every detail, architectural or decorative, was probably in plaster and has now entirely vanished. The excavations consist of chaitya halls and monastic establishments, as well as shrines dedicated to the image of the Master. Of the monastic caves one is particularly interesting as exhibiting a rather unusual plan not found elsewhere. This peculiar cave represents a monastic establishment consisting of a pillared hall with cells opening out on the three sides. Its interest, however, lies in the fact that a chaitya shrine, complete in itself and of the usual stereotyped apsidal plan with the chaitya situated near the apsidal rear end, has been accommodated in the midst of the monastic hall. At Kholvi there appears again a number of excavations which are of peculiar interest as exhibiting chaitya shrines in which the chaityas themselves have been hollowed out to form cells for the enshrinement of images. The series of caves at Dhamnar and Kholvi probably represent the latest phase in the history of such kind of shrines envisaging a transitional stage to what is to come later, namely the age of the independent free-standing shrines for the proper installation of images

So far as North India is concerned, caves of the Jaina order are very rare during the period and the few that might have been executed during the period were more or less primitive in character and do not call for any detailed notice. In the Udayagiri-Khandagiri group, near Bhuvanesvara, in Orissa, a few of the caves might have belonged to this period. The Gaṇeśa Gumphā at Udayagiri belonged, no doubt, to the earlier movement discussed in the previous volume. In this cave there appears an inscription of the reign of Śāntikara, a member of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa, apparently belonging to the first half of the eighth century A.D. The inscription is concerned with some kind of dedication made by a physician, named Bhīmata. Apparently the object of dedication was a cave shrine which, however, is difficult to identify in the present state of our knowledge. The inscription indicates that about

the first half of the eighth century A.D. there was again a movement concerned with excavation and dedication of caves.

A group of caves in the Khandagiri hill were apparently medieval excavations. Of these, the Lalāṭendu Keśarī and Navamuni caves contain inscriptions respectively of the fifth and the eighteenth years of the reign of king Udyotaka Keśarī of the Somavaṁsa dynasty of Orissa. Udyotaka Keśarī is placed approximately in the middle of the eleventh century A.D. and these caves may fall outside our period. The other caves, the Dhyānghar, the Bārabhuji and the Triśūla or the Hanuman caves, from the stylistic evidence of the sculptures of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and of other Jaina divinities appear to have belonged to the period under review. There is a possibility also that the caves bearing the two aforesaid inscriptions, might have been earlier than the period of the inscriptions. All these caves are hence treated together for the sake of completeness. They are all in the nature of rude rectangular cells preceded by pillared verandahs, and there is very little to be said of their architectural character and composition. The pillars as well as the intervening walls between the verandaha and the cells have mostly vanished, and the caves are now open to the front. The Navamuni and the Dhyānghar, which are adjacent to each other, appear to have been once provided with a structural portico in front, as is known from the long sunken groove on the front wall of the caves. All the caves are rude and primitive in character as well as in execution, and, except for the images on the walls of a few, are entirely devoid of any sculptural decoration. They thus stand in significant contrast even to caves that we find in the earlier group at the same place, or to caves of this order at Bādāmi and Aihole, not to speak of the magnificent examples at Ellora.

The rock-cut tradition in Indian architecture which had such a long and persistent history through centuries declines roughly from about theeighth century A.D. and no new form or conception appears to have emerged after this date. In our discussion of the structural forms it will be apparent that the structural mode has been radually gaining ground from as early as the fourth century A.D. The popularity of the structural mode and of the forms dependent thereon is also reflected in the application of the rock-cut technique for shaping out monolithic shrines and other appurtenances out of the natural rock in imitation of the structural forms. From a long practice the Indians boldly directed this mode to the rearing up of enormous shrines by cutting the rock both inside and out as free-standing monuments in space, just like the structural buildings. In the

cave series also this tendency is manifest in some of the caves at Ellora, for example, the rock-cut gateway preceding the forecourt in cave XII, the free standing *maṇḍapa* n the centre of the courtyard of the Daśāvatāra cave, separate shrine for Nandī in the centre of the forecourt of the Rāmeśvara and the monolithic shrine in the courtyard and its rock-cut gateway in the Jaina cave, Indra Sabha. In the Brahmanical caves the sanctuary proper usually takes the shape of a free-standing shrine within the hall of the cave. Such experiments in carving out structural forms out of the rock indicate on the one hand the persistence of the rock-cut tradition, and on the other the unsuitability of cave excavations for shrines intended for the installation and worship of images. In the *rathas* of Mahabalipuram we have free-standing monolithic shrines shaped in direct imitation of structural forms and isolated from any context of cave excavations. In the far-famed Kailāsa at Ellora we have an extensive composition with all the appurtenances of the temple complex entirely cut out of the rock in imitation of the celebrated Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram. In Northern India also an experiment in this direction is recognised in the gable-shaped shrine, cut out of the rock at Colgong (Bihar), which is tentatively assigned to the ninth century A.D. It is apparent that the unsuitability of the caves for image shrines was becoming more and more felt, and the structural mode with its unlimited scope and possibility was soon to replace the rock-cut mode.

STRUCTURAL BUILDINGS: A.D. 320 TO 750

The Gupta period, it has already been observed, saw the beginning of the structural procedure in right earnest. The ritualistic needs, connected with the worship of an image, are not quite suited to cave excavations. The proper enshrinement of an image requires a free-standing temple, and this can be more easily put up by the structural method. With the growing popularity of the image the structural mode gains a momentum and it is not surprising that the new movement is particularly associated with the production of structural temples. India is noted for her excellent varieties of building stone, while in the plains the rich alluvium supplied a convenient material for bricks, which, when burnt, assumed a warm red texture. The use of brick for structural purpose is very antient in India, and the technique and method of brick-laying had already reached a high level of maturity even as early as the period of the Indus civilisation. The use of stone has also been known. But the employment of sized and dressed stone for building pur-

poses began in a large scale in the Gupta period. With a gradual advancement of the technique and methods and a growing mastery over the principles of construction architecture was rationalised and the period saw a prolific building activity in stone as well as in brick. With their innate decorative sense, Indian craftsmen covered these buildings with beautiful embellishments, in stone as well as in terracota and stucco, the latter being usually confined to brick buildings. Apart from temples the structural mode was also manifest in other kind of buildings, religious as well as secular.

The advantages of the structural mode came to be more and more increasingly felt and the new movement gained ground rapidly. How abundant in output the new movement was may be gathered from inscriptions of the period as well as from the itinerary of the celebrated Chinese pilgrim, Hiuan Tsang. The Gangdhar inscription of Viśvavarman of the (Mālava) year 480 (A.D. 432)[4] enumerates the different kinds of public works, executed by Mayūrākshaka, including temples, halls, bridges, pleasaunces tanks, etc. It is Bilsad inscription of the (Gupta) year 96 (A.D. 415-16)[5] one Dhruvaśarmā is said to have erected a high gateway provided with a flight of steps in the temple of Svāmī Mahāsena. The Mandasore stone inscription, dated the Mālava year 493 and 529 (A.D. 436 and 473)[6] describes Daśapura (Mandasore) as a city of a great beauty adorned with temples as high as the Kailāsa mountain and with buildings which appear to have shot out of the earth. The Junagadh rock inscription, with dates respectively in the Gupta years 136, 137 and 138 (A.D. 455, 456 and 457),[7] records how Chakrapālita, restored the breach, caused by exececssive rain, in the ancient embankment of the Sudarśana lake by causing to be made anew a massive and enormous masonry embankment. He also erected a resplendent temple, dedicated to the god Chakrabhrit (Vishṇu) which is said to have obstructed the pasage of the birds, no doubt in reference to its lofty height. Such statements are also to be found in other inscriptions and that they represent no poetic fancies is testified to by the itinerary of Hiuan Tsang who, in th seventh century A.D., found the whole country literally studded over with fine buildings of diverse orders.[8] Unfortunately, very few of such monuments have escaped destruction. The remains that can now be seen are, further, mostly fragmentary and represent naive and simple executions bearing the

4 *CII*, III, p. 72.
5 *Ibid.*, p. 42.
6 *Ibid.*, p. 79.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 56.
8 T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 vols.

impress of primitiveness and immature technique. Nevertheless these primitive efforts are pregnant with future possibilities and have a supreme significance, because of their historical import, to the student of Indian architecture.

1. TEMPLE

The few temples of the Gupta period that have survived are found to be small and unpretentious and represent, without doubt, an initial stage of the movement. The remains, again, are, in most cases, fragmentary. But they are significant enough because of the wide variety which they present in form as well as in general appearance. The Gupta period constitutes an age of experiments in temple forms and types, and of the various forms, prevalent during the period, significant ones were chosen for further elaboration and final crystallisation into distinctive styles.

In Northern India the following well-defined groups may be recognised among the temples of the Gupta period:[9]

(i) The flat-roofed square temple with a shallow porch in front.

(ii) The flat-roofed square temple with a covered ambulatory surrounding the sanctum cella and preceded by a porch in front, sometimes with a second storey above the shrine chamber.

(iii) The square temple with a low and squat tower or *śikhara* above.

(iv) The circular temple with shallow projections at the four cardinal faces.

The last is represented by a single example, namely, the peculiar cylindrical brick structure, known as the Maniyar Matha, i.e. the shrine of Mani Nāga, standing almost in the heart of the old city of Rājagṛiha.[10] It is now in a fragmentary state, the top having entirely collapsed. As it now stands, it represents accumulations through successive ages, of which one definitely belong to the period under notice. The building of this period consists of a circular structure with shallow projections at the four cardinal directions and further embellished and diversified with fine stucco sculptures in niches all around. Unfortunately, the stucco sculptures, which were in a highly decomposed state, have crumbled away and some of the finest specimens of Gupta plastic art have been lost thereby. The circular wall with these stucco embellishments is found to have been supported on an earlier structure of hollow cylindrical shape with a projected buttress in each of the cardinal faces and an entr-

9 S. K. Saraswati, "Temple Aichitecture of the Gupta Age," *JISOA*, VIII, pp. 146-58.

10 M. H. Quraishi and A. Ghosh, *Guide to Rajgir*, pp. 21-24, pl. V.

ance doorway in the north. The circular plan with the projected buttresses closely resembles the *stūpa* designs of the Andhra country which, with their *āyaka* projections at the cardinal faces, supply a close parallel to the plan of the Maniyar Maṭha. This peculiar structure is enclosed by a surrounding wall which, though square now, also appears to have been originally circular. The plan of the earlier structure, it appears more than probable, was borrowed from the almost contemporary *stūpa* designs of the Andhra country, and in the upper structure, belong to the period under notice, the cylindrical form with projections at the cardinal faces is more a result of following the alignment of the earlier building beneath than of a conscious or deliberate attempt towards creating a new form. The type represents a survival from an earlier practice and appears to have no place in subsequent Indian architecture. The circular temples of the later ages can be found to have no connection with it.

(i) *The First Group*

The other three groups of Gupta temples are, however, supremely important as supplying the genesis of the medieval Indian temple styles. On a closer analysis, again, the first group, i.e. the flat-roofed square temple with a shallow verandah, may be found to have supplied the basic and fundamental form of which the second and the third appear to have been elaborations. One of the most well known examples of the first group may be found in temple no. XVII at Sanchi.[11] It is a modest and unpretentious shrine consisting of a square sanctum cella with a pillared verandah in front. Small in dimensions though, in structural propriety, in symmetry and proportion, in appreciation for plain surfaces and for restraint in ornament it has often been compared to the best creations of classical architecture in Greece. Other temples of this group may be found at Tigawa in the Jubbulpore district[12] and at Eran in the Saugor district[13] of Madhya Pradesh. At Nachna Kuthara in the former Ajaigarh state[14] in Madhya Pradesh there are remains of a few early temples of which two from their foundations, may be known to have belonged to this group. The numerous sculptural and architectural

11 ASC. X, pp. 60-62, pls. XVI, XX; *HIIA;* p. 78; fig. 131; J. Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, pp. 117-19, pl. VII. b.

12 ASC. IX, pp. 42-45, 116, pls. X & XI; Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, pl. XXXIV; R. D. Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pl. VI.

13 ASC. X, pp. 82-88, pls. XXV, XXX.

14 *PRASI. WC,* 1919, p. 61.

remains, found at Gharwa (Allahabad district),[15] Bilsad (Etah district),[16] Khoh (former Nagod state in Baghelkhand),[17] etc., from their style of carvings as well as from the evidence of inscriptions, are known to have belonged to the period under notice, and it appears that the buildings of which they formed parts belonged possibly to the group under discussion. The above evidences indicate the popularity of this type of building during this early period. Cunningham and Coomaraswamy were inclined to think that the Pataiṇī Devi temple, near Unchanara (former Nagod state), belonged also to our period, the plain square design and the flat roof being probably responsible for such a dating. But the style of the carvings of the door-frame, which is, no doubt, an original and intergral element of the temple, is much later, and on account of this the temple can hardly be dated earlier than the tenth or the eleventh century A.D. But the close affinity which the temple presents to those at Sanchi, Tigawa, etc. is worth noticing and the example may be regarded as a survival of the plan and archaic type of early flat-roofed shrines in the medieval period.

By a comparative analysis of the pillars of the verandah it is possible to attempt an approximate chronological arrangement of the temples of this group. In this connection we should take into account the temple no. XVII at Sanchi, the Kaṅkālī Devī temple at Tigawa and the Vishṇu and the Varāha temples at Eran as they represent the best preserved examples of the group. Long ago Cunningham proposed a chronology of these temples on the basis of the relative proportion between the diameters and the heights of the so-called 'bell' capitals of the verandah pillars. This point, however, cannot be too much relied on; but the ornamentation of this so-called 'bell' may offer an approximate indication regarding the relative chronology of these temples. At Eran every pillar of the verandah shows at the top a highly ornate 'bell' with elaborate turnovers below the corners of the abacus. The pillars in the Tigawa temple exhibit just the beginnings of these turn-overs thereby indicating a stylistic priority, further corroborated by the plastic considerations of the carvings. In the verandah pillars of the Sanchi temple we have the plain reeded 'bell' without turn-overs of any kind and the suggestion of its being the oldest structural temple extant[18] might be quite likely. Smith[19] assigns the temple at Tigawa to the period

15 *ASC*, X, pp. 1-19, pls. VI-VII.
16 *Ibid.*, XI, pp. 17-18, pls. V-VI.
17 *Ibid.*, X, p. 6; *PRASI. WC*, 1920, pp. 105-06 & pls.
18 *ASC*, X, p. 62.
19 V. A. Smith, "Indian Sculpture of the Gupta Period" *OZ*. III, p. 4.

of Samudra-gupta and this chronology does not appears to be far off the mark. But we can hardly accept his suggestion that the Vishṇu temple at Eran might also belong to the time of Samudra-gupta. The form and ornamentation of the 'bell' capital represent an advanced phase and assign the temple certainly to a later date to which fact an additional confirmation is supplied by the appearance in the Vishṇu temple of a buttress-like projection[20] in the middle of each of the three faces of the temple walls corresponding to the projection of the doorway in front. This feature, conspicuously absent in other temples of the group, is itself late in appearance and indicates an advance in the temple design. The plain and bare walls are thus diversified and this scheme is destined to play henceforth a most significant role in the effective distribution of lights and shades in Indian temple architecture of later days.

The first group, the flat-roofed square temple, has a distinct place among the temple forms of the period as the basis of future elaborations of the temple structure. The sanctum is square in plan, except in the Vishṇu and the Varāha temples at Eran where they are rectangular. In front of the sanctum cella there is a shallow verandah with four pillars supporting the architrave on which the roof rests. The intercolumniation is slightly wider in the middle than at the sides, and this significant feature constitutes, according to Cunningham,[21] one of the minor characteristics of the Gupta architectural style. A flight of steps in front of the middle intercolumniation leads up to the verandah and the sanctum is entered through a single doorway in the middle of the front wall. The walls of the temple, both inside and out, are severely plain, except for the string-course around at the top in continuation of the lines of the architrave supporting the roof over the verandah. This is also a characteristic feature of the style according to Cunningham. The roof was made up of long rectangular slabs of stone laterally placed from end to end on the top of the walls, sometimes extending in front to the architrave of the verandah and, occasionally with overlapping grooves, as we have in the Tigawa temple. The flat roof, thus formed, is provided with projecting spouts for the discharge of rain water. In strong contrast to the severe plainness of the walls the pillars and the door-frames are richly carved in the best traditions of Gupta plastic art.

Small and unpretentious though, these flat-roofed structures may really be found to have been the precursors of the monumental tem-

20 *ASC*, X, pl. XXV.
21 *Ibid.*, IX, p. 45.

ples of the later days and with them begins the story of Indian temple architecture. The nucleus of a temple, namely a cubical sanctum cella, i.e. the *garbhagriha,* with a single entrance and a pillared verandah that is to grow into the *maṇḍapa* or the porch hall, appears for the first time in the archaic group of flat-roofed structures. At Udayagiri may be seen rock-cut shrines of identical form, each with a structural portico in front, which, as we have seen before, belonged to about the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Similar cave shrines were, in all possibility, in existence in the earlier times when the rock-cut mode was the prevailing practice, and it is quite likely that the simple primitive-looking type of buildings, as we have at Sanchi, Tigawa, Eran, etc., represents nothing more than a translation, in structural form, of the plain rock-cut cave shrines of the earlier period. The flat roof, the square or rectangular form and the stern simplicity of the walls, characteristic of these early buildings, lend a strong probability to this hypothesis. The structural mode in these flat-roofed temples and the almost contemporaneous Udayagiri shrines, partly excavated and partly structural, may represent parallel reverberations of the same movement.

(ii) *The Second Group*

The second group of Gupta temples is represented in Northern India by the so-called Pārvatī temple at Nachna Kuthara[22] and the Śiva temple at Bhumara (in the former Nagod state),[23] both situated in Madhya Pradesh. Further afield in the Gangetic plains there have been exposed the remains of a brick-built temple at Baigram (Dinajpur district, North Bengal),[24] possibly the remains of the temple of Govindasvāmin referred to in a copperplate grant, dated A.D. 447-48, found at the same site. The remains exhibit a ground plan similar to that of the group under notice and might, in all probability, have belonged to the same type. At Aihole[25] in the Deccan the type is represented by the temples of the Lad Khan, the Kont Gudi and the Meguti, thereby indicating its wide popularity both in the north and in the south, and it is in Southern India that the type experienced further elaborations ultimately leading to the development of an independent temple style in the medieval period.

22 *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 96-97, pls. XXV-XXVI; *PRASI. WC,* 1919, p. 61; pls. XV-XVI; *AIG,* pp. 137-39, pl. III.

23 R. D. Banerji, "*Siva Temple at Bhūmara*", *MASI,* No. 16; *AIG.* 142-45; pls. II & IV.

24 *ASR*, 1934-35, p. 42, pl. XIX, b, c, d.

25 H. Cousens, "Aancient Temples at Aihole", *ASR,* 1907-08, pp. 109-92, 195-96; H. Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture of the Canerese Districts,* pp. 29-32, 38, pls. III-VI; *HIIA,* p. 79, fig. 148; R. S. Gupte.

The Pārvatī temple at Nachna Kuthara and the Śiva temple at Bhumara are much alike in their plans as well as in their dimensions. In each we have a square sanctum cella inside a similarly roofed square cloister. The temple at Baigram, now in ruins, also exhibited a similar plan which may be described as that of a small square sanctum cella within a larger square hall that serves as a covered abulatory for *pradakshiṇā* around the inner sanctum. The temple with such a covered ambulatory came to be known in the later days as *sāndhāra prāsāda,* as opposed to the one without which was called *nirandhāra.* The entire building is preceded by a slightly smaller open portico, rectangular in shape, with a flight of steps projected further in front. A trellis or trellises in each of the three sides lights up the covered ambulatery. In the Nachna Kuthara temple the inner sanctum cella has further a trellis in each of the two side walls, and in the front wall of the ambulatory one each on either side of the doorway. The doorways leading to the ambulatory and to the sanctum cella are in a line with the flight of steps in front and are richly carved in the typical Gupta tradition. Apart from the above features, which the temples of this group share in common, the Nachna Kuthara temple along with those at Aihole, offers a variety in the type as having an upper storey above the inner sanctum. This second storey, supported as it is on the inner sanctum, is smaller than the bigger hall forming the ambulatory and is necessarily set back. This receding storey forms a distinct scheme in the elevation of such a temple. The Bhumara temple exhibits also peculiar feature in having a miniature shrine on either side of the staircase in front. In this respect the Bhumara temple indicates the beginning of a design that came to have its logical culmination in temples of which several remains have been laid bare at Nālandā.[26] In plan these brick temples at Nālandā appear to have been indentical with that of the group under discussion. They show, further, the remains of four subsidiary shrines, one at each corner of the temple proper. Such an arrangement came to be known as *pañchāyatana* and may be found in not a few temples of the later days irrespective of the style to which they belonged.

In the simplicity of the design and of decoration the Pārvatī temple at Nachna Kuthara corresponds to the early temples of the first group with which it was probably co-eval in date. The exterior walls are embellished by a peculiar kind of carving, in imitation of rock-work, and by elegant sculptured panels of early Gupta workmanship. The Śiva temple at Bhumara, now all but in ruins, was

26 A. Ghosh, *Guide to Nalanda,* p. 17, plan at end.

once a splendidly ornamented monument, as is evidenced by the sculptured stones lying all about. Exquisite figures of *gaṇas, kīriti-mukhas,* divinities, etc., usually within elegantly carved chaitya-window niches, testify to the richness of the decorative motifs used for the embellishment of this temple. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji, who discovered the temple, is inclined to assign it to about the middle of the fifth century A.D. The carving and workmanship are, however, in a maturer tradition of Gupta plastic art and the rich, obliquely cut arabesques of the pillars and the door-frames indicate a date somewhere about the first half of the sixth century A.D. The temples at Nalanda, referred to above, are still later; but they are too fragmentary now to be any real value in the study of architectural forms.

So far as the extant remains go the earliest temples of this group belonged to Central and Northern India. The type was also known in the Deccan. Gradually, however, it became obsolete in the north and it is in the south that we recognise its further development and elaborations.

(*iii*) *The Third Group*

The third group of Gupta temples is characterised by a square sanctum cella surmounted at the top by a low and stunted conical tower. In general plan and arrangement it differs very little from the type presented by the first group. It records, however, a notable advance on the temples of the first group in having a tower or *śikhara* capping the sanctum cella. In this respect it marks the beginning of monumental temple architecture in Northern India. An aspiration for ascending height is always felt in religious buildings, the lofty height, to a certain extent, symbolising the supreme aspect of the divinity enshrined in the temple. Towers or *śikharas* thus soon make their appearance in the temples, and such temples provide a significant contrast to the early and archaic flat-roofed buildings of the first two groups. We have previously referred to inscriptions which, even as early as the fifth century A.D., speak of high and lofty towers (*vistīrṇa-tuṅgaśikharaṁ śikhariprakāśam*), figuratively described to be as high as the Kailāsa mountain (*Kailāsa-tuṅgaśikhara-pratima*)[27] or as reaching the sky (*nabhaḥspriśan*).

No extant example of a *śikhara* temple can, however, be placed earlier than the sixth century A.D. The most representative and well known example of the early *śikhara* temple is found in a dainty little

27 It is not known whether such statements have any allusion to a class of buildings, known as *Kailāsa*, in such texts as the *Bṛihat Saṁhitā*, the *Matsya Purāṇa*, etc.

structure at Deogarh (Lalitpur district),[28] unfortunately in a bad state of preservation, known as the Daśāvatāra temple. Other examples of this class are found in the Mahādeva temple at Nachna Kuthara[29] and also, possibly, in one of the ruined temples at Pathari (Gwalior).[30] The well-known brick temple at Bhitargaon (Kanpur district)[31] and the great Mahābodhi at Bodhgaya, also seen by Hiuan Tsang,[32] belonged also to this group. A number of *śikhara* temples of early form, dating possibly not earlier than the seventh century A.D., may also be found in the Deccan, at Aihole, Pattadakal and Bādāmi.

The Daśāvatāra Temple at Deogarh and the brick temple at Bhitargaon may be regarded as the two representative examples of the early *śikhara* type in Northern India. The former is in stone and stands on a high and wide basement terrace approached by a flight of steps in the middle of each side. This terrace itself is nearly five feet high and lends to the monument a dignified appearance. The sides are embellished all around with panels of sculptures set between pilasters and surmounted by a continuous coping, recalling, in a certain measure, the disposition of the railing of an early *stūpa.* The sanctum cella is placed in the centre of the terrace. The cube of the cella ends at the top in double cornice from over which rises the *śkhara* or tower, now in a dilapidated condition with the top portion entirely gone. It is made up of tiers of stone courses, each superposed above the other and receding as they go up. Thus a tapering outline is obtained, but from what little is preserved of the *śikhara* it is difficult to say whether the contour is straight-edged or curvilinear. At the corners there still remain the vestiges of angle-*āmalakas*[33] thereby indicating the division of the *śikhara* into *bhūmis* or horizontal stages; there is a possibility, hence, that there was a spheroid ā*malaka* at the top.

The exterior walls of the sanctum are no longer plain. In conformity with the richly ornamented door-frame in front there appears in the middle of each of the other three sides a sculptured panel, within an architectural setting of pilasters and architrave, containing a mythological scene carved in high relief. These sculptured niches with their architectural frames appear to set off the walls in the middle of each face of the cube and divide the surface into three

28 *ASC,* X, pp. 105-10, pls. XXXIV, XXXVI; *HIIA,* p. 80; *AIG;* pp. 146-52; M. S. Vats, "The Gupta Temple at Deogarh", *MASI,* No. 70.

29 *ASC,* XXI, p. 98, *PRASI. WC,* 1919, pl. XVI. b; *AIG,* pp. 154-55.

30 *ASC,* X, pp. 70-71.

31 *Ibid.,* XI, pp. 40-50; *ASR,* 1908-09, pp. 6-16, pls. I-V.

32 S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* II, p. 118.

33 J. Burgess, *Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India,* figs. 218, 252.

vertical planes which are further carried up the body of the tower. This expedient results a variegation of the ground plan and consequent diversification of lights and shades. Such a scheme constitutes certainy a move towards a greater and richer elaboration of the plain and square type of temple, as represented by the little shrine at Sanchi and others of its kind. The advanced design also leads to a greater aesthetic significance because of an effective and charming play of light and shades along the elevation of the temple.

From pillars lying on the terrace on which the temple stands Cunningham reconstructs another notable feature of the Deogarh temple. He was of opinion that these pillars were intended as supports for the roofs of the porticos, one on each side of the sanctum, that to front protecting the entrance doorway and other three the sculptured panels on the three walls. Percy Brown also supports this reconstruction and says "the most notable feature of the Deogarh temple is the arrangement of its portico. Instead of only one of these, as is usual in front of the entrance to the sanctum, there are four of them, one projecting from each side of the central structure, each with a flat roof supported on a row of four pillars, with the customany wider intercolumniation in the middle."[34] According to R. D. Banerji, however, the terrace was covered over with a flat roof, thus forming a covered ambulatory round the sanctum cella with its *śikhara*. In the present fragmentary state of the temple, particularly of the basement terrace, it is difficult to ascertain whether the terrace was open to the sky or was wholly covered, or whether there were narrow porticos only to protect the carvings of the doorway and of the sculptured niches, as Cunnigngham and Percy Brown would suggest. The last suggestion would appear to be more plausible, as such an arrangement of the exterior of the sanctum provides a pleasing harmony with the design of the basement terrace underneath with its projected flights of steps in the middle of each face. Excavations conducted by Daya Ram Sahni around the basement of the temple have revealed the remains of a square miniature shrine at each corner. This is, perhaps, the earliest occurence of a *pañchāyatana* composition in Indian temple architecture.

The brick temple at Bhitargaon, as the excavations have shown, stands also on a wide basement terrace, the latter being made up of cell-like foundations. It consists of a square sanctum cella with a smaller vestibule boldly projecting from the front, the two connected with each other by a narrow passage. In conformity with the

34 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu).*

projection of the vestibule in front the other three sides show each a comparatively shallow projection in the middle and the ground plan may thus be described as square with double recessed angles. The walls rise perpendicularly upwards and terminate in a double cornice of carved brick-work enclosing recessed friezes of smaller terracotta plaques. The lower portion is much damaged, but there still remain traces of bold mouldings serving as the plinth. In the upper portion the surface is decorated by a regular row of terracotta panels alternating with ornamental pilasters. The skilful treatment of the surfaces, broken up into vertical planes and accentuated horizontally by bold mouldings of the plinth and cornice and by dado of terracotta panels, relieves the flatness inherent in a brick structure. The double cornice separates cube of the sanctum from the body of the tower. The tower is made of well-defined superposed horizontal courses with straight or nearly straight sides, and as each successive course recedes several inches the *śikhara* gradually diminishes towards the top. The projections on the body of the cube are carried up and the *śikhara* is decorated with successive tiers of *chaitya* niches containing boldly carved busts or heads or even entire figurines. The decorative treatment of the temple as a whole has been effective throughout and, when entire, it appears to have been one of the most charming monuments among the *śikhara* temples in respect of form as well as of decoration. The structural expedients used in the temple are also of considerable interest and anticipate a long tradition in brick construction. The vestibule and the sanctum cella are each covered by a domical vault and the connecting passage between the two by a waggon-vault. The voussoirs employed in the construction of these vaults are placed, not face to face as is usual, but end to end—a structural mode which Cunningham calls the Hindu fashion. Above the sanctum there was a hollow space covered, in all possibility, by a second dome,[35] and the two together anticipate the double-dome construction of the later days.

From the above it is clear that the brick temple at Bhitargaon resembles the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh in the essentials of shape, form and elevation. The Deogarh temple may be assigned to about the sixth century A.D. on considerations of the style of its carvings. Scholars, however, differ with regard to the date of the Bhitargaon temple. Cunningham, who discovered it, observed that it could not be placed later than the seventh or the eighth century A.D. and might probably be even older. Vogel, on the analogy of the decoration

35 Percy Brown's reconstruction of the top of the temple (*loc. cit.*, pl. XXXIII. b) as consisting of a barrel-shaped vault does not suit the square plan and other arrangements of the temple.

of the surface of the temple with pilasters and niches which corresponds to a similar treatment in the plinth of the Parinirvāṇa temple at Kasia, assigned the Bhitargaon temple to a date at least three centuries earlier than the period proposed by Cunningham. Percy Brown categorically places the temple in the fifth century A.D., while R. D. Banerji observes that it cannot have been earlier than the medieval period. The bold and vigorous carvings of the terracotta panels, the shape and form of the *śikhara*, etc. are sufficiently indicative of a Gupta date, and though the date proposed by Vogel may appear to be too early it is not far removed from the Deogarh temple with which it presents certain clear affinities in shape and plan and in decorative scheme.

The famous Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya has undergone so many restorations and renovations that it is rather difficult now to determine its original architectural form. As it stands at present, it consists of a square sanctum cella covered by a straight-edged conical pyramidal tower, approximately 160 feet high, crowned by a conical *hti* with a fluted *āmalaka-like* lower member. Angle-*āmalakas* appear at regular intervals at the corners of the tower thus dividing it into a number of *bhūmis*. The four faces of the tower present each several tiers of niches of chaitya window shape, every one of which, no doubt, originally contained a Buddhist sculpture. There is a tall lancet opening on the front face which, apart from lighting the interior, is effective as reducing the load of the masonry of the lofty tower. At the base of the tower there rise four turrets at the four corners, each a replica in a small scale of the main tower. An entrance porch appears on the east and is evidently later than the date of the original temple.

The Mahābodhi is perhaps the most sanctified Buddhist shrine, now extant in India. Associated with the Master's enlightenment it was held in great veneration, and shrines were raised to mark the sacred spot since the early days of Buddhism. Regarding the construction of the present temple reliable evidence is very scanty. We have hence to depend on the evidence of architectural style, coupled with the descriptions left by the Chinese pilgrims, for an approximate indication as to the age of the temple. Fergusson ascribed the 'external' form of the present temple to the fourteenth century A.D. In this connection it should be noted that the Chinese pilgrims, Fahien and Hiuan Tsang, visited this sacred place and Hiuan Tsang specially had left a rather detailed account of the temple which he called the 'Mahābodhi Vihāra'. It is noteworthy that the dimensions and the general appearance and form of the 'Mahābodhi Vihāra', as given by Hiuan Tsang, approximately correspond to what we

see now in the temple before us. The restorations and renovations during the successive ages appear hence to have followed the fundamental lines and arrangements of the original temple and Cunningham's suggestion that the temple in its present shape and essential elements must have existed in the seventh century A.D. might not have been far from truth. The technique of construction in brick—particularly the method of placing the voussoirs of the vault edge to edge—the straight contour of the tower, the tall lancet opening in front indicating the existence of a hallow chamber above the sanctum cella, the chaitya niches accommodating figures of the Buddha, etc. have close parallels in the Bhitargaon temple. Even if the date of the actual construction of the temple remains problematic on account of the various legends connected with it, it would be reasonable to assume, from the above evidences, to assign it to a period contemporaneous or nearly contemporaneous with that of the Bhitargaon temple. It should be noted further that the relief replica of the shrine, apparently of the Mahābodhi at Bodhgaya, on the terracotta plaque found at Kumrahar (Patna), shows, inside a square railing, the temple which is not unlike the present one minus the corner turrets. The date of the plaque has been a matter of controversy. At any rate, it does not appear to have been later than the sixth-seventh century A.D. on considerations of style, and existence of the temple, about that time essentially in its present shape and form, without, however, the corner turrets, appears to be a reasonable conclusion.

The monastic institution at Nālandā (Patna district) grew up to be a famous establishment from about the fifth century A. D. as a result of the munificence of several royal patrons and we have to discuss in brief its arrangement and general form in the section of monasteries. Hiuan Tsang describes the establishment in detail and among the notable monuments he mentions a great temple, erected by king Bālāditya, as being over 300 feet in height and resembling the great tower at Bodhagaya.[36] Unfortunately, nothing now remains of this lofty structure, except the massive basement. Hiuan Tsang's comparison of this temple with the great Mahābodhi is instructive and there seems to be hardly any doubt that when entire, it presented a shape and form not unlike those of the Mahābodhi which appear to have been characteristic of the early śikhara temples of the period.

We have already observed that the chief interest of this group of temples lies in the *śikhara* or tower covering the sanctum and be-

36 *HTB*, II, p. 176 ff.

cause of this the group provides a marked contrast to the low and flat-roofed temples of the archaic type. The addition of a tower over the sanctum adds grandeur and dignity to the building and this may justly be regarded as an advancement of the temple form. In almost every case, at least in the early temples of the group, the tower is either badly damaged or entirely gone. The *śikhara* temple at Pathari, already referred to, appears, from the remains near about, to have belonged to about the sixth century A.D. It is a slightly better preserved monument and its height is found to be just twice the width of the building. In this connection one should note that Varāhamihira, the celebrated astronomer, prescribed that the height of a temple should be double its width (*yo vistāro bhaved-yasya dviguṇā tat-samunnatiḥ*)[37] and the strict conformity of the Pathari temple with this almost contemporaneous injunction is interesting and might have been followed in a few other temples also. The group of three ruined temples known as the Satrughnesvara, the Bharateś-vara and the Lakshaṇeśvara, at Bhuvaneśvara, also appears to have belonged to this period. The contours of the towers of the early monuments that have been preserved suggest a straight-edged pyramidal form of the *śikhara*, not unlike the one shown by the present Mahābodhi temple at Bodhagaya, though they lacked the lofty height of the latter. The curvilinear outline of the *śikhara*, characteristic of a temple of the later days, is a subsequent growth and may first be noticed in the Mahādeva temple at Nachna Kuthara, probably of the seventh century A.D., and in the brick temple of Lakshaṇa at Sirpur (Raipur district), probably of the same or a slightly later date. The *śikhara* in each case in its upward ascent exhibits a pleasing inward curvature which softens the harsh outline of the straight-edged pyramidal form of the earlier temples. The Nachna Kuthara temple is in perfect preservation and shows angle-*āmalak*as at the corners of the tower demarcating the different *bhūmis* and a complete spheroid *āmalaka* at the top. The Lakshana temple at Sirpur, though damaged at the top, represents one of the most beautiful monuments among the *śikhara* temples of the early period. A greater variegation of the ground plan leading to attractive effects of lights and shades, richer ornament and more refined treatment indicate a considerable experience in the art of building. Already new forces are seen to be at work and a detailed discussion of the temple should better be reserved for a later section.

2. MONASTERIES AND STŪPAS

Monasteries and stūpas are also known to have been structurally

37 *Bṛihat Saṁhitā* (Vangavasi ed.), chap. 56.

erected during the period under notice. The monastic institutions attained vast proportions consisting of large aggregations of various kinds of buildings grouped together within a spacious courtyard, surrounded by walls, and all constructed mainly of brick. They were usually raised in spots specially consecrated to Buddhism, such as Kapilavastu, Bodhgaya, Sarnath, Kusīnagara (Kasia), Śravastī (Saheth Maheth), etc. Sanchi continued its flourishing existence, while a new *mahāvihāra* grew up at Nālandā during the period under the period under the patronage of successive royal personages. Hiuan Tsang has left glorious accounts of many of these, especially of the last, the great vihāra at Nālandā. Many of these institutions lasted for several centuries and naturally consisted of collections of building erected from time to time. Apart from these successive periods of building, many of the monuments, during their chequered history, have undergone successive restorations and renovations, including even re-erections over older structures. With the Islamic occupation of Northern India the monasteries were deserted and the monuments, left to neglect through all these centuries, fell into ruins and were turned into shapeless mounds. Recent excavations have laid bare several such ruined sites, but the structures, exposed therein, are in extremely fragmentary states. Sometimes, only the foundations and parts of the walls are left. With the help of Hiuan Tsang's accounts of Sarnath and of Nālandā one may visualise their splendour and magnificence. Of the latter Hiuan Tsang gives the following description:[38]

"The whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall, which encloses the entire convent from without. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the middle (of the *saṅghārāma*). The richly adorned towers, and the fairy-like pointed hill-tops are congregated together. The observatories seem to be lost in the vapours (of the morning), and the upper rooms tower above the clouds.

"From the windows one may see how winds and clouds (produce new forms) and above the soaring eaves the conjunctions of the Sun and Moon (may be observed).

"All the outside courts, in which are priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have dragon projections and coloured eaves, the pearl-red pillars, carved and ornamented, the richly adorned balustrades, and the roofs covered with tiles that reflct the light in a thousand shades; these things add to the beauty of the scene.

38 *HTB*, II, p. 6.

"The Saṅghārāmas of India are counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height."

Unfortunately, very few vestiges of the past splendour now remain. From the excavations at Sarnath and Nālandā it appears that the usual practice was to group the stūpas and religious monuments on one portion and the residential establishments on the other. The latter normally took the shape of four rows of cells on four sides of a square courtyard,with the entrance doorway in front and usually a sanctuary in the centre of the rear end. In front of the cells there ran continuous corridors with pillars supporting the roofs. Sometimes these residential structures consisted of more than one storey and in the bigger establishments the view of the colonnades from the inner courtyard looked dignified and imposing. To relieve the flatness of brick constructions ornamentations and mouldings were applied to the surface, carved brick, terracotta and stucco being employed for these purposes. The skill in brick-laying, corner-binding. breaking the bonds in different layers, strengthening the construction by occasional layers of headers, use of voussoir arches, etc. indicate the technical efficiency of the builders whose power and sense of design and composition are further reflected in the execution of such vast schemes as the monastic institutions were in days of their prime. The fragments of such institutions that are still before us represent an architectural activity of remarkable power and dignity.

Among the stūpas belonging to this period two merit special attention. They are situated in widely apart regions, one at Mirpur Khas in Sind[39] and the other at Sarnath in Uttar Pradesh.[40] The stūpa at Mirpur Khas was built of bricks and consisted of a square terrace as basement supporting a cylindrical drum in three stages and a hemispherical dome along with the crowning elements of the *harmikā* and the *chattrāvalī*. The upper elements, including top portions of the dome, are entirely gone, but can easily be reconstructed as the form of each of these changed but very little. The general shape and appearance correspond to those of the later stūpas of the Gandhāra country, the extensive river system having supplied an easy means of intercourse between the two regions. The basement terrace, a square of 50 feet side and rising to a height of eight feet from the ground, is embellished on three sides by ornamental niches between pilasters, each such niche originally accommodating a sculpture. The western side, however, shows a distinctly individual treatment. This sides is projected in the middle, the projection having possibly an

39 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, p. 52, pl. XXXII. 9.
40 D. R. Sahni, *Guide to the Buddhist Ruins of Sarnath*, pp. 36-37.

external portico with flight of steps leading to the platform of the terrace. Internally it leads to a vestibule with three chapels on three sides, further driven into the solid masonry of the basement terrace, each chapel originally containing an image. The central chapel has an arch constructed of voussoris on the radiating principle.[41] From stylistic indications of the decorative scheme, the structure appears to belong to the fourth century A.D., at any rate, not later than the fifth.

In spite of its battered state the Dhāmekh stūpa is now the most imposing monument among the ruins of Sarnath. As it now stands it rises in three stages, the basement, the drum and the dome, the upper elements having entirely gone. The basement is circular and consists of a low platform on which rises the drum of cylindrical shape relieved on the outside by eight projecting bays, each with a large niche apparently for the reception of an image. No such image can, however, be seen now. The lower section of the drum shows, further, a broad carved ornament of intricate geometric pattern with floral arabesques above and below it. The basement and the drum are built of stone masonry, but the upper stage, the dome proper, was of bricks, in all probability originally faced with stone. The top portion of the dome has suffered a good deal; but as it is now seen it is also of a cylindrical shape, instead of the orthodox hemispherical one. The name Dhāmekh is probably derived from the Sanskrit *dharmekshā*, meaning the "pondering of the Law"—possibly not an unreasonable suggestion from its association with the site of the first preaching of the Law by the Master. Excavations have revealed that the present stūpa stands on an older structure and from its position, in a line with the Dharmarājikā stūpa originally built by Aśoka, it appears to have been an important monument, the original building on the spot possibly going back to the days of that far-famed emperor. The carvings on the body of the drum of the present structure are singularly vigorous and exquisitely beautiful and on the evidence of the plastic diction of the ornament the monument, as it now stands, may be ascribed to the Gupta age, at any rate not later than the sixth century A.D. One of the two stūpas at Jarāsandha-kī-Baithak at Rajgir exhibited an identical shape and form and might probably have belonged to the same period. Another stūpa at Kesariya (Champaran district), known as *Rājā Bena Ka Deur* or *Deorā* shows again a cylindrical shape with a slight bulge towards the top. The

41 Among instances of the occurence of true voussoir in Indian architecture of pre-Muslim age the example at Piprawa (*JRAS*, 1898, p. 573f) and the arch-stone of Mauryan date, now in Patna Museum, are possibly the earliest.

present structure is built over an older stūpa which may go back to the pre-Christian period. From the shape it appears that the present Kesariya stūpa might have belonged to the period under review. Because of elongated elevation on account of the increased heights of the different elements of the structure the Dhāmekh stūpa looks almost like a tower, and this shape and form seem to have been characteristic of the stūpas of the period. It is significant that Hiuan Tsang is sometimes known to have described a stūpa by the term tower.

3. FORMATION OF THE NĀGARA TEMPLE STYLE

The next phase in the history of Indian temple architecture is connected with the development of distinctive styles of which three are recognised in the canonical *Śilpa* texts.[42] They are the *Nāgara,* the *vesara* and the *Drāvida.* The name *Dravida* indicates that these terms were primarily geographical and the texts refer to some sort of a regional distribution of the different styles. The temple style prevalent in the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, i.e., in Northern India has been described as the *Nāgara* in the available *Śilpa* texts.[43] The descriptions given of the different styles in the various texts are, however, rather vague and inadequate and in the present state of our knowledge it is difficult to equate such descriptions with the extant monuments of Indian temple architecture. The three styles, the *Nāgara,* the *Drāviḍa* and the *Vesara,* have been distinguished in the texts according to their shapes. With reference to the *Nāgara,* that is, the style prevalent in Northern India, the texts unanimously describe it as being quadrangular all over,[44] i.e. from the the base to the *stūpī.*[45] Every type of building may be found to have begun from a quadrangular shape which is retained, with slight modifications, till a very late stage in evolution. This kind of ground plan is a rather general and common feature with almost every type of building and cannot be regarded as a sure and distinctive cognisance of a parti-

42 *Mayamata,* chaps. XIX and XXI; *ISGDP,* Paṭala XXX; *Tantrasamuchchaya,* Paṭala II; *Suprabhedāgama,* chap. XXX (*Kesara* of this text is apparently a mistake for *Vesara*); *Kāmikāgama,* paṭala XLIX; *Kāśyapa-śilpa,* chap. XXV; *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra,* chap. LVII (this text replaces *Vesara* by *Varāṭa*); *SR,* chap. XVI; *Ap.-p* (Ms. in S. K. Roy collection, fol. 51) omits *Vesara* and mentions, along with *Nāgarī* and *Drāviḍī, Lāṭī* and *Vairāṭī;* an inscription from Holal adds *Kāliṅga* to the list of *Nāgara, Drāviḍa* and *Vesara* (*Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for Epigraphy,* 1915, pp 40-90).

43 *ISGDP; SR; Kāśyapa-śilpa; Kāmikāgama.*

44 *SR; Tantra-samuchchaya.*

45 *Kāmikāgama; Mayamata.* Here *stūpi* means top of the *śikhara.*

cular style of temple. The octagonal and circular shapes, prescribed respectively for the *Drāviḍa* and the *Vesara* styles, are also too inadequate to be regarded as distinguishing marks for the styles concerned. Under the circumstances, one has to depend on the evidence of the extant monuments for a knowledge of the particular characteristics of one or other of the styles. As the *Śilpa* texts hint at a geographical distribution of the styles, a study of the extant temples geographically is expected to yield fruitful results.

In the classification of the different temple styles the *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa* have been sharply distinguished in the *Śilpaśātras*, one as belonging to the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, i.e. Northern India, and the other as belonging to the Draviḍa country between the river Krishṇā and the Kanyākumārī. A careful study of the extant remains inevitably leads also to the conclusion that the medieval temples in each of these two regions admit of some common denominator in respect of ground plan as well as of elevation. In regard to these factors the temples in the two regions may be found to be clearly distinguished. The *Nāgara* and the *Drāviḍa* styles may hence be explained with reference respectively to the temples of Northern India and the Draviḍa country and it is possible to determine the characteristic form and features in each case.

Here we are concerned with the temples of Northern India which, the *Śilpa* texts say, belonged to the *Nāgara* style. A study of such temples reveals two distinctive features, one in planning and the other in elevation. In respect of the first a North Indian temple always shows a square ground plan with a number of graduated projections in the middle of each side thus leading to the shape of a cruciform on the exterior with a number of projecting and re-entrant angles. In elevation it has as a superstructure a tower (*śikhara*) which gradually inclines inwards in a convex curve and is capped by a flat spheroid slab with ribs round the edge (*āmalaka-śilā*). A prominent feature of such a temple is supplied by the vigorous and unbroken linear ascent of the tower for which it is also known in some regions as the *rekha śikhara*. Temples with the above characteristics are found widely distributed not only throughout Northern India, but also over parts of the Deccan and Western India. It is likely, therefore, that there would be distinct varieties and ramifications of the style in different localities, due to local factors as well as to different lines of elaboration followed by each. In spite of such elaborations and consequent individual modifications, the cruciform plan and the cruvilinear tower are common to every medieval temple of Northern India, wherever it is situated and whatever its local

stamp might be. Indeed, the above two features may justly be regarded as the sure and distinctive marks of the temple style prevalent in Northern India, that is, of the *Nāgara* style.

The projections on each face of the square plan, characteristic of the *Nāgara* temple, each leaves out a small portion at either end and a number of projecting angles (*asras*) and vertical planes are thus formed. The latter are known as the *rathakas* in Sanskrit and as the *rathas* in the Orissan *śilpa* texts. The *Kāmikāgama* and the *Mayamata* describe a *Nāgara* temple both as *chaturasra* (quadrangular) and *āyatāsra*.[46] Some scholars interpret the term *āyatāsra* as rectangular[47] in which case there is no sense in juxtaposing the terms *chaturasra* and *āyatāsra* which become more or less synonymous. In the circumstances, *chaturasi-āyatāsra* of the texts should better be explained as "square with angles projected" (*āyatāsra*, i.e., with angles made *āyata* or projected). This meaning finds confirmation in the characteristic plan of the *Nāgara* temple which, on account of the projections on each face, may appropriately be described as a square with projecting angles.

The cruciform ground plan and the curvilinear *śikhara* thus constitute the fundamental characteristics of a *Nāgara* temple of which the simplest arche-type may be recongnised in a group of shrines of approximately the sixth century A.D., discussed in a previous section. The Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh and the brick temple at Bhitargaon represent the most well known examples of that group, and though belonging to the Gupta period in its later phase, they present a significant deviation from the archaic Gupta type of flat-roofed shrines, each on account of the low and stunted *śikhara,* gradually receding upwards, over the square sanctum. This constitutes a distinct departure, certainly a new direction in temple building, and in this respect these temples may justly be classed with the medieval temples of Northern India of which they were surely the precursors. In the Daśāvatāra temple we recognise, again, a new feature, apart from the *śikhara,* in the arrangement of an ornamental sculptured panel between two pilasters, on each of the three walls, corresponding to the decorative door-frame in front. These sculptured panels, along with the door-frame in front, appear to set off the walls in the middle of each face. Such an arrangement may hence be regarded as the beginning of a device that subsequently developed into the regular practice of setting forward the middle of each side of the square, a design that we have already seen to be a characteristic of

46 *Chaturasrāyatāsraṁ yan- Nāgaraṁ parikīrtitam—Kāmikāgama; Mayamata.*
47 *IC,* VII, pp. 74-75.

the ground plan of a *Nāgara* temple of the later days. We already notice one such projection in the brick temple at Bhitargaon and in the Mahādeva temple at Nachna Kuthara. In the Deogam as well as in the Bhitargaon temples the *śikharas* are badly damaged. The former, however, shows the use of corner-*āmalakas* indicating the existence of a fairly big-sized spheroid *āmalaka* as the crowning member of the *śikhara*. These features also constitute inseparable elements of a *Nāgara* temple. The projections on the body of the sanctum, whether by sculptured panels, or by regular buttresses, are carried up the body of the *śikhara* in every one of the above monuments and such features may also be recognised as the essential element of the *Nāgara* temple. In each of these *śikhara* temples of the early period a recessed frieze usually separates the cube of the sanctum from the body of the tower, i.e. such a frieze serves as a transition. This feature may also be recognised in the early temples of the *Nāgara* style. In the graceful and wellproportioned *Mahādeva* temple at Nachna Kuthara with the pleasing curvature of the *śikhara* towards the top we have the nearest approach to a temple of the *Nāgara* style in all its essential elements. The brick temple of Lakshaṇa at Sirpur, contemporary to, or slightly later than, the Nachna Kuthara monument also offers a plan and elevation of the superstructure that are not far removed from those of the *Nāgara* temple. With its origins and antecedents in the Gupta period, the *Nāgara* temple style emerges in its typical form and characteristics by the seventh-eighth century A.D.

4. THE NĀGARA STYLE

In Indian temple architecture the *Nāgara* style had a long and varied history. Temples with the distinctive marks of the style, as mentioned above, are found to have been widely distributed over a greater part of India. The *Śilpaśāstras* define the geographical extent of the style as the region between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas, *Āryāvarta* as it is called by the writers of the *Dharmaśāstras*, and Fergusson's nomenclature for the style as *Āryāvarta* is, to a certain extent, correct. Temples belonging to this style can, however, be seen from the Himalayas in the north to the Krishnā-Tuṅgabhadrā basin in the south, from the Punjab in the west to Bengal in the east; the style may thus be said to have transcended the canonical limits far to the south. With such a wide geographical distribution, local variations and ramifications in the formal development of the style are only natural and expected. Such variations are due to local conditions, to different directions in development in different localities, and to assimilation of extraneous trends wherever such

trends made themselves felt. But such local developments do not materially alter the basic characteristics of the style. In view of such a wide distribution and varied developments a consecutive historical study of the *Nāgara* style is possible only on a regional basis. The various developments of the *Nāgara* style will hence be discussed geographically, each according to the region in which it flourished.

(i) *Orissa*

One of the most remarkable regional developments of the *Nāgara* temple may be found in Orissa (ancient Kaliṅga). This Orissan development represents one of the earliest movements in the history of style and its prolificity is well illustrated by the large number of extant monuments dating from the seventh century onwards if not earlier. From the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D., and occasionally in the later period also, numerous temples were erected in Orissa and one scholar rightly observes that "there are more temples now in Orissa than in all the rest of Hindusthan put together". The sacred city of Bhuvaneśvara, literally a temple town, alone furnishes us with hundreds of temples, large and small, in various stages of preservation and provides the hub of this abundant architectural activity. The movement extends along the coast in the north—east and the south-west and approximately covers the area of the modern state. The temples within this area form, to quote Fergusson, "one of the most compact and homogenous architectural groups in India".[48] This vigorous and sustained architectural activity was due as much to the religious sanctity of the different centres as to the patronage of the different dynasties of Orissan kings. A comparative immunity of the country from the Islamic inroads till a late period of Muslim rule in India has further been responsible for the preservation of so many fine examples with the result that there is a consecutive series of notable monuments to trace the history of this local movement of the *Nāgara* style from the earliest days down to the latest with a certain degree of exactness and precision. One other notable fact about the Orissan movement is that, in spite of an unbroken history of several hundreds of years, this development remains nearest to the original arche-type of the *Nāgara* style, whereas other regional manifestations of the style undergo significant modifications and transformations in course of evaluation, as a result of the elaboration of the original prototype and, sometimes also, of the assimilation of other trends. In this respect

48 J. Fergusson, *HIEA*, II. p. 92.

the Orissan group may be said to have furnished, to a certain extent, a pure form of the basic *Nāgara* style. In its graceful proportions, solemn and unbroken outline of the lofty tower, and elegant design and decorative scheme the beauty of the original prototype has been greatly enhanced, but without any loss of balance, strength or stability. Historically, as well as architecturally, Orissa supplies us with one of the most interesting and instructive series of monuments among all the temple forms of the *Nāgara* style and it is quite natural and logical that a study of the development of the style should begin with Orissa.

Orissa had its own set of canonical *Śilpa* texts in the vernacular of the province interspersed with passages in rather indifferent Sanskrit. These texts have been critically edited by an eminent scholar who studied them with the help of traditional craftsmen, still to be found in Orissa, further supplementing the study by his extensive knowledge of the extant monuments.[49] In the study of Orissan monuments we have thus a happy collaboration between modern archaeological approach and traditional knowledge. The canons of building art of Orissa may be found to have a separate and distinct nomenclature, each part and each section of the building having a particular name. Of these, those describing the essential elements may, with a certain amount of appropriateness, be applied with reference to other temple groups of the *Nāgara* style.

Of the extant Orissan temples the earliest to be erected may be recognised to have been closely related to the *Śikhara* temples of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods and to have many things in common with them. The individual features and peculiarities, which may be termed as local on account of their being confined to the temples within the area of the province, make their appearance much later. But whatever the local marks, the Orissan temple type, as has already been stated, remains nearest to the original archetype i.e., to the earlier *Śikhara* temple. The beginnings of Orissan temple architecture are not clearly known. The earliest of the monuments that are extant already exhibits a developed form and a mature sense of decorative scheme. Such a temple represents a single building consisting of a square sanctum with a curvilinear tower as the superstructure. On the exterior it shows a single buttress-like projection in the middle of each face, this portion in the front accommodating the doorway. In plan as well as in elevation, it is the same as the early *Śikhara* temple. The typical Orissan temple is, however, a component of two members joined axially, the

49 N. K. Bose, *Canons of Orissan Architecture.*

sanctum proper (*garbha-griha*) surmounted by a curvilinear tower (*rekha*) and the assembly hall in front distinguished by a pyramidal roof (*piḍhā*). In the early Orissan temples, such a frontal adjunct (*mukha-maṇḍapa* or *jagamohana* as it is known locally) appears to have been absent. In the Paraśurāmeśvara, temple at Bhuvaneśvara one of the best preserved monuments of the early group, there is a rectangular hall in front with a roof of sloping tiers forming a clerestory. Some scholars are of opinion that this frontal hall in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple represents a later addition. Whatever the case, in the later examples the assembly hall is found to have been a necessary concomitant of the typical Orissan temple, though the disposition of the roof of this hall takes some time to acquire the typical Orissan form. The sanctum with the curvilinear tower is known in Orissa as the *rekha deul,* while the *jagamohana* with the pyramidal roof as the *bhadra* or *piḍhā deul.* The *rekha* and the *bhadra* or the *piḍhā* contitute the two essential elements of the typical Orissan temple. Abutting on each other one offers a counterplay on the design of the other.

The sanctum and the *jagamohana* may each be divided along the vertical axis into four distinct sections. They are the *pishṭa* (the pedestal or the platform on which the temple stands), the *bāḍa* (the cube of the sanctum cella or of the assembly hall), the *gaṇḍī* (the superstructure or tower), and the *mastaka* (the head, i.e. the crowning elements). The first, however, does not appear to have been an indispensable element and there are important examples where it is found to be absent. The *bāḍa* or the cube rises perpendicularly and, in case of the *rekha deul* merges into the *gaṇḍī* usually with a transitional element known as the *baraṇḍa.* The *gaṇḍī* of the *rekha* gradually inclines inwards in a convex curve and is further subdivided into a number of sub-sections, known as *bhūmis,* literally stages, by ribbed elements at the corners. This ribbed element evidently stands for a sectional *amlā,* called the *bhūmiamlā* as separating the *bhūmis* or stages, and as a substitute in the body of the *gaṇḍī* of the massive and spheroid ribbed stone, *āmalaka-śilā,* that surmounts the *gaṇḍī.* In the *bhadra* or *piḍhā deul* the *gaṇḍī* is made up of a number of compressed horizontal platforms (*piḍhās*) piled up in receding tiers in the shape of a stepped pyramid. The *piḍhās* are sometimes, particularly in the later monuments, grouped in two or more sections known as the *potalas.* In the *rekha,* as well as in the *bhadra,* the crowning elements, collectively called the *mastaka,* rise from the top of the *gaṇḍī.* The recessed circular portion above the flat top of the *gaṇḍī* is known as the *beki* (corresponding to the neck; Sanskrit—*kaṇṭha*). Next comes the *amlā* (Sanskrit—*āmalaka-śilā*-

amalasāraka) which is an enormous flattened spheroid ribbed round the edge. In the full-fledged *Bhadra deul* an elongated domical member, shaped like a bell and sometimes ribbed like the *āmalaka,* intervenes between the *beki* and the *amlā.* This is known as *ghanṭā-srāhi.* Over the *amlā* appears the *khapuri* (literally the scalp of the head) which is a flattened domical element resembling an unfolded umbrella. Next comes the *kalaśa* or water jar, an auspicious object in Indian religion and ritual. In the *Rekha,* as well as the *bhadra,* the *baḍa* along with the *gaṇḍī* is square in cross-section, but the crowning elements are all circular. Cresting the entire structure appears the *dhvaja* or *āyūdha,* i.e., the emblem of the particular divinity enshrined in the sanctum.

In plan the sanctum and the *jagamohana* are square internally, but externally the walls in each have buttress-like projections in the middle of each face with the result that a cruciform shape is obtained in the external plan which may hence be described as one of projecting and re-entrant angles. One such projection divides the wall on each face into three vertical planes, literally known as *rathas* or *rathakas,* and this kind of plan is hence known as *tri-ratha,* i.e., consisting of three *rathas,* the two on either side being on the same plane and the central, representing the projection, being set forward a little. Similarly there may be recognised *pañcha-ratha, sapta-ratha* and *nava-ratha* plans according as there are two, three or four such projections on each face of the cube of the *bāḍa.* These projections on the *bāḍa* are carried up the body of the *gaṇḍi* up to its top and the corresponding sections on the body of the latter are known as the *pagas.* A narrow and continuous depression usually runs between any two of the vertical sections and separates and accentuates the projections still more.

The above description is generally valid for every temple of Orissa, early or late. Basically it is also correct with reference to other temple groups of the *Nāgara* style. The tendency in evolution is recognised in a greater elaboration, increasing exuberance of details and a more pronounced accentuation of height. Among the early group of Orissan temples there are a few which exhibit each a *tri-ratha* plan and a corresponding three-fold division of the *bāḍa* along the vertical axis. These segments are the *pābhāga* (from Sanskrit *pādabhāga,* the portion of the foot, i.e., the plinth), the *jaṅghā* (the shin, i.e., the perpendicular wall portion of the *bāḍa*) and the *baranḍa,* i.e. the section intervening between the *bāḍa* and the *gaṇḍi* to separate and demarcate the two elements, tectonically the transition. Of the extant Orissan temples those with the above shape and form may be recognised to have been the earliest in date.

In this connection reference should first be made to the three ruined temples in front of the Rāmeśvara at Bhuvaneśvara. They are locally known as the Lakshaṇeśvara, the Bharateśvara and the Śatrughṇeśvara. These three temples stand side by side and were in all probability, erected at the same time. They are now extremely damaged, the facing stones having mostly fallen down, so that each now represents a mere shell of its original form. Of the three, one is slightly better preserved and may be examined with profit for an idea of the shape and form of each. In spite of its battered state, a *tri-ratha* plan, a three-fold division of the *bāḍa* and a curvilinear form of the *śikhara* may be recognised in this temple. The top has entirely collapsed, but from the use of *bhūmi-amlās* on the body of the *gaṇḍi* it is reasonable to infer the existence of a complete *āmalaka* at the top. In the *tri-ratha* plan, in the three-fold division of the *bāḍa,* in the form of the transition between the *bāḍa* and the *gaṇḍi*, in the curved outline of the *śikhara,* in the frequent use of the chaitya window motif, and in its other decorative arrangements, this particular temple supplies a close analogy with the early *śikhara* temples already noticed and the group may be placed about the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century A.D. A tiny little shrine that once stood by the side of the Vindusaravora at Bhuvaneśvara, from its plan and shape and decorative features, also appears to belong to the same or a slightly later date. Only about a generation ago it was seen complete and standing. It has since been pulled down, unfortunately without any regard to its architectural importance, and thus was lost a shrine that aesthetically as well as architecturally constituted a landmark in the history of Orissan temple architecture in its initial phase.

With the small, but exquisitely decorated, shrine of the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhuvaneśvara we reach the next phase and from it can be traced the story of the development of Orissan temple architecture through an unbroken series of notable monuments. As in the temples of the previous group, the ground plan is *tri-ratha,* but with indications of a further advance in the design. On each face of the *jaṅghā,* above the *pābhāga*, there are two subsidiary niches on two sides of the central niche accommodated in the buttress-like projection in the middle—a mode that may justly be regarded as an anticipation of the future *pañcha-ratha* plan. The *bāḍa* is divided into three segments—the *pābhāga* or the plinth consisting of three simple mouldings, the *jaṅghā* with three niches on each face each capped by a tiered superstructure, and the *baraṇḍa,* i.e., the transition between the *bāḍa* and the *gaṇḍi*, consisting of a narrow recessed frieze showing human couples alternating with chess-board-pattern-

ed panels. The *gaṇḍi* appears low and stunted and shows inward curvature even from its lowest stage thus resulting in a gradually curvilinear outline. The projections on each face of the *bāḍa* are carried up the body of the *gaṇḍi*. The continuation of the buttress of the central niche forms the *rāhā-paga* (the central *paga*), while two other intermediate *pagas* (*anurāhā-pagas*) are seen on two sides of the *rāhā* as a result of the continuation, though not in the same alignment, of the projections of the two subsidiary niches on two sides of the central buttress of the *bāḍa*. The *gaṇḍi* is divided into five stages, i.e., *bhūmis*, by *bhūmi-amlās* shown on the corner *pagas* (*konaka-pagas*). Above the fifth *bhūmi* the *gaṇḍi* ends in a flat tier, known as the *bisama*, also called the *vedī* or the altar. Right up to the top of the *gaṇḍi* the temple is square in cross-section and the harsh edges at the corners and in the *ratha-paga* projections are rigidly maintained. The *gaṇḍi*, as a result of the gradual inward inclination, ends at the top in a much smaller square. The *bisama*, i e., the tier with which the *gaṇḍi* ends at the top, is a plain square without the indentations of the *paga* projections seen on the body of the *gaṇḍi*. This is a feature which constitutes a characteristic of the early *śikhara* temples, noticed elsewhere. Above the *bisama* begins the circular section of the crowing elements. The massive *āmalaka-śilā* resting on the *beki*, appears to have been supported at each of the four corners on a sedant lion with two hinder parts, locally known as *dopichā siṁha*, placed over the *bisama*. The finial is gone and what we see now represents a modern reconstruction. It is possible that the *āmalaka* was originally topped by a prism-shaped object, as seen over the *āmalaka* of the little shrine by the side of the Vindusarovara, now lost. This prism-shaped object, from its occurence on the now-lost shrine, appears to have been the usual finial of the early group of Orissan temples, especially of the Śaiva order. The nearness of the prism to the shape of a liṅga, usually enshrined in such shrines, may warrant such an inference. The height of the paraśurāmeśvara temple is approximately three times the inside length of the sanctum chamber, whereas the early *śikhara* temples, already discussed, were roughly double that length. In this emphasis for height and in the indications foreshadowing the *pañcharatha* plan, the Paraśurāmeśvara reveals advanced ideas in temple conception, when compared to the early *śikhara* temples elsewhere or to those of Orissa just discussed. The plastic treatment of its decoration also bears this out. With reference to the Paraśurāmeśvara temple Monomahan Ganguli observes that it is "probably dated in the 5th or the 6th century at the latest."[50] This date is

50 M. Ganguly, *Orissa and her Remains—Ancient and Mediaeval*, p. 307.

palpably wrong on tectonic as well as plastic considerations. R. D. Banerji, on a palaeographic examination of the inscribed labels on the Navagraha lintel over the doorway of the sanctum, assigns the temple to the eighth century A.D.[51] Another scholar has tried to place the temple, on the same palaeographic considerations, approximately a century earlier.[52] In view of the nearness of the temple, in form as well as design, to those of the earlier group, a date about the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century appears to be quite probable.

The joining between the sanctum and the rectangular hall in front is rather a haphazard piece of work and the view that the frontal adjunct represents a later addition is not beyond the range of probability. It should be noted, however, that in Orissan temples the system of joining between the different components remains always a crude and perfunctory process and too much emphasis need not be laid on this feature. Rectangular in shape and with a sloping roof of flat stone slabs having in the centre a sort of a clerestory, this frontal hall, it has already observed, does not partake of the usual from and elevation of the *bhadra deul* typical of the Orissan *jagamohanas*. In the composition of the Orissan temples pillars have seldom a place and the two rows of three pillars reach in the interior of this hall supporting the clerestory offer a rather unusual note in the essentially astylar arrangement of the Orissan temples. The hall had three doorways, one on each of the two larger sides and the third in front which was later on closed by a sculptured slab forming a grilled window. Besides, a latticed window of the chess board pattern in one of the longer walls and the clerestory of the roof admit fairly sufficient light into the interior of the hall which with, its mellow and subdued light, offers a contrast to the dark and mysterious appearance of the sanctum chamber. The walls of the sanctum as well as of the hall in front are covered with sculptured decorations in good and elegant taste. On the *gaṇḍi* the chaitya window forms the principal motif of ornamentation executed with a care and skill reminiscent of the shape and form of the motif as seen in the Gupta age.

The Paraśurāmeśvara temple is a comparatively small structure. The sanctum is only twenty feet at its base, the frontal hall only forty-eight feet in length and the *rekha* only forty-four feet in height from the base to the top. The entire structure was built of stone masonry of large and massive size without any binding mortar. The

51 R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, II, pp. 338-39.
52 *JRASBL*, XV, pp. 109-14.

masonry was kept in position by their weight and balance, strengthened further by a system of inter-locking flanges. The mode of construction was thus very simple, though effective, as is proved by the survival of the monument through all these centuries. This simple mode was widely in vogue in Orissa and was followed later even in raising up such massive and monumental piles as the great Liṅgarāja at Bhuvaneśvara and the celebrated Sun temple at Konarka.

A few other temples with distinct analogies with the Paraśurāmeśvara may still be found at Bhuvaneśvara and among these mention should be made particularly of the Svarṇajāleśvara, near the Kotitīrtha, the Śiśireśvara by the side of the Vaitāl Deul, and the Mohinī by the side of Vindusarovara. In plan as well as in elevation each of these temples offers a close resemblance to the Paraśurāmeśvara, the second and the third having a further point of analogy the rectangular frontal halls. The sculptural decoration of the Śiśireśvara betrays, however, an advanced conception, on account of which the temple, though belonging to the issue architectural group as the Paraśurāmeśvara and temples of this class appears to be of a slightly later date. The twin temples at Gandharadi in the naw-defunct Baudh State also belong to the Paraśurāmeśvara class, in plan as well as in elevation and general form and shape. The frontal hall in each is rectangular in plan and the roof is composed of two receding stages of sloping tiers, but without the clerestory as found in the hall of the Paraśurāmeśvara. Several instances of such an arrangement of the roof in sloping stages may be found in different parts of Orissa and in such a process may justly be recognised the nucleus of the typical pyramidal form of the Orissan *piḍhā deuls*. In the Gandharadi temples the general scheme of ornamentation remains the same as in the Paraśurāmeśvara, but the rounded corners and bevelled edges of the *pagas* testify to a tendency to refinement from harsh to soften contours, obviously a sign of advancement of the temple design.

The next landmark in the development of the *Nāgara* temple in Orissa may be recognised in the little shrine of Mukteśvara, situated in the neighbourhood of the Paraśurāmeśvara at a place known as the Siddhāranya or the forest of the perfect. It stands within a quadrangular court surrounded by a low wall with a battlemented coping and panelled sides. An elegant *torana* composed of two richly decorated columns supporting a semi-circular arch, serves as an effective approach in front. Built in sections each of the columns consists of a square base, a sixteen-sided shaft and a capital composed of an *āmalaka* with a spread-out many-sided *vedikā* supporting the arch.

The last is built of oversailing courses with the ends shaped as *makara* heads and the top surmounted by a *kalasa*. Each of the faces is beautifully carved with elegant floral patterns, miniature niches enclosing human heads and a pair of female figures in gracefully recumbent attitudes occupying the entire segment of the arch. Superb in its setting and chastely carved, this ornamental frontage to the temple enclosure acts as an appropriate prelude to the temple behind; it is unlike any gateway in Orissa and there is a tradition, which might have some basis of truth, that it was intended for swinging the god on festive occasions.

Like the Paraśurāmeśvara, the temple of Mukteśvara stands on a low plinth and belongs to the same class, though a further advancement of the temple design is recognised in the regular *pañcha-ratha* plan and the piled up *piḍhā* form of the *jagamohana*. The latter is a nearly square hall with a projection each in the front and the other two sides. That to the front accommodates the doorway and the side ones, each a latticed window of class-board pattern. The roof is pyramidal with gradually receding tiers, piled up one above the other, surmounted at the apex by the auspicious *kalasa*, the pediments over the projections on the three sides having each the figure of a prancing lion. The spite of the pyramidal shape of the roof, the *jagamohana* is yet to reach the typical Orissan *piḍhā* form.

In plan the sanctum of the Mukteśvara, it has already been observed, is a regular *pañcha-ratha* and the *pābhāga* consists of five elegant mouldings instead of three in the Paraśurāmeśvara. A recessed frieze separates the *bāḍa* from the *gaṇḍi*. The latter consists of five *bhūmis* and is surmounted by the recessed *beki*, the *āmalaka* and the usual *kalasa*. It is interesting to note that the *bisama*, unlike that in the Paraśurāmeśvara, partakes of the indentations of the *ratha-paga* division. The corners of the building are also gracefully rounded and the sharp edges of the *ratha-paga* projections are bevelled to a certain extent with the result that the four-square contour of the earlier group gives place to an elegant and softened outline to the *śikhara* as it goes up. Further, rich carvings, consisting of a luxuriance of ornamental detail executed and finished with the greatest care and taste, cover the entire surface of the temple. The rich and deep fret-work, possibly an adaptation of interlacing chaitya window motifs in miniature, decorate the intermediate *ratha-paga* sections from the base to the top as well as the upper portion of the *rāhā-paga*. Clean-cut and decisive, it constitutes an effective surface adornment of a continuous pattern pleasingly diversified by lights and shades. This mode of ornamentation is rare in its appear-

ance in Orissa. Elsewhere too it has been seldom used and the only place where the pattern has been executed with an equally successful effect is Osia in Rajputana. On the *rāhā-paga* on each face the Mukteśvara shows again a bold design consisting of a couple of grinning dwarfish figures on two sides of a highly ornamental chaitya window device surmounted by the *kīrttimukha.* A characteristically Orissan motif and technically known as the '*bho*', it invariably appears on the well known Orissan temples; but none excels the superb treatment and masterful animation of the motif on the Mukteśvara Apart from these, the floral bands, the rich scroll works, and other details display a remarkable sense of design and a perfect delicacy of execution on the part of the artist. In spite of lavish details, everything is orderly, balanced and distinctive. Not a scrap is out of place. The reliefs, again, are bold and impressive and the charming and elegantly modelled statuettes, naturally stepping out, as it were, of the surface, are full of animation. One of the smallest of the Bhuvaneśvara temples, the Muktesvara is barely 35 feet in height. Yet, at the same time, it is one of the prettiest. Apart from its rich, and at the same time chaste, ornamentation, much of its beauty rests on its elegant proportions. The artist has so beautifully adjusted the different parts of the building and has so cleverly adapted the ornaments to the scale of the monument that one fails to detect the smallness of the structure. In spite of its modest size, the entire conception appears to have been inspired by a brilliant and rhythmical design in which the structure and its ornament are in full accord. Fergusson has described it as the "gem of Orissan architecture"[53] while Rajendra Lala Mitra speaks of it as the "handsomest—a charming epitome of the perfection of Orissan architecture".[54] These are well-deserved praises, no doubt, especially in view of the fact that both these discerning critics saw the temple furrowed and wrinkled by the decay and overgrowth of centuries.

The Paraśurāmeśvara and the Mukteśvara represent two notable examples of an early period of *Nāgara* temple building activity in Orissa. The Mukteśvara, though representing an advance over the Paraśurāmeśvara in design and form, does not signify as yet any definite break with, or departure from, the earlier monuments of this class. The erection of this fine temple is usually assigned to about A.D. 950, i.e. approximately three centuries after the date of the Paraśurāmeśvara. Architectural and stylistic considerations, however, indicate that this date for the Mukteśvara appears to be much too late

53 *HIEA*, II, p. 97.

54 R. L. Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, p. 91.

and the longest interval that separated the two temples could not possibly have been more than a century or a century and a half.

At Bhuvaneśvara and other places in Orissa there are temples almost similar in shape and design, and from their nearness to the older arche-types they may be recognised as belonging to an early period in the evolution of the Orissan type of the *Nāgara* temple. Temples of this class represent, no doubt, an early expression of the *Nāgara* style which may be found to be widely distributed over a large territory from the Himalayas in the north to the Krishna-Tungabhadra basin in the south, from the western to the eastern seas. A common arche-type, namely the Gupta *śikhara* temple, was the basis from which each locality within this vast area derived its inspiration and none of them, as the extant monuments show, can be said to have developed as yet any local or regional characteristic.

The simple and early form of the *Nāgara* temple in Orissa represented by the Paraśurāmeśvara-Mukteśvara group, experiences a distinct transformation, as a result of evolution, into an individual and elaborate type which may be termed as particularly Orissan. The tendency in evolution is towards an elaboration and refinement of the simpler design of the earlier temple and also towards an accentuation of height. The eleaboration is recognised in a greater variegation of the ground plan, obtained by adding to the number of projections. The archetypal *tri-ratha* plan elaborates, in course of time, into the *pañcha-ratha*, the *sapta-ratha* and even the *nava-ratha*. Each of these *rathas*, again, is further subdivided into a number of smaller facets, leading not only to greater diversification of lights and shades but also provision of additional planes for the application of or ornament. The *sapta-ratha* and *nava-ratha* plans are met with only occasionally: it is the *pañcha-ratha* plan which is characteristic of the typical Orissan development of the *Nāgara* temple.

Similar elaboration is noticed also in elevation. In conformity with the archetypal design, the earlier Orissan temple exhibits a threefold division of the *bāḍa* along the vertical axis—the *pābhāga*, the *jañghā* and the *baraṇḍa*. The later group of Orissan temples invariably shows a five-fold division of the *bāḍa*, there being a further subdivision of the *jañghā* into two segments, the *tala-jañghā* and the *upara-jañghā*, by a course of mouldings, known as the *bāndhanā* or the bond. Correspondingly, there was an increase in the number of mouldings of the *pābhāga* and those of the *baraṇḍa*, the former consisting of five and the latter of seven in almost every important Orissan temple of the later period. The *gaṇḍi* is divided into a larger

number of *bhūmis* and in contour it takes a more perpendicular rise with an abrupt inward bend towards the top. The greater variegation of the elevation of the temple is, no doubt, dependent on an urge for increased height.

Along with such greater diversification of the different parts and elements, there is correspondingly an increased variety of decorative detail and the whole exterior is not only covered with rich and elegant mouldings, and intricate carvings, but also with pilasters, niches and figures—human, animal and composite—each having its proper and appropriate place in the scheme of ornamentation. Along with increased height the ratio between the length of the sanctum and the total height of the temple also increases. In Gupta and post-Gupta *śikhara* temples this ratio is approximately double the inside length of the sanctum cella. In the Paraśurāmesvara and other early Orissan temples it is approximately 1:3, whereas in temples which, in plan (multiplication of *rathas*) as well as in elevation (five segments of the *bāḍa*, multiplication of the mouldings), greater detail in decoration, etc., exhibit late features in evolution the ratio increases from 1:4 to 1:5, and in the magnificent Sun temple at Konarka the estimated ratio is approximately 1:7. All through the history of Orissan temple architecture there is recognised a correspondence between elaboration and heightening.

Further, a refinement and delicacy of the outline may be recognised in the gradual rounding off of the sharp edges at the corners as well as in the *ratha-paga* projections. But in doing so the Orissan builders took especial care not to break up the vertical outline in any section, and the unbroken contour of the tall tower, together with the emphasised verticalism of the *ratha-paga* projections, gave the monument an impression of aspiring height and grandeur. This rounding off of the corners and of the edges of the projections logically leads to the practice of decorating the exterior of the *gandi* with miniature replicas of *śikharas*. The corner *pagas*, rounded off and with *bhūmi-amlās* at the different stages, tend to take the shape of miniature *rekhas* and soon they begin to appear on the *gandi* all around. The different stages of the spire thus simulate the main one by repeating themselves on the body, and quite in a logical way too. The Rajarani temple at Bhavaneśvara has a cluster of smaller towers round the body of the main tower. Some scholars consider it to be an exotic growth in Orissa as the feature is rare in its occurence in the area. It can, however, be explained as the natural outcome of a logical course of evolution following the direction outlined above. In this context the Rajarani, instead of being an exo-

tic growth, represents a logical stage in the normal cycle of the evolution of the *Nāgara* temple in different regions, Orissa not excluded. The different miniatures had the effect of breaking up and dissolving the forceful outline of the tower, an outline that was more pleasing and architecturally more sound. For this reason, it seems, the process was not carried further in Orissa. It had, however, its full play in Central India where the aspiring outline of the tower had been whittled away by an exuberance of turrets, each with its own mass and volume, clinging to the body of the main tower and thus breaking up its emphatically vertical *ratha-paga* arrangement. To the Orissan architects the aspiring verticality of the *rekha* tower seems to have been of greater import and when they realised that the process of evolution, if carried to a logical culmination, would lead to a loss of architectural effect they reached a compromise and confined the miniature *rekhas* to the *anurāhā-pagas* only and casually to the *rāhā-paga* on the front face. While thus accepting the logic of evolution, they showed a rare manipulative skill in adapting this logic to their own idea about the overbearing importance of the *rekha* tower.

Thus the *Nāgara* temple assumed a particular and individual form in Orissa. The distinctive characteristics of this typical Orissan development may be described as the five-fold (*pañchāṅga*) division of the *bāḍa* and miniature replicas of the *rekha* tower on the *anurāhā-pagas* of the *gaṇḍī*. The figure of a lion rampant on an elephant (*gaja-siṁha*) projecting from each face of the *gaṇḍi* and caryatids, called *deul-chāraṇis,* above the *bisama* supporting or appearing to support the heavy *āmalaka-śilā,* also occur invariably in this characteristic type of Orissan temple and may be recognised to be among its distinguishing elements. Again, an Orissan temple of this characteristic design may be found to exhibit an almost perpendicular rise of the *rekha* tower with a pronounced inward curve very near the top. The mouldings of the *pābhāga,* the *bāndhanā* and the *baraṇḍa* increase in number, no doubt, as a necessary corollary to the increased height of the temple. The above features, confined to temples in Orissa alone, may be considered to be typically Orissan. And the emergence of this typical Orissan form of the *Nāgara* temple may be studied with reference to several interesting examples at Bhuvaneśvara, namely the Siddheśvara, the Kedāreśvara and the Brahmeśvara. By reason of the inscription that once existed in the Brahmeśvara temple, but is now lost, it may be assigned to a date in the second half of the eleventh century.[55] Be-

55 *JRASBL.* XIII. pp. 63-73.

cause of the nearness of the design to the Brahmeśvara, the Siddheśvara and the Kedāreśvara do not appear to have been very much earlier. Possibly, they belonged to a period outside the scope of this volume. They are intimately associated with the evolution of the typical Orissan temple which emerged with all its characteristic elements in the century between 1000 and 1100. A study of these temples should hence be reserved for the next volume.

To the early phase of building activity in Orissa may be assigned certain temples, apparently of an alien inspiration in the north. Of course, the precursors of the type may be recognised in the representations of a particular form of structural buildings occuring frequently in the reliefs of early Indian art, in the north as well as in the south. A mediaeval shrine of this order appears, however, to be a new conception, rare in its occurence in the north. The most notable example of the type in Orissa is supplied by the Vaitāl deul at Bhuvaneśvara, a shrine dedicated to the worship of the goddess in her terrific form. Situated within a quadrangular court enclosed by a low wall, it stands on a raised platform and consists of a sanctum chamber preceded by a porch hall in front. Unlike the usual type of the Orissan temple, the sanctuary is rectangular in plan (13 feet by 25 feet) and is surmounted by a superstructure which is also of an unusual shape. The porch hall in front is also rectangular and is roofed as the *jagamohana* of the Paraśurāmeśvara. In the *jagamohana* of the Vaitāl deul there is, however, a new feature that consists of a small replica of a *tri-ratha rekha* temple embedded at each of its four corners, a parallel of which may be found in the *jagamohana* of a temple at Baijnath (Kangra district),[56] the latter however, having a pyramidal roof.

The most significant deviation that the Vaitāl deul presents to the usual type prevalent in Orissa is to be recognised in the shape and form of the superstructure over the sanctum cella. In the lower section this has a rise not unlike that of the *gandi* of *Nāgara* temple of Orissa. In the upper section there is an elongated barrel-vaulted roof in two stages, separated by a recess in between, and further crowned by three *āmalakas*, each with the usual finials, placed along the ridge of the upper semi-circular vault. The *bāḍa* again. has no *rathaka* projection on any face; the manner of treating and diversifying the exterior walls is of a kind that is new in Orissa and in *Nāgara* style of temple as well. Each wall is divided into richly patterned pilasters and recessed panels with sculptures—a highly

56 For the information the author is indebted to Professor N. K. Bose.

effective mode that is identical with that of the treatment of the exterior walls of a temple of *Drāviḍa* style. With its beginnings in the storeyed temples of the Gupta and post-Gupta periods this mode becomes clearly established as a distinctive decorative scheme in the seventh century as may be recognised in the Jaina temple of Meguti at Aihole (A.D. 634) and the rock-cut *rathas* of Mahabalipuram. The semi-cylindrical vaulted roof of the Vaitāl deul, clear analogies of which are furnished by the Bhīma and the Gaṇeśa *rathas* at Mahabalipuram, provides a further link with South India. It should be noted, however, that analogies with the south end with the shape of the roof and the manner of treatment of the exterior walls. Such features, in their origins, were not particularly South Indian, though in the early medieval phase they formed distinctive elements of a South Indian temple. Again, the storeyed arrangement of the superstructure, a characteristic feature of a South Indian temple, is conspicuous by its absence in the Vaitāl deul. In spite, hence, of the shape of the superstructure, the manner of treatment of the walls, and rectangular plan, which may indicate a familiarity with South Indian types, the Vaitāl deul cannot be considered to an exact copy of a South Indian model. Rather, the other essential arrangements, including the rise of the superstructure up to a certain height, exhibit a more general conformity with the early *Nāgara* form as presented in Orissa and the distinctive quality of the architectural treatment of the temple may, hence, be described as of *Nāgara* inspiration.

A rich profusion of carved work, elegant and graceful in an extreme measure, covers the exterior surfaces of the building. The pleasing proportions of the sanctum, the skilful disposition of its surfaces and decorative elements denote an aesthetic sense of a very high order. Many of the decorative elements are closely approximate to those of the Paraśurāmeśvara. With the latter, again, it is clearly allied in respect of the form and disposition of the *jagamohana* and on stylistic considerations of its sculptures. The Vaitāl deul has, hence, to be assigned to a period not far removed from that of the Paraśurāmeśvara.

The rather exotic shape of the Vaitāl deul may indicate its derivation from an alien inspiration or its assimilation of extraneous influences. It is to be noted, however, that the shape is recognised in the canonical texts of Orissa as constituting a distinct class of temples, known as the *khākharā*. Miniature relief replicas of the *Khākharā* often appear in the surface decoration of the usual shape and form. In North Indian temples of this shape and form are

not quite unknown, a likely parallel, though much transformed due to subsequent renovations, being possibly the Durgā temple at Bhuvaneśvara. In Orissa several other temples of this design may be noticed, namely the little shrine of Durgā at Badesvar (Cuttack),[57] a ruined temple at Ranipur Jharial (Patna),[58] the Vārāhī temple at Chaurasi,[59] *et al.* Of these, the Durgā temple at Badesvara and the Vārāhī temple at Chaurasi seem to have been structures of remarkable beauty and excellence. Outside Orissa, examples of the type may be met with in the well konwn Teli-ka-mandir at Gwalior, the Navadurgā temple at Yagesvar (Almora district, U.P.),[60] and also possibly in the rectangular temple, now ruined, at Osia, Rajputana. It is also interesting to observe that the majority of the temples of the type in Northern India are dedicated to the worship of the goddess Śakti in one or other of her forms, and an association of the type with this cult may not be entirely ruled out. The canonical texts of Orissa refer to several varieties of the *Khākharā* temple, namely the *Drāviḍa,* the *Varaṭī* and the *Kośalī.* The first name, no doubt, echoes the South Indian affinity of the type, and this is only too apparent in the extant monuments to be missed.

Three ancient temples within the compound of the modern Rāmeśvara temple at Baudh[61] supply us with yet another interesting type of temple in Orissa. Each of the temples stands on a raised platform and consists of a snactum cella with an attached portico in front. The sanctum cella in each case is planned on the principle of two squares placed diagonally and intersecting each other at an angle of 45 degrees. The angular faces, thus formed in the exterior walls, give it the shape of an eight-pointed star. In other words this star-shaped plan is the result of rotating the square of the plan on its own axis and stopping it once midway at 45 degrees angle. Each angular face is, again, subdivided into three smaller facets thereby leading to a charming arrangement of light and shade along and across the entire design. The angles of the plan rise boldly up the height of the *gaṇḍi* and convey an appearance of greater height than any of the temples really possesses. Notwithstanding the star-shaped plan, other arrangements of the *bāḍa* and the *gaṇḍi* are not different from those of the Bhuvaneśvara temples of the early phase. From the base to the top each temple is covered

57 *JASB,* VII, pp. 828-29, pl. XL.
58 Information kindly supplied by Professor N. K. Bose.
59 *JAS.*
60 *ASR,* 1928-29, p. 16, pl. IV.a.
61 *JBORS,* XV, pp. 65-68, pl. IV, V; *ASC,* XIII; pp. 118-19; S. K. Saraswati· Three Old Temples at Baudh", *P. B. Desai Felicitation Volume.*

with rich and elaborate carving, the most prominent motif being the intricate tracery work, with deep shadows in the interstices, which accentuates still more the effect of light and shade. The scheme of ornamentation is not inconsistent with that of the early temples of Bhuvaneśvara, and in respect of their general shape and form and plastic considerations of their sculptures, these Baudh temples could not have been far removed in date from the Mukteśvara at Bhuvaneśvara. Another temple of an identical plan in Orissa is recognised, perhaps, in a ruined brick monument at Ranipur Jharial (Patna)[62] which, from the single wall, now remaining, may be found to have a star-shaped plan obtained obviously on the principle of intersecting or rotating squares.

The stellate plan of intersecting squares, though a rare occurence in the early phase of the history of Indian temple architecture, seems to be latent, along with the plan of *rathaka* projections, as a parallel measure of elaboration, in the variegation of the ground-plan and diversification of the walls of a *Nāgara* temple. A further advance on this simple plan of two intersecting squares may be noticed in a temple within the Nurpur fort[63] that has the angles of intersections filled up, leaving only small projecting angles between the sides of the resulting octagon. Another direction of elaboration consists in the addition to the number of intersecting squares obtained by rotating the square on its own axis and stopping it at more frequent and regular intervals.

Further elaboration of this principle consists in the addition to the number of intersections obtained by rotating the square on its own axis and stopping it at more frequent and regular intervals than the plan of two intersecting squares would require. Other regions of the *Nāgara* temple style are known also to have made use of this principle occasionally which, hence, does not appear to be entirely outside the scope of development that a *Nāgara* temple might have. In Mālava and the Dakhan the two principles, i.e. those of the *rathaka* projections and of the intersecting or rotating squares, are found to have been combined in a number of important monuments of the regions concerned. The principle had its extreme expression outside the limits of the *Nāgara* temple style, in the later Chalukyan and Hoysala monuments of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries in which the full-fledged stellate plan, because of its many points of intersection owing to an increased number of

62 Information kindly supplied by Professor N. K. Bose.

63 *ASR*, 1904-05, pp. 116-20, pls. XXXVI, XXXVII.

stoppages of the rotating square, is found to have described a complete circle at the periphery.

(*ii*) *Central India*

Central India provides another regional expression of the *Nāgara* temple style. The direction of development of the *Nāgara* design in Central India was not different from that in Orissa. The evolutionary process had, however, a full and unrestrained play in Central India, and the Central Indian type of the *Nāgara* temple may be said to have reached one of its most exuberant expressions. The course of evolution was a long one and temples in different parts of Central India illustrate identical stages of development, as in Orissa, till the emergence of the typical Central Indian features. Such typical features make their appearance, however, in the period that falls outside the scope of this volume.

Central India had been the home of early *śikhara* temples, the nucleus of the *Nāgara* design, as described above. The temple of Vaidyanātha Mahādeva at Baijnath,[64] 9 miles from Rewa, supplies us with the archaic form of the *Nāgara* temple in Central India. It is in a dilapidated state and a greater part of the *śikhara* has collapsed. But enough remains to provide an idea of its plan and elevation. The sanctum is *tri-ratha* in plan and the cube is divided into the three usual sections (*aṅgas*). The cubical section ends in a recessed frieze separating it from the curvilinear. From the portion of the *śikhara* preserved, it appears to have curved inward from the very bottom and to have a rather stunted elevation. Chaitya window motifs, simple in execution, cover the faces of the *śikhara*. The shrine is said to have an *antarāla* and a *maṇḍapa* in front, but such adjuncts appear to be later additions. The late Mr. R. D. Banerji cites the evidence of the Bilhari inscription to identify the temple with the one given by king Lakshaṇarāja to the Śaiva teacher Hridayaśiva. The suggestion, however, is a tentative one. Stylistically the Baijnath temple seems to be much earlier to the time of Lakshaṇarāja. In plan, in elevation, in the general character of its ornaments the temple has its closest parallels in the Śatrughṇeśvara group and in the Uttareśvara at Bhuvaneśvara and could not be far removed from them in date. At Bargaon there may be found the ruins of a temple of the Baijnath type.[65]

In the well known Lakshaṇa temple at Sirpur[66] may be recognis-

64 *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 61-62, pl. XVIII.b.
65 *Ibid.*, p. 66, pl. XVIII.a.
66 *ASC*, XVII, p. 28; *ASR*, 1909-10, pp. 11-14; 1922-23, pp. 49-50.

ed a lineal descendant of the Vaidyanātha Mahādeva temple of Baijnath. In it may be noticed a further elaboration of the archaic *Nāgara* design. It is built of large size red bricks and is supported over a raised terrace. The scheme consists of the sanctum proper and a forward *maṇḍapa* hall with an *antarāla* (vestibule, antechamber) connecting the two, all raised over a substantial terrace. Of the *mṇḍapa* only a few pillars remain. A greater variegation over the plan of the Baijnath temple is recognised in the *pañcha-ratha* plan of the sanctum cella. The result is a more attractive effect of light and shade and with the continuation of the *rathas* on the body of the *śikhara* there is, again, an emphasis on the verticality of the conception. The cube of the sanctum is divided vertically into three sections, as in the earlier temples and the transition to the curvilinear section of the *śikhara* is formed by two lines or recessed friezes of sculptures. The mouldings of the plinth (*pābhāga*) are bold and elegant. On the *rathas* of the next section (*jaṅghā*) there appear recessed niches for accommodation of sculptures, that on either side of the central being surmounted by a graceful chaitya window. On the *śikhara,* likewise, graceful chaitya windows, repeated one above the other, on the vertical planes, lend a charming effect to the entire ensemble, enhanced further by the rounded forms of the attached *āmalakas* at the corners. The top has toppled down and has been replaced in modern times by an ill-fitting hut-shaped cap. The contour of the tower has a pleasing inward curvature and on the analogy of temples of similar design and elevation as well as from the vertical sequence of attached *āmalakas* at the corners of the tower there can be very little doubt that a flattened and spheroid *āmalaka-śilā* supported on a recessed neck (*beki, kaṇṭha*) formed the crowning element of the *śikhara.* Over the doorway in front there is a triangular dormer opening, a prominent characteristic also of other early brick temples, that has probably been introduced to relieve the load of the masonry over the doorway opening. The brickwork in the construction of the temple is highly efficient; the surfaces and the joints have been rubbed to a beautiful smooth texture and the ornaments are bold, well-defined and finely cut. In its perfect proportions, in the pleasing disposition of its parts, in its rich red texture and refined treatment of its surface this brick temple at Sirpur is, perhaps unequalled among the early *Nāgara* temples in Central India. There are differences of opinion regarding its date. Some scholars would like to place it in the seventh century A.D. while others bring it down to the ninth. The fine construction of the temple together with the refined treatment of the exterior indicates, no doubt, a long experience in the art of building, especially

building in brick. At the same time, a link with the Gupta brick temple at Bhitargaon is supplied by two lines of recessed friezes separating the cubical section of the structure from the curvilinear. On these considerations, and in the light of the development of the *Nāgara* temple design in other parts of India, including Orissa, it would not be wrong to assign the temple to about seventh-eighth century A.D., a date midway between the two proposed by previous scholars. In Central India, in the seventh-eighth century there was apparently an abundant activity in brick building. Among the few fragmentary examples, the two battered shrines at Kharod (Bilaspur district)[67] and the one at Pujaripalli (Sambalpur district)[68] appear, from the available remains, to have been impressive productions.

The above temples illustrate an early phase in the development of the *Nāgara* style in Central India. In form and appearance they are identical with the typical *Nāgara* temples distributed over other parts of Northern India and a substantial part of the Deccan, and do not indicate, as yet, any deviation from the typical *Nāgara* design. In Central India the essential characteristics of the early *Nāgara* form were retained and elaborated, while others were added in course of the evolution of the style in this region. In this manner was developed a distinctive and individual type of the *Nāgara* temple which may be said to be peculiar to Central India alone.

At Baroli, at a wild and romantic spot near the Chambal falls, there is an interesting temple[69] that affords an instructive example in the evolution of the distinctive Central Indian type of the *Nāgara* temple. Partaking of the characteristics of the early *Nāgara* design, the sanctum is *pañcha-ratha* in plan with the usual three-fold division of the cube along the vertical axis. A recessed frieze between two projecting mouldings separates the perpendicular cube from the curvilinear *śikhara,* in which the *paga* offsets, in continuation of the *rathas* in the lower section, extend beyond the shoulder course, each in the shape of a triangular finial, almost touching the flattened *āmalaka-śilā* above. Over this *āmalaka* there is, again, a smaller one supporting the *kalasa.* Two *āmalakas* in the crowning section and the extension of the *pagas* beyond the shoulder are characteristically Central Indian features and are not found to occur anywhere else, except in very rare instances. But for these two, the Baroli temple closely corresponds to those of the early *Nāgara* form. Stylistically it appears to belong to the ninth century. The pillared portico at-

67 *ASC*, II, p. 201 f.; *ASR*, 1909-10, pp. 15-16; 1924-25, p. 33.
68 *ASC*, XVII, p. 8; *ASIWC*, 1903-04, p. 50; *ASR*, 1909-10; p. 16.
69 *HIEA*, II, pp. 133-34.

tached to the *antarāla* and a detached pillared hall that now stand in front of the shrine seem, in all possibility, to be later erections. Two other temples at Baroli are each essentially of the same form as that of the one noticed above.

Another interesting example of the early *Nāgara* phase is furnished by the Chaturmukha Mahādeva temple at Nachna Kuthara.[70] The sanctum stands on a high basement and is *pañcha-ratha* in plan. On the walls of the cella the groupings of niches, each within an elaborate framework surmounted by a shallow sloping eave of an indented pattern, introduce a new note in the treatment of this section. Again, the shallow eave, forming the transition between the cubical and curvilinear sections of the structure, may also be considered to be a novel feature, so far as *Nāgara* temples in Central India are concerned. This feature, it may be noted, is typical of the Western Indian expression of *Nāgara style*. The extension of the *pagas* beyond the shoulder in the Nachna Kuthara temple is in the manner of what we find in the Baroli temple; the triangular finials are, however, more emphatically expressed. The *āmalaka* is much smaller in girth and seems to be rather incongruous with the shoulder. Over the *āmalaka* is placed the *kalasa*. The exterior surfaces, in the lower as well in the upper sections, are overspun with miniature chaitya window patterns, sharply cut but shallow in depth. Kramrisch is inclined to assign the lower part of the structure to the eighth century and the *śikhara* to the tenth. Stylistically, however, both the parts seem to belong to the same period, and a date in the eighth century may not be far off the mark. The crowning elements of the *āmalaka* and the *kalasa*, which seem to be ill-fitting so far as the structure and its superstructure are concerned, might have been later restorations.

The process of variegating the temple structure by dividing and subdividing the body, both horizontally and vertically, was carried a little further in Central India. For example, a typical Central Indian temple is *sapta-ratha* in plan and the cube of the cella is divided into seven sections (*saptāṅga*) horizontally. In Orissa we have *pañcha-ratha* plan and *pañchāṅga* division only. In this respect the Central Indian temple may be said to have reached a further elaboration, though, of course, following the same line of evolution. The walls of the cube, thus diversified, horizontally as well as vertically, offer a background for a moving pageant of elegant sculptures in various attitudes and poses, all conforming to the varied composi-

70 Stella Kramrisch, *Art of India through the Ages*, Fig. 107.

tion of the walls. The evolutionary tendency with regard to *aṅga-śikharas,* already felt in Orissa, was carried to its logical conclusion and clusters of *aṅga-śikharas* clinging to the body of the main tower and obliterating its *paga* divisions, as we have in the Central Indian temple, impart to it a plasticity and volume hardly paralleled elsewhere. Boldly projected and rising up one above the other, they signify an imperient and restless upward urge which, not infrequently, interferes with disciplined movement. This restlessness is emphasised further by the projections of the *pagas* beyond the shoulder course. Another characteristic Central Indian feature is furnished by two *āmalakas* as the crowning member not only of the principal *śikhara* but of the *aṅga-śikharas* as well. The last two are already known to have made their appearance in a few of the temples noticed above.

A typical Central Indian temple is, again, a component of a larger number of elements, all joined together in one axial length and raised over a substantial and solid terrace (socle, *adhisṭhāna*). From the back to the front they are the *garbhagriha* (sanctum cella), the *antarāla* (vestibule or antechamber), the *maṇḍapa* (audience hall) and the *ardha-maṇḍapa* (frontal portico hall), the last communicating with the tall flight of steps forming an impressive approach. The first is covered by a *śikhara* of the form described above, the second by a pediment of an ornamental shape abutting on the *śikhara* and the third and the fourth each by a pyramidal (*piḍhā*) roof of a slightly domical outline. Ascending in graduated heights, these superstructures sweep up to the tall *śikhara* standing behind and suggest, to a certain extent, the rising peaks of a mountain range converging on to the highest. A somewhat similar effect of the elevation may be noticed in the Ananta Vāsudeva temple at Bhuvaneśvara In Orissa such halls are usually astylar, but in Central India pillars have been introduced in the interior as well as at the lateral ends for support of the roof. These pillars with their architraves, supporting the domed ceiling, afford suitable backgrounds for elegant carvings with the result that the interiors of these halls are richly ornamented, in definite contrast to the dull and bare appearance of the interiors of the Orissan halls. Again, such halls in Orissa are closed, but in Central India they are open on the lateral sides, the openings between the pillars forming balconied windows shaded by projecting eaves. Along the sides are provided seats (*kakshāsanas*) with sloping balustrades. In the more ambitious schemes the sides of the *maṇḍapa* hall form transepts which, going round the sanctum cella, constitute an inner ambulatory (*pradakshiṇa*) with balconied windows on three of its sides. These openings not only provided well

lighted halls, in contrast to the gloomy interiors of such Orissan components, but also throw intense shadow athwart the intermediate section of the building and provide a significant contrast to the solids in the lower and upper sections of the temple scheme. This contrast of solids and voids lends an effect which is seldom paralleled in any other part of India.

The above characteristics, gradually evolved, reach their fruition in the temples of Khajuraho of which the Kandariya Mahadeva represents the most notable creation. It is useful to discuss certain instructive monuments illustrating the emergence, one by one, of the significant elements expressive of this development. The complete emergence of the type with all its characteristic features falls, however, outside our scope and it will be possible here to notice such instructive examples that may appear to belong to the period under discussion. The practice of crowning the *śikhara* with two *āmalakas* and projecting the *pagas* beyond the shoulder course have already been noticed. The five-fold division of the cube of the cella, in conformity with the *pañcha-ratha* plan, may be noticed for the first time in the Viśvanātha temple at Maribagh (Rewa district)[71] which may be said to illustrate an early phase in the transition from the early *Nāgara* design to the typical Central Indian form. At the same time the high plinth with its boldly designed elegant mouldings, the graceful sculptures in two tiers in the wall section of the sanctum cube and the gable-shaped pediment over the *antarāla* anticipate the well-marked characteristics of the typical Central Indian temple. The *śikhara,* however, is one unbroken mass, except for the division into receding vertical planes of the *pagas,* and has a pleasing continuous contour all along the height in conformity with the characteristic *Nāgara* design.

Amarkantak, reputed as the source of the rivers Narmadā, the Son and the Mahānadī, has been a very sanctified place from ancient days and not a few beautiful temples were erected and consecrated at the spot in pretty old times.[72] Of the monuments that still stand, three are extremely important as signifying important developments. They are the temples of Keśavanārāyaṇa, Machchhendranātha and Pātāleśvara, the first two standing contiguous to each other and the third a little apart. Each of them consists of a sanctum, an *antarāla* and a *maṇḍapa,* combined in one axial length as a unified scheme, and exhibits, along with the *pañcha-ratha* plan

71 *JDL,* XXIX, Article No. 8.

72 For temples at Amarkantak, *MASI,* No. 23, pp. 53-60, pls. XIII-XVI.

and five-fold division of the cube, balconied windows with projecting eaves and *kakshāsanas* on the lateral sides of the *maṇḍapa.* In the characteristic Central Indian fashion the *pagas* project beyond the shoulder course and the *śikhara* is crowned by two *āmalakas*, one above the other, the upper one being smaller. The *maṇḍapa* roof (now broken away in the Machchhendranātha) is pyramidal in shape and rise in horizontal tiers, receding as they go up and crowned at the apex by two *āmalakas* and the usual finials. In the Machchhendranātha and the Pātāleśvara a central complement of four pillars each, in addition to those that go around the hall, has been introduced for support of the *maṇḍapa* roof. In all these respects these three temples represent notable advances towards the typical Central Indian form of the *Nāgara* temple. Stylistically they are to be dated about the tenth century A.D. The evolutionary course continues in the subsequent period and may be studied with reference to several other instructive monuments till the type reaches its fullest expression in the magnificent temples of Khajuraho.

It will be useful to refer to a few temples of exceptional design in order to complete the story of the Central Indian architectural movement during our period. In this context mention should first be made of two temples, one at Gurgi Masaun and the other at Chandrehe (both in Rewa district). The former is in a battered state, a substantial portion of the *śikhara* having fallen down. The latter is in an excellent state of preservation, complete with all its adjuncts and details. Identical in conception, both might have belonged to the same period. It is possible, as has been suggested, that they were erected by one and the same person, the abbot Praśāntaśiva of the Mattamāyūra sect of the Śaivas, about the middle of the tenth century.[73] Each temple consists of a sanctum, circular in plan both inside and out, with an *antarāla* and an open *maṇḍapa* projecting from the front. The Chandrehe temple, in view of its completeness and elegant appearance, merits a fuller description. The entire scheme is raised over a terraced basement and faces west. The plinth consists of several boldly designed and elegantly executed mouldings, the section below the sanctum being circular. Over this circular section the external wall surface is broken up by shallow pilasters arranged in even intervals all around. The projections and recesses, thus produced, allow certain alternations of light and shade, though less pronounced than in temples of cruciform shape. The cube admits of division into five segments in vertical axis. The pilasters and recesses in the wall section are continued as a refrain on the elegant-

73 *MASI*, No. 23, pp. 32-35, 41, pls. I, VI.

ly tapering *śikhara,* the facets, thus formed, continuing beyond the shoulder course in the characteristic Central Indian manner. The pilasters in the lower section supporting the facets in the upper, are plain. The latter, however, are exquisitely treated, the entire surface being covered by shallow-cut tracery of chaitya window motifs Again, two *āmalakas* crowning the *śikhara* reproduce the usual Central Indian feature. In the like manner the *maṇḍapa* has *kakshāsanas* on its two sides and is surmounted by a pyramidal roof with sloping eaves running along its three sides. The *antarāla* is topped by a gable-shaped superstructure leaning on the *śikhara.* One notable fact about the Gurgi temple, of which the superstructures are gone, is the seven-fold division of the cube, as in the typical and full-fledged Central Indian temple. Apart from the circular plan of the sanctum in each, these two temples may be found to be closely related to the Central Indian architectural movement in the composition of the different components as well as in the essential features of elevation. In spite of the novel plan, they represent, hence, a movement that is parallel and analogous to the Central Indian architectural tradition. A few brick temples in Uttar Pradesh may be found to offer interesting analogies to the circular temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi and will be dealt with later.

Among the unusual temple types in Central India mention should be made here also of the peripteral shrines dedicated to the worship of the Chaunsaṭha Yoginīs associated with the cult of the goddess Śakti. They were fairly popular in Central Indian territories, though a few may be found outside the geographical limits of Central India. A temple of this type usually takes the shape of an open circular court surrounded by a peripheral colonnade with chapels with the images of the sixty-four Yoginīs and occasionally of some accessory divinities as well, besides a principal shrine, sometimes in the centre of the peripheral chapels or situated in the centre of the open court, which is occupied by the image of one or other aspect of Śakti. The Chaunsaṭha Yoginī temple at Bheraghat,[74] near Jabalpur, has an internal diameter of 116 feet with eighty-one peripheral chapels including a central shrine with an image of Umā-Maheśvara. It appears to date from the ninth century or earlier even. A similar temple may be seen at Mitauli,[75] possibly of the eleventh century, which has a diameter of 120 feet and sixty-five chapels in peripheral range and a circular shrine with a *maṇḍapa* in the centre of the court. Circular Yogini temples may also be found at Ranipur Jharial

74 *ASC,* IX, pp. 60-74.
75 *ASR,* 1915-16, pt. 1, p. 18.

(Patna),[76] Hirapur (near Bhuvanesvar)[77] and Kalahandi,[78] all in Orissa and at Dudahi in Lalitpur district[79] in Uttar Pradesh. All of them may be assigned to the early medieval period. The type seems to have extended to Coimbatore in the south where it is represented by a single shrine reproducing the above essential features. The Chaunsaṭha Yoginī temple at Khajuraho[80] illustrates an exceptional design in this kind of shrines. It is slightly later than the Bheraghat Yoginī temple. It is rectangular in plan, the central quadrangle measuring 102 feet by 59.5 feet. It has sixty-four peripheral chapels, arranged around the court, together with a larger one in the back wall which, no doubt, represents the main shrine. Each one of the chapels is surmounted by a small *śikhara* of essentially *Nāgara* design, but crowned by more than one *āmalaka* (wherever the top is preserved) in the characteristic Central Indian manner.

(*iii*) *Western India*

In Rajasthan and in Gujarat-Kathiawar may be recognised yet another expression of the *Nāgara* temple style which may be described as the Western Indian. In both these territories the story of the *Nāgara* temple may be traced back fairly early and the regional ramification that emerges eventually is found to be linked together. not only by historical circumstances but also by fundamental identities in conception and form. As in Orissa and in Central India activity in *Nāgara* temple building started with shrines of the *triratha* plan ultimately developing, in course of time, into *pañcharatha.* In Gujarat and Kathiawar temple building activity extended to conceptions other than *Nāgara* and such conceptions had a certain impact on the *Nāgara* temples of this area. It is interesting to note that many of the *Nāgara* temples of this region appear to have been provided with a wooden ambulatory around the sanctum cella. This feature, unknown in early *Nāgara* temples elsewhere, seems to have been drived from a type of early temples, apparently an exceptional growth in this area. The most eminent monument of this type, and perhaps the earliest (sixth century), is a temple at Gop in the Barda hills (Kathiawar), in which the square sanctum, with a roof of two stepped courses crowned by a graceful domical finial, had a wooden ambulatory around. Except for this, the Gop type is not known to

76 *HIEA*, II, p. 51.

77 *JOHRS*.

78 *ASC*, XIII, p. 132f.

79 P. C. Mukherji, *Report on the Antiquarian Remains in the Lalitpur District* pl. 39.

80 *HIEA*, II, p. 51.

have left any marked impress on the formal development of the *Nāgara* temple in this area.

In spite of a fundamental identity in the architectural movement in Rajasthan and Gujarat-Kathiawar, it may be found convenient to treat the story of temple architecture in the two regions separately.

(a) RAJASTHAN

Rajasthan supplies us with the earliest remains of a structural shrine (c. third century B.C.), namely the circular structure at Bairat, near Jaipur. Nārāyaṇa-vāṭika of the Hāthībāḍa inscription. (c. second century B.C.) might have contained some kind of shrine, the exact nature of which is no longer possible to ascertain. Fragments of an *āmalaka* (parts of the crowning member of a *śikhara* temple), unearthed at Nagari, near Chitor, and datable in the fifth century A.D.,[81] indicate building activities in this order of temple as early as the Gupta period. This part of the country thus seems to have been familiar with the early evolution of the *Nāgara* temple that had its beginnings in the *śikhara* temple. The records of this evolutionary phase have not survived. Extant monuments date from the eighth century; the *Nāgara* design had already become established in its distinctive features and characteristics.

The small village of Osia (Ukeśā of ancient days); 32 miles north-west of Jodhpur, supplies us with about a dozen interesting temples,[82] representing two phases of building activity, one early and the other late. Temples of the early phase belong to about eighth-ninth centuries A.D. and illustrate a stage in the elaboration of the *Nāgara* temple in which the regional characteristics are yet to appear.

Among the temples of the early series, which are, more or less alike to one another, a few are of *pañchāyatana* composition, each with a larger principal shrine situated in the centre and four smaller accessory ones at the four corners, the entire scheme being raised over an elevated platform with the sides broken up by elaborately carved niches. Temples Nos. 1 (dedicated to Hari-Hara), 2 and 7 (dedicated to Sūrya) are characteristic examples of this early series, each of them being of the *pañchāyatana* class. Each of the temples, including the accessory shrines wherever preserved, is *pañcha-ratha* in plan, the cube being divided into three sections and se-

81 Stella Kramrisch, *Hindu Temple*, II, p. 348.

82 For a general account of these temples, *ASR*, 1906-07, p. 42; 1908-09, pp 100-15. The site was known as Ukeśā, as known from a fragmentary inscription in the Mahāvīra temple.

parated from the *śikhara* by a recessed frieze between two shallow cornices. The wall section is occupied by sculptures, one on each *ratha* within a niche capped by an elaborate superstructure. The *śikhara* shows an elegant inward incline and is topped by a spheroid *āmalaka-śilā*. Richly fretted chaitya window designs cover the facets of the *pagas* and these, together with the sculptured niches in substructure, lend each of these temples with a fluency relieving, to a certain extent, the harsh four-square shape. Each of the shrines in temple No. 1 is preceded in front by a projecting portico with its roof, consisting of an elaborate triangular pediment, supported on two richly carved pillars. Temple No. 2 shows a distinct advance in architectural composition in the addition of a *maṇḍapa* preceding the principal shrine. Temple No. 7 is, perhaps the finest monument in the early series of temples at Osia. It records a further advance in architectural grouping in having the attendant shrines connected by a cloister, parts of which still remain. In this arrangement may possibly be recognised the beginnings of the cloistered composition that is characteristic of the Jaina temples of this region, a composition that is at once pleasing and impressive. The principal shrine consists of the sanctum and an open pillared *maṇḍapa* raised over a substantial platform; from the latter projects. again, a portico accommodating an elegant flight of stairs that leads up to the *maṇḍapa* hall. The pillars of the portico, rising directly from the ground level, are tall and fluted. This temple has an appearance of classic dignity, and much of its effect is due to the novel design of its frontage and elegant, yet restrained, manner of the treatment of its various parts and their embellishment.

In spite of the smallness of size, each of the temples at Osia, to quote Kramrisch, "is a model of clarity in the disposition and proportion of its architectural theme."[83] The horizontal and vertical divisions balance each other, while the elegant proportions of the different sections and their chaste ornaments, together with the graceful and unbroken contour of the tower of each, contribute to lend the temples a charming effect and appearance. The *pañchāyatana* temples, again, in their exquisite setting and orderly disposition of the central and accessory shrines, represent each an impressive composition. The early series of temples at Osia, even in their damaged state, constitute, hence, one of the most significant among the entire series of *Nāgara* temples.

In Rajasthan temples essentially of the same style are also found at Jharlapatan, Ambam and Buchkala. One of the temples at

83 *KHT*, II, p. 404.

Buchkala has an inscription, dated in v. s. 872 (A.D. 815), of the reign of the Gurjara Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭṭa II.[84] At Osia an inscription in the Mahāvīra temple speaks of the shrine as existing in the time of Vatsarāja, father of Nāgabhaṭṭa. The temple itself, as it now stands, is hovever of a later date. Vatsarāja flourished in the last quarter of the eighth century, and these two inscriptions indicate that during the early Pratīhāra regime in the eighth-ninth centuries there was a brisk temple-building activity in Rajasthan. From stylistic indications the early series of Osian temples may be said to have belonged to about that period. In plan, in shape, in appearance and in surface treatment the early temples in Rajasthan resemble the temples of the *Nāgara* order in other parts of India and cannot be said to have presented any distinctive mark as yet.

In the early series of the Osia, temple conceptions other than *Nāgara* may be recognised as well. A small temple consisting of a square sanctum preceded by an open pillared portico has a low pyramidal superstructure composed of flat tiers rising in gradually receding stages. In this may be recognised what is known as the *bhadra* or *piḍhā* deul in Orissa. The form is not unknown in temples of *Nāgara* conceptions in which it appears as the *maṇḍapa* in front of the *rekha* sanctum. Its occurence as the sanctum proper, as we have in this Osian temple, may however, be considered to be rare. The much damaged temple No. 3 at Osia represents, afiain, an unusual form. It has a sanctum of rectangular plan preceded by a wide *maṇḍapa,* also of a rectangular design. The superstructures over both these components have collapsed. The rectangular design is evidently a rare feature and appears to suggest a form of the superstructure over the sanctum which is, without doubt, unrelated to that of the *rekha* tower of a *Nāgara* temple. The remains of the roof of the *maṇḍapa* show curved slabs, regularly arranged, as covering the transepts. A wagon-vaulted roof rising in two stages might have been a likely covering for the rectangular hall, and a similar superstructure may also be suggested for the sanctum on this analogy. Certain elements of the *Nāgara* temple, such as the division of the wall into *ratha* facets and of the cube of the sanctum into three segments, the balconied windows with *kakshāsanas* at the lateral sides of the *maṇḍapa,* also characterise this temple. They may be considered to be borrowals from the principal conception so widely prevalent over a vast area. In temple No. 3 at Osia we have apparently a conception of the rectangular temple called the *Khākharā* in Orissan canonical texts, of which likely parallels may

84 *EI,* IX, p. 199.

be found in the Vaitāl deul at Bhauvaneśvara, a few other temples in Orissa, the Navadurgā temple at Yagesvara, the Teli-ka Mandir at Gwalior, etc.

This early series of Rajasthan temples, fundamentally resembling the contemporary *Nāgara* temples, may be found to have greater affinities with those of Central India. Again, the development of the early *Nāgara* temple in this part of country, including Gujarat and Kathiawar, and in Central India is also, to a certain extent, parallel. The distinctive type of Western Indian temple, which emerges, very possibly, not before the end of our period, differs only slightly from the typical Central Indian one.

Whatever the affinity of an early *Nāgara* temple in *Rajasthan*, with the Central Indian, it lacks, however, many of the distinctive features of the typical Central Indian temple, namely the extension of *paga* facets beyond the shoulder course, number of *amalakas* as the crowning element of the *śikhara*, and the most significant, the *saptaratha* plan and the seven-fold division of the cubical section of the *garbha-griha*. A typical Western Indian temple (Rajasthan, Gujarat and Kathiawar) retains the three-fold division of this section that has been characteristic of the early *Nāgara* design.

(b) Gujarat and Kathiawar

The monuments of Gujarat and Kathiawar may be found to share certain features significantly in common. The evolution of the *Nāgara* temple design in these two regions again, is to a very great extent identical and closely allied to that in Rajasthan. Geographical reasons and, to a certain extent, political circumstances might have been responsible for such striking affinities.

A few temples in Kathiawar, apparently representing conceptions different from that of the *Nāgara*, are chronologically anterior to the oldest extant monument of the *Nāgara* design and should naturally claim a prior attention. Perhaps the oldest structural monument in Kathiawar may be seen in the temple at Gop in the Barda hills. Because of its rather unusual shape it has been described as a 'stranger' in the region.[85] It was supported on a basement of two terraces, the upper of which, slightly receding in dimensions, possibly served as a *pradakshiṇā-patha* or ambulatory around the sanctum cella. Each of the terraces, and these are heavily damaged, is relieved horizontally at the bottom, and also perhaps at the top, by bands of mouldings and vertically along the sides by ornamental niches originally with sculptures. The square sanctum, supported

85 Henry Cousens, *Somnath and other Mediaeval Temples in Kathiwad*, p. 37.

on the upper terrace, has severely plain perpendicular walls with a line of grooves on each side near the top. A few of the grooves still have fragments of wood,[86] apparently remains of wooden beams that supported a roof covering the upper terrace running around the sanctum walls. Such a roof as well as the walls enclosing the second terrace appear, hence, to have been of wooden construction. Thus there seems to have been a closed ambulatory of wood[87] around the sanctum cella and the disappearance of this element. naturally in course of time, has now lent a bald and severe effect to the sanctum walls which, it should be noted, were not originally meant to be seen from outside. The Śiva temple at Villeśvara, the best preserved temple of this class (as we shall see later), has its stone ambulatory complete and on the analogy of this temple similar wooden ambulatories may also be said to have formed essential elements in temples of this type.

The cubical section of the sanctum ends at the top in two shallow cornices. The roof rises in two stepped courses and is ultimately surmounted by a graceful domical finial. On each side the stepped courses are relieved by chaitya arches, two in the lower and one in the upper. Bold in design and elegant in execution they originally contained sculptures and project each in the form of a former. The superstructure is highly effective and stands in strong contrast to the severe appearance of the lower section.

The Gop temple presents a rather unusual design and it may be useful to look for its antecedents and affiliations. According to Cousens[88] two important elements of the temple, namely the stepped-out pyramidal roof with chaitya arches in the courses and the tre-foil arches around the lower terrace of the basement, have striking analogies in the early Kashmirian monuments, particularly the Martand. He is of the opinion, hence, that the type was introduced in the region of Kathiawar by the Sun-worshipping ancestors of the Mers. This view of Cousens, though accepted by scholars including Coomaraswamy[89] and Percy Brown,[90] suffers from two important drawbacks. First, nothing is definitely known about the history of the ancestors of the Mers or that they originally came from Kashmir. Secondly, the Gop temple is admittedly two cen-

86 Information kindly supplied by Professor N. K. Bose.

87 Cousens thinks that they were made of stone (*Somnath*, p. 37).

88 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

89 *HIIA*, p. 82.

90 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, p. 159.

turies earlier[91] than the temple type in Kashmir with which such analogies are suggested. The absence in Kashmir of the type of a date earlier to that of Gop precludes, hence, the hypothesis of a Kashmirian origin of the Gop temple. Again, when closely analysed. the Kashmirian analogy appears to rest on a weak foundation. The Gop temple has, no doubt, a stepped-out roof as in the Kashmirian temples. Nevertheless, the graceful dome-shaped crown of the Gop superstructure, instead of the harsh angular top of the Kashmirian temple, indicates for the temple at Gop a conception other than that of the Kashmirian. The boldly projecting chaitya dormers in the superstructure of Gop are fundamentally dissimilar to the angular pediments on the roof of the Kashmirian temple. It is difficult, moreover, to class the arches around the basement of the Gop temple with the distinct tre-foils of Kashmir. On these considerations it is more reasonable to hold that the conception of the Gop temple was wholly distinct from that of the Kashmir temple.

The shape of the basement arches in the Gop temple has led Sankalia[92] to suggest, with some hesitation though, a Gandharan influence through Sind. This view, again, cannot be pressed seriously because in respect of the fundamental elements of design and composition the Gop temple can be said to have hardly any parallel in the Gandharan monuments. The two fundamental features in the composition of the Gop temple, followed also in other monuments of this class, are a covered ambulatory around the sanctum cella and the stepped arrangement of the roof. The first has a parallel in a type of Gupta temples, usually storeyed in elevation, and on this analogy the stepped arrangement of the roof in the Gop temple may be but a slightly different expression of the storeyed conception of the Gupta temple. In fact, the bold and emphatic steps in the superstructure of the Gop temple reproduce, though in a lesser way, the receding storeys in the composition of the roof of the Gupta temple. There is a plausibility, hence, that the type represented by the Gop temple in Kathiawar was inspired by the storeyed temple of the Gupta period. Chaitya arches are found to occur as gables

91 James Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawar and Cutch.* p. 7; *HIIA*, p. 82; *Br. IA*, p. 159. A radio-carbon test of the wood fragment found in the Gop temple was conducted by Dr. Syamadas Chaterji in the Physics Laboratory of the Calcutta University College of Science and Technology. According to the test, Dr. Chaterji reports, the wood fragment is approximately 1400 years old. The view of the archaeologists who place the temple in the sixth century A.D. is thus confirmed by the scientific test. H. D. Sankalia (*Archaeology of Gujarat*, p. 59) is inclined to assign the temple to the fifth century.

92 H. D. Sankalia, *AG*, pp. 57-59.

on the roof from very early times since the days of Bharhut (c. second century B.C.) and there is no reason, hence, to suggest a Kashmirian analogy, which itself is doubtful, on this account. Cousens[93] has, no doubt, noticed certain analogies between the temple at Gop and what he describes as early Dravidian temples at Aihole and Pattadakal; he, however, discribes them as "purely accidental." In our opinion such analogies are of greater significance in respect of the affiliations of the Gop temple. It should be noted especially that an almost identical plan characterises also the early temples of the Deccan where among the different kinds of superstructures both the storeyed as well as the stepped arrangements may be recognised.

Temples of the same class as that of Gop may be found at several other places in Kathiawar, namely Than (old Jaina temple),[94] Visvavada,[95] Harshadmata, Pindara, Villesvara,[96] etc. The plan in each case is that of a sanctum within a covered ambulatory and each has a superstructure of stepped stages. In these respects they may be recognised as clear analogues of the Gop temple which, however, is the earliest in the series. In course of time the number of stepped stages was increased together with a gradual reduction of the heights of the steps. At the same time were gradually achieved more harmonious proportions between the substructure and the superstructure along with a general refinement of the contours. The temple of Śiva at Villesvara[97] illustrates, perhaps, the latest development of the type. Being the most perfectly preserved temple of this class it is helpful for an understanding of the design and composition of the type in a more convincing manner. The entire composition, built of stone, is square in shape with the sanctum situated within a covered ambulatory and with a pyramidal superstructure of stepped courses in receding tiers. Each stage on each face is relieved by ornamental chaitya arches, gradually diminishing in number from six in the lowest stage to one in the topmost. Each stage is further ornamented with a decorative finial at each corner. The ambulatory, which has a flat roof, is relieved on the exterior by pilasters that end in cornices. The Villesvara temple is the largest among the temples of the Gop class and is the most complete of the series. The increased number of stepped courses, the refined pyramidal contour, the harmonious proportions and the shape and design of the chaitya

93 Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, pp. 6-7.

94 *Ibid.*, pl. XLVIII.

95 *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

96 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

97 *Ibid.*, p. 40; H. D. Sankalia, *AG*, pp.59-62.

arches would also indicate it to be the latest, at least in point of style, in the whole group.

A rectangular design of the sanctum may also be recognised among the temples of the Gop type, there being at least two temples of this class in Kathiawar, one at Kadvar[98] and the other at Kalsar. The latter, better preserved of the two, has a rcetangular portico in front. In both the components the roofs rise in stepped courses, each course being relieved by chaitya arches. The topmost course over the sanctum is damaged; that over the portico slopes on either side and on that analogy a similar from of the top course over the sanctum may be visualised. From the plain walls with narrow slots along the sides at the top it appears that the sanctum was situated within a covered ambulatory of wood that has now disappeared.

It has been usual to class the Sun temple at Sutrapada[99] with the temples of the Gop class. The situation of the sanctum within a covered ambulatory, that has been characteristic of the Gop group of monuments, might have been responsible for such a classification. The shape and design of the tall curvilinear tower belong, however, to a conception that is essentially different from that of the Gop type. Instead of stepped-out pyramidal tower with strong horizontal emphasis, as one sees in the Gop class of monuments, the tower of the Sutrapada temple has its emphasis onthe vertical lines in the graded facets on each face rising with unbroken contour, and with *āmalaka* quoins at regular intervals at the corners and the heavy *āmalaka-śilā* with a smaller one as the crowning elements, it reproduces the prominent characteristics of a *Nāgara* temple. The plan of an inner sanctum within a roceverd ambulatory may also be found to have characterised temples of the *Nāgara* design in other regions as well as in Kathiawar. The chaitya ornament on each face of the tower is also a characteristic mode of surface treatment of the *Nāgara* temple in different parts of India On these considerations it is proper to class the Sun temple at Sutrapada with the temples of the *Nāgara* style. Similarly it is not possible to class the small temple at Pasthar with its archaic *śikhara* of stunted height with the temples of the Gop group, as has been done by Sankalia.[100] Close to the Śiva temple at Villesvara, described above, there is a *sikhara* temple representing, as Cousens says, "a very early and rudimentary stage of the Northern style"[101]. This simultaneous occurrence of

98 Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, pp. 38-39; H. D. Sankalia, *AG*, pp. 60, 63.

99 Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, pp. 7, 41; H. D. Sankalia, *AG*, pp. 59; 62; *Br, IA*; p. 159

100 H. D. Sankalia, *AG*, p. 60.

101 Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, p. 40.

temples of two conceptions, the *Nāgara* and that of the Gop type, at an early stage of architectural activity in this area might have been responsible for a few of the early *Nāgara* temples in the region having covered ambulatories.

In Gujarat and Kathiawar temples of the early *Nāgara* form, prior to the emergence of the characteristic regional expression, are very few in number. Even of the few that remain, some have been erroneously interpreted or their correct imports not always recognised. It is, perhaps, on this account that the characteristic expression of the *Nāgara* temple in Gujarat and Kathiawar has sometimes been considered to be an individual growth in this area, some even suggesting its derivation from the Gop type of monuments. One has to recognise that architecturally, though not geographically, the two groups stand apart and illustrate two essentially different conceptions. On an ultimate analysis there can hardly be found any common link between the two either in form or in design. The *Nāgara* style of temple had been widely distributed over different parts of India, including Gujarat and Kathiawar. Monuments bearing the distinctive features of the *Nāgara* design are equally in evidence in this area from an early phase and in course of time was evolved yet another manifestation of the *Nāgara* style sharing some characteristics in common with the typical Rajasthani expression and the entire movement, as already observed, may be designated as the Western Indian.

A few stray and isolated monuments of the early *Nāgara* design still remain in Gujarat and Kathiawar, perhaps vestiges of many more that might have been erected during the early phase of architectural activity in this region. Fundamentally they are in no way different from the early monuments of this class in other areas of the *Nāgara* zone.

A dilapidated shrine at Rhoda (Gujarat) may be recognised to be the oldest example of a *Nāgara* temple in this area in respect of both form and design. It consists of a small square sanctum, *tri-ratha* in plan, preceded by a pillared portico in front. In their chaste ornamentation the pillars have almost a classic simplicity of design. The cubical section of the sanctum cella is divided into three segments and is separated from the curvilinear superstructure by a recessed frieze between two projected mouldings. Much of the *śikhara* has collapsed, but enough remains to enable one to determine its distinctive features. It is seen to be inclining inward and is divided horizontally by *āmalaka* quoins at regular intervals. The vertical bands on its body, in continuation of the *rathas* in the

lower sections, have richly fretted ornamentation of chaitya arches. The *āmalaka* quoins would suggest a flat and spheroid *āmalaka-śilā* as the crowning member of the *śikhara*. From its simple design and elegant and refined ornamentation the Rhoda temple does not appear to have been far removed from the Gupta *śikhara* temple with which begins the history of the *Nāgara* temple style. Apparently, it has to be assigned to a date not later than the seventh century. The small shrine lying close to the Śiva temple at Vīllesvara and the Sun temple at Sutrapada, both in Kathiawar, belong architecturally to an identical conception. The former, which appears to be unfinihed, is more archaic in treatment as well as in effect. The latter seems to have been as rich in execution as the Rhoda temple; but being in an inferior kind of stone it has, more or less a weathered appearance.

There are a few other temples in Gujarat and Kathiawar of the early *Nāgara* form and of these, a small shrine at Pasthar (Kathiawar) may be said to present certain unusual features. It is of *tri-ratha* shape (as is visible from the śikhara), similar in form to temples of the same class that one finds elsewhere within the *Nāgara* zone. What is interesting is that the central band on the *śikhara* (*rāhā-paga*) is divided into two equal vertical halves by a deep sunken line along its height. The appearance of sectional *āmalakas* on this band may also be recognised to be a rare feature in this particular temple. In respect of these two unusual features the Pasthar temple may be said to have its analogy in Temple No. IV at Barakar in West Bengal, and the occurence of such rare features in two temples situated far apart from each other supplies a problem that is difficult to explain in the present state of our knowledge. In the Pasthar temple the cubical section of the sanctum cella, in contrast to the rich scheme of the *śikhara* above, is unrelieved by any horizontal moulding or by any vertical *ratha* projection. This plain and severe appearance of the lower section may indicate that the sanctum was situated within a covered ambulatory, perhaps of wood, that has disintegrated. The abovementioned *Nāgara* temple by the side of the Villesvara Śiva temple and another small temple lying close to the Navalakha temple at Ghumli (Kathiawar) also seem, from their bare walls, to have been originally provided each with an ambulatory of wood. The Sūrya temple at Sutrapada, being entirely made of stone, has this ambulatory still intact. It is not impossible that the plan of a sanctum within a covered ambulatory in this early series of *Nāgara* temple in Kathiawar was derived from monuments of the Gop class which had this characteristic composition. The plan of the

sāndhāra-prāsada (tempe with a covered ambulatory) that we meet with in several of the regional developments of the *Nāgara* temple might have evolved out of early compositions of this kind.

From the *tri-ratha* plan was naturally developed the *pañcha-ratha*, and of the few temples of thi plan, architecturally posterior to the *tri-ratha* group, the small shrine at Sandera (Gujarat)[102] may be considered to be one of the most notable monuments of early *Nāgara* form in this region. In its exquisite proportions and in its rich and elegant chaitya arch ornamentations it may be said to rival the celebrated Mukteśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara. The Gaṇapati and the Mahādeva temples at Miani (Kathiawar),[103] each of the *pañcha-ratha* plan and preceded by a pillared portico, are as effective in design and decorative treatment as the shrine at Sandera. The above-mentioned temple at Ghumli (Kathiawar) might have been as elegant but for the bare appearance of the exterior walls. The temple of Ranik Devī at Wadhawan (Kathiawar),[104] though essentially belonging to the same conception, appears to be slightly later in date in view of the high plinth, the division of the cubical section into five segments and a rather elongated form of the *śikhara*.[105] It has to be noted that unlike Orissa and Central India the typical Western Indian temple of the *Nāgara* style retains the three-fold division of the cubical section of the sanctum in conformity with the early *Nāgara* design; the five-fold division of this section, as seen in the Ranik Devī temple, is rather weakly expressed by a shallow band, not too emphatic in treatment, and may be considered to be an exception of this area.

Muni Bhāva's temple, near Than (Kathiawar),[106] and the temple of god Trinetreśvara at Tarnetar,[107] six miles north-west of Than, indicate further stages in the development of the simple design of the *Nāgara* temple toward the typical Western Indian form. The former is now in a battered state and the latter has entirely disappeared, the only records now surviving are a few photographs and drawings made in course of the survey of the monuments of Kathiawar by Cousens. The sanctum in each of the temples is pre-

102 James Burgess, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, p. 109.

103 Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, pl. XC.

104 *Op. cit.*, pp. 53-54, pl. LVI.

105 H. D. Sankalia (AG, pp. 83-84) is inclined to include the Ranik Devī temple at Wadhawan and the temple at Sandera among the examples of the Solāṅki temple. But the above distinctive features of the early *Nāgara* temple are too emphatic, and it is difficult to class them otherwise.

106 Henry Cousens, *Somnath*, pp. 51-52, pls. LII, LIV.

107 *Ibid.*

ceded by an attached *maṇḍapa* to which a distinctly regional character is supplied by the provision of *kakshāsanas,* as noticed in the former temple. In the latter the *śikhara* had clusters of *aṅga-śikharas* around.[108] It is this theme, *aṅga-śikharas* round the body of the principal *śikhara,* that distinguishes the early *Nāgara* temple from its later regional developments. Each region has its own individual interpretation of this theme, Western India having likewise its own distinctive mode in this respect. This characteristic mode seems to have started in the now ruined Tarnetar temple which was presumably a key monument in the development of the typical Western Indian temple.

The typical Western Indian form of the *Nāgara* temple, also called the *Solaṅkī,* appears to have received its complete expression during the period of the Chaulukya rulers of Gujarat. A discussion of such temples falls appropriately within the scope of the next volume of the series.

(*iv*) *Mālava and Dakhan*

Yet another regional expresson of the *Nāgara* temple style may be recognised in Mālava and the upper Deccan, called Dakhan by Cousens, roughly the territory between the lower reaches of the Narmadā and the upper courses of the Godāvarī. A survey of the distribution of the temples of this series reveals that the territory covered by them was for sometime under the political hegemony of the Paramāras of Mālava. It was during the Paramāra hegemony again that the type reached its mature expression. The *Samarāṅgaṇā Sūtradhāra* of Paramāra king Bhoja possibly refers to this type as *Bhūmija* ('born in the country'). There are cogent reasons hence for designating this regional type as *Mālava* after the name of the territory which formed the nucleus of the Paramāra dominions. The type extended beyond the limits of Mālava with the expansion of Paramāra outside the home territory. The type appears before us in its complete form not earlier than the eleventh century; the two eminent examples of the type belong to the second half of that century.

(*v*) *Sindhu-Gaṅgā Valleys*

In the upper belt of Northern India (Āryāvarta), in the rich riverine plains watered by the Sindhu and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā systems, very few old temples now survive. In this flat alluvial tract

108 *Op. cit.,* pl. LI.

stone was not easily procurable and the principal building material was necessarily brick. A brick building is not expected to survive long and once left to neglect disintegrates very rapidly. Besides, many political upheavals from which the territory repeatedly suffered have led to an almost total obliteration of the earlier monuments, except in a few out of the way and inaccessible places. The few extant temples that can claim some antiquity are situated in widely apart regions over this vast stretch of territory and belong, as is to be expected, to the *Nāgara* conception.

A few dilapilated brick temples in Uttar Pradesh (Parauli, Kurari and Tinduli) are found to exhibit characteristics of the early *Nāgara* temple, but for their preference for circular shape. In the temple at Parauli (Kanpur district)[109] the sanctum cella is circular internally; externally it is a polygon of sixteen sides, describing the periphery of a circle. Three of the sides were possibly cut off in front to form the entrance. The sides are separated from one another by deeply recessed vertical lines from the base to the top. Because of this treatment of the exterior the cubical section has the appearance of being divided into pilasters and the theme is carried up the *śikhara,* each such facet with its tapering outline being covered with minute interlacing pattern of chaitya windows. The sunken lines separating the facets and their deep-cut minute traceried ornamentation lend to the exterior a very subtle effect of chiaroscuro. Several temples of similar external shape, but square internally, may be seen at Kurari (Fatehpur district),[110] while another, circular externally and square internally, still stands at Tinduli (Fatehpur district).[111] Unfortunately all these temples are heavily damaged. Except for the plan they follow, as the extant remains indicate, the fundamentals of the *Nāgara* design, and must have illustrated a new direction in the development of the *Nāgara* temple. Clear analogues of these brick temples are to be found in Central India in the temples at Chandrehe and Gurgi Masaun.

As some extant monuments indicate, the *Nāgara* temple conception seems to have been known also in the Himalayan regions in the north-west and in the Chotanagpur region and Bengal in the east. From the few stray and isolated examples it is not possible to say however whether there was any sustained and organised activity in *Nāgara* temple building in any of these areas. At least, neither of these regions has now a single monument that can compare, in

109 ASC, XI, pp. 46-47; *ASR,* 1908-09, pp. 17-18.
110 *Ibid.,* pp. 20-21.
111 *Ibid.*

scale or in magnificence, with any of the regional manifestations of the *Nāgara* temple style mentioned above.

The earliest monument of the *Nāgara* design in the Himalayan regions may be seen in a group of rock-cut temples at Masrur (Kangra).[112] Reproducing the prominent characteristics of the early *Nāgara* temple the group may belong to the eighth century A.D. A group of structural temples at Baijnath (Kangra),[113] possibly of the ninth century, are alike in form and design to the early *Nāgara* temples in Orissa, a further analogy with the Orissan movement being supplied by a *rekha śikhara* embedded at each of the four corners of the *maṇḍapa* in one of the temples (cf. similar feature in the *maṇḍapa* of the Vaitāl deul at Bhuvaneśvara, Orissa). Several temples of early *Nāgara* form at Chamba [114] are characterised each by *pañcha-ratha* plan and in the bigger temples *pañchāṅga* division of the *bāḍa*. The last seems to connect them with the Orissan development of the *Nāgara* syle, while the shallow string-course around the *āmalaka-śilā* represents a feature that is particularly Rajput in occurrence. In a few of the Chamba temples there appear two superposed parasols, each resting on a frame of wood and covered by thin slabs of slate, one over the *gaṇḍi* and the other over the *āmalaka*. This contrivance appears to be a necessary feature in the hilly regions for draining off snow and is seen also in the temples of Kedārnātha and Badarīnātha in the snowy heights of the Himalayas. The temple of Mahādeva at Bajaura Kulu[115] is notable for rich carved ornamentations and for the three side chapels, one on each of the three sides, projected from the body of the sanctum.

In the eastern belt of Āryāvarta a few extant monuments in West Bengal and the adjoining region of Chotanagpur illustrate again a familiarity of this territory with the *Nāgara* temple conception. That the *Nāgara* design was also the prevailing form in other parts of Bengal and Bihar may also be known from several monolithic and metal votive temples in miniature of this design[116] and sculptures reproducing in relief the form of this order discovered from these areas.[117]

Of the extant temples referred to above a few may be assigned

112 *Ibid.*, 1912-13, pt. 1, pp. 27-29; 1915-16, pp. 39-48.

113 *Ibid.*, 1905-06, p. 17f.

114 For Chamba temples, *ASC*, XIV, pp. 109-14.

115 *ASR*, 1909-10, pp. 18-24.

116 *JISOA*, II, pp. 135-36; *HBR*, I, pp. 499-500, figs. 82; 84; 104.

117 R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, pls. XIX. b, XC. a, XCIV. b.

to our period. There was an important group at Telkupi (Purulia district) evidencing a sustained activity for several hundred years.[118] Unfortunately, the temples have been submerged, victims of a necessary irrigation project in this area. Nearby at Para, Boram, Dulmi, etc. there stand a few small and unpretentious temples of *Nāgara* conception; they are not important however, either in scale or in preservation, to be of much use for a study of *Nāgara* temples in Eastern India.

Some temples in West Bengal may offer a fruitful study for an understanding of the *Nāgara* form of the temple in this area. At Barakar (Burdwan district) there are four stone temples collectively known as the Begunia group.[119] Three of these (Nos. I, II and III) have to be dated to a period not earlier than the sixteenth century. Temple No. IV, however, as the architectural and stylistic features indicate, belongs to a much earlier period. It consists of a sanctum, *tri-ratha* in plan, but anticipating the *pañcha-ratha* in the provision of a subsidiary niches on either side of the central *ratha* projection The *maṇḍapa* in front is a recent addition. The niches are each capped by a superstructure, those in the central *rathas* terminating in the lowest stage of the *baraṇḍa*. The *gaṇḍi*, with a slight inward curvature from the start, is topped by the spheroid *āmalaka-śilā*, its surface being covered by carved panels, illustrative of various legends and animal and human motifs.

Reproducing the prominent characteristics of the early *Nāgara* form, temple No. IV at Barakar offers a general resemblance to the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhuvaneśvara. Its link with the typical Orissan temple is also evident in the bold miniature *śikhara* shown on the front face. These are, however, certain distinctive divergences, for instance, the comparatively taller *śikhara*, the relief panels that introduce a new scheme of ornamentation, the rounded contours of the *bhūmi-āmalakas* and the fluted cusp-like indentations of these and the main *āmalaka*, and the shallow rectangular offset panels on the mouldings of the plinth In respect of the last two features the Barakar temple seems to have parallels in temples of Western India, particularly of Gujarat. Further, the division of the *rāhāpaga* on each face in two vertical sections by a deep sunken line along the middle and the sectional *āmalakas* in their upper stages also seem to connect the Barakar temple with the Western Indian movement, such features being noticed in the temple at Pasthar

118 D. Mitra, *Telkupi.*

119 ASC, VIII, pp. 135-36; *JISOA*, I, pp. 125-27, pl. XXXVI; *HBR*, I; p. 499 fig. 81.

(Kathiawar). Along with these affinities of the Barakar temple with the distant west, its link with Orissa remains clear and explicit. As it now stands, it offers many interesting problems of which no satisfactory explanation is available at present. From the fundamentals of its architectural form it does not appear to have been much later in date than that of the Paraśurāmeśvara at Bhuvaneśvara.

In the brick temple at Sat Deuliya (Burdwan district)[120] we notice again such distinctive features of the *Nāgara* conception as the *rathaka* plan and curvilinear tower with the *ratha* shape repeated on the tower. The axial division of the sanctum cube into five (*pañchāṅga*) segments has apparent analogy with the Orissan development of the *Nāgara* design. The cube ends in a series of inverted offsets forming the support for the *gaṇḍi*. The latter has an emphatic and unbroken curvilinear contour and is covered bv low-relief patterns of interlacing chaitya windows all over. From the damaged state of the top it is not possible to ascertain the nature and character of the crowning elements of the temple. A significant feature is the absence of the *bhūmi-āmalakas* at the corners of the *gaṇḍi;* this may suggest also the absence of the *āmalaka-śilā* as the crowning member of the temple. In spite of the absence of these usual features of the *Nāgara* temple scheme, the fundamentals of the plan and elevation of the temple clearly indicate its affiliation with the *Nāgara* design. From the architectural form and decorative scheme, the temple may be assigned to about the tenth century.

The finest brick temple of the Nāgara design in this part of the country is the Siddheśvara temple at Bahulara (Bankura district).[121] To the same conception belongs also the brick temple known as Jaṭar deul in the Sunderbuns;[122] its original shape and appearance have, however, been much obliterated by modern conservation. In these temples may be recognised yet another interpretation of the theme of the *aṅga-śikharas* which may be considered to have been characteristic of the *Nāgara* temples of this region. Two stone temples at Dihar (Bankura district),[123] though their *śikharas* have disappeared, seem also to have belonged to this group. From considerations of style they appear to be dated not earlier than the eleventh century and fall outside the scope of the present volume.

120 *ASR*, 1934-35, p. 43, pl. XIX. a; *HBR*, I, pp. 500-01; fig. 85.

121 *ASC*, VIII, p. 202; *ASR*, 1921-22, pp. 84-85; 1922-23, pp. 58-59; *HIIA*, fig. 213; *JISOA*, II, pp. 139-40; *HBR*, I, p. 501, fig. 86.

122 *JISOA*, II, p. 141; *HBR*, I, pp. 501-02, fig 89.

123 *JISOA*, II, pp. 140-41; *HBR*, I, p. 1501, fig. 88.

5. EXOTIC TYPES

Among the temples of the period there are some that stand apart from any of the canonical styles mentioned above, and in the wide perspective of Indian temple architecture they may appear to be to a certain extent exotic. Nevertheless, they are found to be characteristics of the regions in which they developed.

First in this context comes a group of temples in Kashmir. In this secluded valley a significant phase of building activity starts with Lalitāditya Muktapīḍa (c. A. D. 724-760), one of the foremost monarchs of his age. The earliest monuments were Buddhist and of these, a group of buildings at Parihāsapura consisting of a stūpa, a monastery and a chaitya is found to have been conceived on an impressive scale. Each, however, conforms to the characteristic pattern and calls for little comment.

The most abundant activity of this phase is recognised in the erection of Brahmanical temples.[124] A few of these were, no doubt, grand and imposing conceptions. The typical Kashmir temple is situated within a quadrangular court enclosed by an impressive peristyle of cells and approached by one or three monumental porticos. This kind of conception is not unknown in India proper and in Kashmir it might have been derived from similar Buddhist establishments But apart from this, the Kashmir temple has an individual character of its own which is particularly emphasised by its pillars, the treatment of its wall surfaces and by the elevation of the temple superstructure. The last consists of a pyramidal roof of two stages, obviously derived from the usual wooden roofs common in Kashmir. On each stage of the roof there is a triangular pediment enclosing a tre-foil niche on each side, with a similar pediment over the doorway in front. The pillars are fluted and surmounted by capitals of quasi-Doric order. The ceiling of the roof, either of wood or stone, takes the form of a lantern formed by overlapping intersecting squares. This consistitutes another speciality of the Kashmir temple. These features lending a distinctive character to the Kashmir temple may betray certain extra-Indian inspiration. The celebrated Sun temple of Martand, built by Lalitāditya, is one of the earliest and perhaps the most impressive conception even in its ruins. The pattern established therein appears to have been followed in subsequent temples. Of the other typical examples may be mentioned the temples

124 *HIEA*, I, pp. 251-72; *HIIA*, p. 143; *Br. IA.*, pp. 185-94; Benjamin Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, pp. 119-20; For detailed accounts of the Kashmir temples reference may be made to R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*,

at Bangath, Avantīpura ,Avanteśvara and Avantīsvāmī, the latter representing another touchstone of the type), Patan, Payar, Buniar, and Pandrethan or Purāṇādhishṭhana. The type does not appear to have extended outside the limits of Kashmir. The view of its influence on the Gop type of temple in Kathiawar lacks support.

The colossal brick temple at Paharpur (Rajshahi district, North Bengal), as laid bare by excavations,[125] is of an unusual type that has been described by some scholars to be unknown to Indian archaeology. It occupies nearly the centre of an immense quadrangle forming the monastery, the far-famed Somapura *mahāvināra* of old. It is of the shape of a gigantic square cross with angles of projection between the arms, measuring 356'6" north-south and 314'3" east-west. The temple is seen to be rising in a number of terraces with an ambulatory enclosed by a parapet wall in each of the two upper terraces. An extensive flight of stairs, provided on the north, leads to the first and second terraces.

Dikshit[126] appears to be right in observing that "the plan of the Paharpur temple was the result of a pre-meditated development of a single central unit", in which expansion was in a sense pre-determined in a vertical direction. A hollow square pile in the centre, shooting high up above the terraces, provides the nucleus round which the plan of this stupendous monument has been conceived and evolved. The walls of this tall central shaft form a sharp square and in order to relieve the monotony of the bare walls provision was made in the second upper terrace for a projection, consisting of an ante-room and a forward chamber, on each face, leaving out a portion of the length of the square at either end. This treatment resulted in a cruciform shape with one projecting angle between the arms. This was enclosed by an ambulatory with a parapet wall which was made to run parallel to this arrangement. On the next lower terrace again a similar rectangular projection was added on each side, the whole being surrounded by an ambulatory with a parapet. The basement conformed to the alignment of the lower terrace structure with the result that the angular projections in the plan of the lower terrace and that of the basement were three each between the arms of the cross; an additional projection was added to the whole by the stairway provided in the middle of the northern arm. The entire conception, there are reasons to believe, belongs to a single period of construction and the evidences of later repairs, additions and altera-

125 *ASR*, 1922-23, pp. 116-23; 1925-26, pp. 107-13; 1926-27, pp. 140-49, 119; 1927-28, pp. 38-39, 144-45, 101-11; 1928-29, pp. 97-98; 1930-34, pt. 1, pp. 113-18; K. N. Dikshit, "Excavations at Paharpur" *MASI*, No. 55.

126 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

tions did in no way affect the fundamental arrangement of the temple.

Some scholars are inclined to find a prototype of the Paharpur temple in a colossal brick structure excavated at Lauriya Nandangarh in North Bihar.[127] There is no doubt that there is a general agreement between the two in the cruciform shape presented by each. It should be noted, however, that the projecting angles of the Nandangarh monument appear to be purely decorative and to have originated from an entirely different conception. Their disposition, too, is different and every re-entrant angle is found to be revetted by a buttress. The distinctive arrangement of rectangular structures round the monument at each lower level, which resulted in the cruciform shape and in the production of the many projecting and re-entrant angles that we see at Paharpur, is totally absent at Lauriya Nandangarh. The Paharpur temple may be said to have its own specific characteristics and no exact parallel has so far been found elsewhere in India.

According to Dikshit[128] the main shrine of the temple was situated on the top, i.e. on the third terrace. This is said to have consisted of a square cella with an open ambulatory around. In view of the extremely mutilated condition of the monument at the top it is difficult to follow Dikshit's line of argument in this regard. Certain facts, however, definitely go against above suggestion. If the shrine had been located on the top, i.e. the third terrace, one should naturally expect the grand stairway extending beyond the second terrace to reach the third. There are definite indications, however, that this flight of stairs terminated with the second terrace and that no access to the third terrace, if there had been any, had been provided for in the original composition. Some would like to locate the shrine on the brick-paved floor inside the hollow square pile 'roughly at the level' of the second terrace with its projected chambers. But no access to this inner square from the chambers has been found nor is there is any evidence that there was originally such an access that had been blocked up at a later period. The paved platform inside the hollow square pile, that had been strengthened by a deep soling of bricks and several courses of offsets, appears, hence, to have been provided for to add to the strength of the lofty walls of the central square. So far as the arrangement goes the sanctuary of the stupendous temple could have neither been situated at the top nor inside the central square pile.

127 *ASI*, 1935-36, pp. 55-66, pl. xix-xxi; 1936-37, pp. 47-50, pl. xxi.
128 *Paharpur*, p. 8.

Dikshit's suggestion that a four-faced (*chaturmukha, chaumukha*) Jain temple might have furnished the barest model[129] of the Paharpur temple is a pertinent one and is worth more serious consideration. In this connection one should take into account a particular type of temples at Pagan in Burma[130] which may be regarded as an adaptation of the *chaumukha* shrines of the Jains. The type consists of a square temple with four images set in recessed niches on four faces of a solid masonry pile of square shape standing in the middle of a surrounding gallery or galleries and approached by entrance vestibules on one or more of its faces. The Pagan temples appear to offer a striking analogy to the plan of the second terrace of the Paharpur temple and may be compared with profit for the many problems of this unique Indian monument now in a fragmentary state. At Paharpur the walls of the central pile do not have any niches for the reception of images; yet bearing in mind the analogy of the Pagan temples and of the *chaumukha* shrines, a suggestion that images were installed in the ante-rooms on the second terrace does not appear to be quite improbable. It has to be noted that these ante-rooms still have remains of brick platforms abutting on the walls behind and there is every probability that these were intended as pedestals of the images that were once installed on the four sides of the central square pile.

The temple was built of well-burnt bricks laid in mud mortar. On the outer face the plainness of the walls is relieved by projecting cornices of ornamental bricks and bands of terracotta plaques, set in recessed panels, which run in a single row around the basement and in double rows around the ambulatory parapets in the upper terraces. The lower part of the basement is embellished by a number of stone sculptures which are almost wholly Brahmanical, though extraordinarily varied in style and distribution.[131] The main fabric belongs to a single period of construction, most likely to the time of Dharmapāla, who was responsible for the foundation of the monas-

129 Dikshit uses the word 'outilne' (*Ibid.*, p. 7) which presupposes an earlier structure that served as the nucleus for additions and amplifications at different periods. As it stands now, the temple belongs wholesale to a single period of construction and if any earlier structure existed it served as a model for the present monument which was conceived on a much grander scale, and not as a nucleus for later additions and accretions.

130 S. K. Saraswati, Temples at Pagan, *JGIS*, IX, pp. 5-28.

131 The problem of the occurence on the basement of stone sculptures of varied style, a few of earlier dates, has been discussed in detail by the present writer in *IC*, VII, pp. 35-40 and sketch, and also in *HBR*, I, pp. 508-09.

tery around it in the latter part of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.

In view of the extremely fragmentary state of the monument, as it is at present, the form of the superstructure, the method of roofing and other details of elevation are difficult to ascertain now. Marshall[132] assumes the temple to have been a '*garbha-chaitya*' or hollow pagoda. Such perhaps was also the view of R. D. Banerji[133] who described the main shrine of the temple as consisting of a "hollow-roofed chamber', meaning probably a shrine open to the sky. But such open shrines, during this period at least, are extremely rare, if not unknown. It is reasonable to presume that this stupendous composition was capped by some sort of superstructure. The terraced arrangement of the structure would appropriately suggest a roof rising in receding tiers over the vaults spanning the different ambulatory galleries, broken by gables, possibly with dormer windows, over the projections on each face. On the analogy of the Pagan temples it is possible to suggest again that the tall masonry pile in the centre supported a curvilinear *śikhara* as the crowning element of this colossal composition. This kind of roof and superstructure suits not only the analogy of the Pagan temples, but also the evidences of shrines shown in relief in East Indian sculptures or sketched in miniature in East Indian manuscript illuminations.

The type of temple laid bare at Paharpur has been described as entirely unknown in Indian archaeology. Indian literature[134] on architecture, however, often refers to a type of building, known as *Sarvatobhadra,* which is described to be a square shrine with four entrances at the cardinal faces and with an ante-chamber on each side. Further, it should have uninterrupted galleries all around, should have five storeys and sixteen corners and many beautiful turrets and spires. The temple at Paharpur, as now excavated, approximates fundamentally to the *Sarvatobhadra* type as described in Indian *śilpa* texts. It is a many-terraced temple, each terrace corresponding to the height of a storey, consisting perhaps of a votive altar in each of the four projecting faces and surrounded by a continuous ambulatory in the second terrace, with further projections and passages in the next lower terrace to extend the building commensurate to its height, a scheme that results in so many projecting and re-entrant angles in the ground plan. It is also to be noted that the Jaina

132 *Illustrated London News,* January 29, 1927, p. 160.

133 *ASR,* 1925-26, p. 109.

134 *Brihat Saṁhitā,* LII, 36, also relevant commentary; *Matsya Purāṇa,* ch. 269, 34-35; *JISOA,* II, p. 137.

chaturmukha (*chaumukha*), i.e. four images on four sides of a square block, which might have supplied the model for this elaborate structure, was also known as *pratimā sarvatobhadrikā*. In Indian temple architecture, thus, the type does not appear to have been unknown. The texts prescribe such a type for the use of the gods and the kings; if our reconstruction of the elevation of the Paharpur temple is accepted, a fair popularity of the type in Eastern India is evidenced by the not too infrequent representations of this type of shrines in the sculptures and paintings hailing from this region. In fact, such illustrations indicate that the type was possibly characteristic of Eastern India.

This type of temple in Eastern India may be found to have influenced greatly the architectural activities of South-East Asia, especially of Burma and Indonesia, the origins and associations of which had been an intriguing question with the archaeologists since the time of Fergusson. We have already referred to the points of analogy between the Paharpur temple and the square temples of Pagan in Burma.[135] At the same time there are again certain points of divergence between the two. Though the shape and elevation of the Paharpur temple might have afforded a possible scope for imitation by the Burmese builders, there should be recognised a substantial difference in the general conception and arrangement of the Pagan temple as a whole. Dikshit[136] has referred to the Tjandi Loro Jonggrang and the Tjandi Sewu in Central Java as offering the nearest approximation to the plan and elevation of the Paharpur temple. "The general view of the former", he says, "with angular projections, truncated pyracidal shape and horizontal lines of decoration, reproduces the prominent characteristics of the Indian monument." The plan of the main temple in each of two complexes, Tjandi Loro Jonggrang and Tjandi Sewu, also resembles that of the second terrace of the Paharpur temple. Further, clear analogies with the Indian temple are afforded by the terraced elevation and unbroken circumambulatory galleries in both the Javanese monuments. The colossal temple at Paharpur belongs definitely to an earlier period; the close connection between Eastern India and the archipelago is an established fact. In view, therefore, of a close similarity between the Paharpur temple on the one hand and the two Javanese monuments on the other, "the possibility is clearly suggested of the Indian monument being the prototype."

135 S. K. Saraswati, Temples at Pagan, *JGIS*, IX, pp. 5-28 and pls.
136 *ASR*, 1927-28, p. 39.

II. SCULPTURE OF NORTHERN INDIA FROM A.D. 320 TO 989

The rise of the Guptas and the consolidation of their power in terms of an imperial hegemony were destined not only to change the political set-up in India, but also to bring about outstanding achievements in all spheres of life in general, and the field of art activity in particular. The rise of the imperial Guptas led to the decline and downfall of the various foreign powers like the Śakas, Pahlavas, and the Kushāṇas, who had been dominating the scene since long. This ousting of the alien forces and the establishment of a unified kingdom by the Guptas, particularly over greater part of Northern India, facilitated "the efflorescence of Indian genius in all its aspects" fostered by "the resurgence of a conscious national ideal"[1]. The impact of this on the art activity of the country was direct and conspicuous.

Although the rule of the Guptas did not outlive the fifth century, as a cultural epoch the Gupta period may be said to have extended from the fourth to the close of the sixth century. This period saw the culmination and fruition of all anterior trends and tendencies of artistic pursuis resulting in a unified and synthesised plastic expression characterised by an unprecedented intellectual diction and spiritual depth. Due to the inherent potentiality, both in spirit and type, of this plastic expression, whatever sculpture was produced throughout the length and breadth of India during the period between the fourth and the sixth centuries breathed the same air, and even subsequently, its legacy seems to have determined the norms of the derivatives. Gupta sculpture, therefore, marked the apogee between its preceding formative crecendo and the waning aftermath, and the effect of this highest achievement was not restricted to any particular region alone, but was shared with equal enthusiasm throughout the country and even outside. This explains why the art of the Gupta period is most aptly referred to as the 'Classical' art of India. It is 'Classical' because of its intrinsic quality of high-order, which was shared throughout the country but was never parallelled earlier or later, and which, serving as veritable index, helps us appreciate the nature of achievements accruing to anterior or posterior artistic practices in the country.[2]

1 S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, (henceforth *SIS*) Calcutta, 1957, p. 120.

2 The word 'Classical', as applied to qualify Indian art of the period of the Guptas, has been explained by scholars in different ways. One scholar has interpreted this word as meaning "a form of purism through which Gupta art retains—despite a somewhat cold elegance—a robustness and simplicity of stylisation from which spring a creative vigour and richness of invention far removed from the academic Classical". See *Encyclopaedia of World Art*, London, 1963, VII, p. 955.

After the Guptas, Harshavardhana of the Pushyabhūti family raised up in the seventh century an imperial authority with Kanauj as the centre. But his reign was short-lived, it did not have a dynastic succession, and, quite logically, his period, art historically speaking, was rather uneventful. In fact, in the latter half of the seventh century, there being no imperial leadership, Northern India was virtually in chaos, both politically and culturally. The interim leadership shifted freely and frequently resulting in the variations of the political map of India at random following the conquests of satellite powers. As a consequence, separatism coupled with regional bigotry started asserting, and this meant an obvious disintegration of the Gupta Classical tradition of art. Art, particularly sculptural art, did no longer have a common denominator irrespective of its station, but parochialism and regional idiosyncrasies virtually contributed not only to the dismemberment of the Classical fabric, but also to a sort of retrogression in the creative output of the sculptural art. Of course, it did not take long to check the process of this retrogression and to regenerate a somewhat similar attitude towards art throughout Northern India, but with a conscious topographical relevance. Thereby was ushered in, roughly from the middle of the eighth century onwards, what is known as 'medievalism' or 'medieval factor' in Indian art, which, stricktly speaking, did not amount to the negation of everything of Classical Indian art, but was nevertheless an eventual new interpretation of the latter in terms of the changed socio-political context of the period and its consequent bearing on the means and methods of art.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GUPTA SCULPTURE

In the pre-Gupta sculpture of Bhārhut and Sāñchī the artist seems to have viewed the human figure, almost invariably, as but a complement to the worlds of the flora and the fauna. In other words, human figures are represented there as one of the numerous manifestations of Nature. But in the Gupta sculptural art, human figures are not merely a manifestation, but rather the representation, of Nature with all its grandeur. The Gupta sculptor used the human figure as the vehicle for the transmutation of Nature into art. Naturally, therefore, his main concern was the human figure and how to make the various features of its form relevant to what exists in the vegetal and animal worlds, in other words, in Nature at large. In fact, the articulation of all natural phenomena in terms of the human figure was the basic artistic proposition before the Gupta sculptor, whereas his predecessors were content with representing

man only as a part of Nature. This discovery of the potentiality of the human figure was a major breakthrough, which enthused the Gupta sculptor to explore all possible comprehensible means to give expression to the new idea, viz., to epitomise the Nature through the human body-form. To him, therefore, the preferred form in art seems to have been the human figure in various contexts and capacities.

Between the pre-Gupta and Gupta sculpture, hence, there is not merely a chronological distance, but a distinct change in the basic points of reference, preference, and, consequently, of the entire aesthetic outlook. This change, of course , did not come all of a sudden. It was obviously an outcome of all anterior art practices and of the experiences gained thereby, sustained by a series of political and socio-economic factors which also helped the Guptas build and consolidate their imperial power. Already in the sculptures of Amarāvatī and Mathurā the symptoms of this change of attitude were evident, and when it culminated in the Gupta period, its impact was so strong and widespread that it seemed to have been a birth without a pre-natal preparation.. The experimentations carried out in these centres of art, during the preceding century, bequeathed to the Gupta sculptors the benefit of the results of their experience. The scluptors of the Gupta period presumably took up a new approach to the proposition as well, partly because they might have realised the limitations of the approach undertaken by their predecessors, and, obviously, also because they had superior intellectual ability for doing things.

Although the Gupta sculptor represented the entire nature in terms of the human figure and its actions, he showed no intention of relegating Nature to any sort of insignificance or unimportance;[3] rather he was more dependent on Nature in so far as he was keen to embody in the human figure itself all the essential qualities of the vegetal and animal worlds of Nature. The human figure in the Gupta sculpture is characterised by a disciplined vitality which is no doubt the abstracted essence of all the possible ramifications of Nature. The youth or the youthfulness being the veritable vehicle of vitality, the Gupta sculptor invariably preferred a youthful human figure, be it of a divine or a mortal being. But in his glorification of the youth he never failed to appreciate that the real insignia of the youth is not a lewd vigour, but a rhythm of liveliness.

This realisation of the indispensability of a discipline co-existing

3 In fact, in the Gupta art, Nature is given more prominent role than what it was assigned earlier. See R. C. Majumdar (ed)., *Classical Age*, (henceforth CA), Bombay, 1954, p. 516.

with vitality in a human figure, to make it basically relevant to Nature and artistically more expressive, led the Gupta sculptor to abstract and then to redistribute, according to his own understanding and preference, the characteristic features of numerous forms and norms of Nature pertaining to the concepts of discipline, vitality, or both. He analysed, and as if singled out, the characteristic features of objects and subjects in Nature for transmutation into the various limbs of the human figure, so that the latter always retained their reference or relevance (*sādṛiśya*) to Nature on the one hand, and the physiological concept of the anatomy of the human figure, on the other. For this kind of sophisticated expression the sculptor had to use a language formulated by himself with the newly oriented vocabulary of aesthetic forms and norms drawn out from the repertoire of Nature, and as such understandable to the majority of the people. The rhythmic torsion of the body conveyed the sense of the gliding undulation of a sprightful creeper. The drooping eyelids of a serene and contemplative face, particularly of a Buddha figure, have their parallels in the soft and tender lotus petals. The neck is likened to a conchshell with its spiral curves representing the folds on that limb. The simile for the thigh is either the firm and resilient trunk of a plantain tree or of a young elephant. Through the ingenuity of similar other poetic analogies the Gupta sculptor, in fact, extended the visual meaning of the human from beyond its mere anatomical structure, and this new aesthetic vision enriched the expressive content of the entire Gupta sculpture.

In the very attempt to discover the correspondence between various limbs and lineaments of the human form and certain distinctive elements of different forms and norms of Nature lay the genesis of certain amount of idealisation and intellectualisation of the forms represented in Gupta art in general, and in the Gupta sculpture in particular. This constituent element of idealisation gradually led to the systematisation of a series of aesthetic canons in terms of various attitudes (*āsana*), gestures (*mudrā*), flexions (*bhaṅga*), proportion and measurement (*tālamāna*), and iconographic signs (*pratimālakshaṇa*). The intellectual discipline, the soul of Gupta art, elevated it from the surfeit of earthliness of Mathurā, and, at the same time, discarded the sensuousness of the Veṅgī school. The Gupta sculptor formulated, so to say, a rationale of these two fundamental aesthetic points of view upheld in the anterior art practices, and represented the human figure with the confidence of a vital human existence, but characterised by a subtle spiritual illumination. Through the fully rounded modelling of the body and the transparent luminosity of its texture, the human figures in the Gupta sculpture expresed its phy-

sical energy and also the vital current (*prāṇa*) of life. At the same time, the face is lit up with a hitherto-unknown experience of wisdom which contributed to a definite contemplative concentration not only in the facial expression, but in the totality of the form itself. The wisdom that seized the art was the outcome of the experience of seeing the outside world with open eyes, and the inner world with eyes closed. The most meaningful expression of the combined visions of the two worlds can be seen in the invariable half-closed eyes with drooping eyelids of the faces of human figures, divine or mortal, in the Gupta sculpture. And therein lies the true significance of the concept of *yoga* (union) between the physical and spiritual aspects of life, which was the guiding principle not only of the plastic arts, but presumably also of all spheres of activities during the Gupta period.

This element of communion of the body and mind made the form of the human figure meaningful beyond its formal connotation. There was no need, hence, for the ascription of any nervous tension or muscular configuration in the body for suggesting physical energy. Whatever the action, the body remained in easy and relaxed contemplative state of being, but nevertheless, it did not, for that matter, lose its import of potential vigour or even virulence. Whatever the mood and sentiment expressed by the human figures, they were invariably characterised by a complete detachment from all human contingencies and from one another, even though a number of them were composed in a group and they were supposed to be emotionally interrelated or to participate in a common action.

So far as the theme is concerned, the sculptures of the Gupta period can broadly be divided into two categories: (i) free and independent sculptures, mostly of the nature of cult images, and (ii) the narrative reliefs. The former category includes on the one hand the images of the Buddha having monastic simplicity of form and hieratic discipline in the overall bearing, and on the other, those of the Bodhisattvas and Brahmanical cult divinities shown with lavish jewellery and apparel and expressing a somewhat greater relaxation in bearing. The contrast between these two groups of statuaries in terms of their respective aesthetic import is too obvious, and the recognition of the two divergent trends simultaneously is a veritable evidence of the richness and variety existing even within a singular themetic motif. The stone sculptures of the Buddha are often provided with large circular halo or nimbus which, being most delicately ornamented with intricate carvings, served as a visual metaphor, as if, for ostentation contrasting with the serene simplicity of the figure of the Buddha in front. The other important category of sculptures,

viz., the narrative reliefs, particularly those depicting the legends of the Buddha, are, by and large, very much sytematised in their formal compositions which often betray a sense of monotony about them. The episodes are often arranged one above the other in several tiers. The compositions are conventional but, nevertheless, the personages represented in such narrative reliefs appear invariably with all elements of liveliness as the sculptures could possibly express with a visual idiom.

Technically speaking, Gupta sculpture is characterised by a full rounded volume of the plastic form with soft and delicate modelling and properly co-ordinated contours. The lines, particularly those defining the form, are softly gliding and rhythmically flowing. These lines, as well as the various planes of the form, melt into one another. The plastic treatment of the body is delicate and sensitive with a luminosity of texture. The physiognomy is elegant and devoid of any pathological blemishes. The physiognomical form and its anatomical specifications are conceived mostly as an idea, and not necessarily as an optical proposition. The drapery is invariably transparent, and hence does not disturb the plastic effect of the part of the body it is supposed to cover. Ornaments, very sparingly ascribed to the body, are mostly well-integrated with it. The facial expressions, irrespective of the actions, are mostly serene and contemplative with obliquely cut eyes having drooping eyelids. What counts most for the excellence of Gupta sculpture is that here every form expresses itself within a definite line-motive; the figures admit of consolidation within a definite silhouette. This silhouette is more than the fortuitous cessation of the visibility of the form. The contours are co-ordinated in such a way as to effect the correct degree of the play of light and darkness, which eventually is subordinated to the plastic form. In fact, a unique sense of proportion and relevance pervades almost each and every production in which there is hardly any element of exuberance or superfluity.

EVOLUTION OF GUPTA SCULPTURE

The maturity that Indian art acquired during the Gupta period was no doubt an outcome of its adolescence in the Kushāṇa art of Mathurā and the art of Amarāvatī of the Veṅgī school. In the former, a high degree of excellence in plasticity was achieved, whereas the latter excelled in elegance. In the Gupta art, these two elements were synthesised, but only after they were rationalised to the extent of their relevance and validity to the expressive content. In fact, the socio-cultural aspirations of the Gupta period were best ex-

pressed through the ideology of a 'conquered mind residing in a disciplined body'.[4] In this there was no scope for excesses, imperfections, and disorderliness. In the sculptural art of the Gupta period, therefore, the stolid dignity and mundane bearing of the plasticity of the Kushāṇa idiom had to be contained and the idulgent grace and elegance of Amarāvatī restrained by the spiritual redemption and efficiency in technique. The Gupta sculptors having succeeded in performing this, the art of the period acquired ripe maturity, and practically the fruition and culmination of all anterior aspirations.

The lead, and in fact, the major orientation in this direction were given at two places; Mathurā and Sarnath, leading to the emergence of the two fundamental styles of Gupta sculpture known after these two places of their origin, and of a number of their geographical variations of subsidiary importance. The Mathurā style represents the phase of transition from the grandeur of monumental bearing of the Kushāṇa idiom to the grace and serene dignity of the Gupta Classical ideal upheld by the sculptures for Sarnath. Mathura sculpture was made of moderately fine red sandstone admitting detailed carving but not a very defined treatment. At Sarnath, the material used was a cream coloured sandstone which was quite suitable for intricate details and a fine finish.

Although sculptures assignable, on veritable indication of chonology, to the initial phase of Gupta art are few and far between, it is perhaps an anticipated coincidence that the earliest dated example of Gupta sculpture, so far known, belongs unmistakably to the Mathurā style, although the sculpture concerned has been found from Bodhgayā. It is an image of a Bodhisattva,[5] dated in the year 64 of Mahārājā Trikamla. Although controversy hangs over the identification of this king and the era to which the date of the inscription should be referred to, the palaeography of the latter and also the style of the sculpture would suggest a fourth century date,[6] which will also be the case if the date of the inscription is referred to in the Gupta era. The Bodhgayā Bodhisattva, however, is not only executed in the red sandstone of the Mathurā type, but has also some characteristics of the Kushāṇa style of Mahurā: massivenss, and heavy stolidity of the physical form, and the schematic treatment of the folds of drapery on the left shoulder and forearm. But it contains some stylistic innovations as well: the body has been trans-

4 Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 133.
5 *CA*, fig. 35.
6 Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

formed in terms of a stern discipline, the three folds of the neck have been clearly shown to convey the sensitivity of the plastic surface, and the deep navel has been emphatically shown although that part of the body was supposed to be concealed beneath the robe hanging from the leftshoulder downwards. This is indicative of the transparency of the drapery. Above all, the eyes with drooping eyelids and the glance directed to the tip of the nose are conspicuously indicative of the figure being absorbed in deep meditation. The plasticity of the modelling, the sensitivity of the plastic surface, the transparent drapery, and above all, the serene contemplative mien of the Bodhgayā Bodhisattva conform to all the basic requirements of a Classical Gupta sculpture, and hence, their co-existence with some veritable features of Kushāṇa art of Mathurā, as underlined above, was unmistakable symptom of an escalatng change that was destined to result in the fulfilment of the Gupta Classical ideal in the sculptures of Sarnath.

It has to be remembered that the Bodhgayā image cannot be explained away as an aberration. In some other sculptures of the Mathurā school of the early fourth century A.D. also the symptoms of an impending change in the aesthetics of figure-sculptures can be noticed. A reddish brown sandstone head of uncertain identity, found from Mathurā and now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art[7], is far advanced from similar Kushana forms, particularly in the rotundity of form in the modelling of the region of the chin. A somewhat similar treatment is noticed in the head of Śiva in the stele from Kauśāmbī[8], where also symptoms in alignment with the approach towards Gupta Classical ideal are evident. The calm and concentrated inner absorption noticed in the fourth century Śaivite head from Mathura,[9] now in the Calmann Gallery, London, anticipates similar traits of the Bodhgayā Bodhisattva, also of the Mathurā atelier. The calm expression of tranquility articulated by the sculptor through the drooping eyelids, and also the idealised plasticity of modelling, which bring about the idea of the meditative contemplation, were presumably what the sculptors of Mathurā were busy in accomplishing in the fourth century.

The achievements of the fourth century Mathurā sculptures, best expressed in the Bodhgayā Bodhisattva image, presumably caught up the attention of the sculptors of the other centres including those outside India. Some sculptures from Sarnath, belonging to the

7 H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, II, See New York, 1954, pl. 106.

8 K. Fischer, *Schopfungen Indischer Kunst*, Köln, 1959, fig. 126.

9 CA, fig. 39.

fourth century, seem to be the cognates of the Bodhgayā Bodhisattva. A remarkable example of such a possible derivation is the celebrated fourth century Buddha image[10] in *dhyāna-mudrā* at Anurādhapur in Śrī-Laṅkā. This figure, however, shows a greater degree of emancipation from the stolid and mundane bearing of the Kushāṇa art. But it was at Sarnath that the seeds of the Gupta Classical ideal in sculpture drawn out from Mathura had their proper germination leading to a glorious harvest of numerous sculptures having inimitable mastery over technique and aesthetic diction. This seems to have been achieved in the fifth century, when the sum total of the achievements of the Classical idiom amounted to a delicate and sensitive treatment of the plastic surface making it smooth, supple, and shining, a slender and seemingly weightless physiognomy, a relaxed and rhythmic attitude of the body expressing certain amount of litheness and movement, a transparent drapery clinging to the body, and, above all, a calm and reposeful expression in the face seemingly lit up with wisdom. Not only the figures of the Buddha, but those of the divinities of the other faiths, including even the secular figure sculptures of Sarnath, belonging to the fifth century, had these characteristics common in them.

But unfortunately, there does not exist sufficient dated evidence for the 'pre-Classical' Sarnath sculptures, and similarly, very few of the major works of the Mathurā atelier in the mature Gupta style bears a dated inscription, leaving virtually no scope for the understanding of the phase of transition from Mathura to Sarnath. But on the basis of whatever dated evidence we have at our disposal, it will appear that the median date for the 'Classical' phase of the latter was around A.D. 475, as is evidenced by three dated sculptures of the standing Buddha,[11] all of them from Sarnath and now preserved in the museum at the same place. One of them is dated in A.D. 473-74, and the other two bear a date in A.D. 476-77. These figures show an interesting combination of a distinct hieratic frontality and a subtle contraposto, and their bodies have the quality of litheness and equipose together with a felicitous melting and blending of the various planes of the body surface. The drapery is transparent and hence the sensitivity of the plastic surface is eloquently expressed. Moreover, the faces, with eyes cast downwards, as through in introspection, preserve a benign expression. But in spite of these, the persistence of the influence of the Mathurā school in terms of the hieratic frontality and statuesque dignity in these figures is

10 Sherman E. Lee, *History of Far Eastern Art*, New York, fig. 135.
11 *Artibus Asiae*, XXV, 1962, p. 182, figs. 3-5.

clearly discernable. In basic stylistic and iconographic considerations, these figures have proximity with a standing Buddha figure from Mathurā (now preserved in the National Museum),[12] although the latter has some differences from the former as well. The standing Buddha figure from Mathurā, as mentioned above, is perhaps one of the most remarkable productions of the Mathurā school of the Gupta period. It stands in *samapada,* the left hand holding up a portion of the *saṅghāti,* while the right, which is broken now, presumably showed the *abhaya-mudrā.* The head of the figure has behind it a huge decorated also. Unlike the Sarnath Buddhas, the figure has the pleats of the *saṅghāti* deineated in string-course formulations across the chest and down the front of the body. Moreover, the facial expression of the figure, although serene and contemplative, does not have the same spirit of enlightenment as is noticed in their Sarnath counterparts. Although the Sarnath pieces seem to be of a superior intellectual expression, what transpires from the study of the three dated Buddha figures from Sarnath, discussed above, is that since these are not positively the best products of the Sarnath schoo, till as late of A.D. 477 Sarnath presumably could not achieve the stylistic excellence for which it is so famous. It appears that those works which are generally considered as the best expressions of the Classical phase of Sarnath were produced at least a quarter of a century later than the three dated standing Buddha figures from Sarnath mentioned above. This will mean that the Classical phase of Sarnath was reached in round about A.D. 500, a period when the imperial power of the Guptas had virtually collapsed.

Undoubtedly one of the best productions of the Classical phase of Sarnath, and the most celebrated in view of the 'appropriateness of its iconographic content to the Sarnath sanctuary', is the sculpture representing the Buddha as delivering his first sermon. It shows[13] the Master as seated in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude with hands disposed in the teaching gesture (*dharmacakramudrā*). He is seated on a throne with two leogryphs supporting a lintel having *makara* ends. On the plinth of the throne is the representation of the Wheel of the Law, flanked by two deer, indicating the Deer Park (Mṛigadāva= Sārnāth), and by seven figures, five of them no doubt represent the first adherents of the faith, and the remaining two, possibly the donor couple.[14] Behind the head of the Buddha is the circular halo

12 Lee, *op. cit.,* fig. 119.

13 CA, fig. 37.

14 Saraswati, *op. cit.,* p. 136. It has, however, to be pointed out that all the seven figures represented on the plinth of the seat of the Buddha are not 'kneeling'. Only the two figures on the extreme left are shown as kneeling, whereas the other

(*prabhā*) decorated with a broad band of intricate floral designs within beaded borders. On either side of this nimbus, there is a flying figure of a *gandharva.*

In spite of its frontal orientation and an apparently static bearing, the image is no doubt one of the best plastic expressions of the Classical idiom of the Gupta sculputure. Its narrow chest and shoulder, soft and delicate modelling, easy and flowing contours, melting planes of the plastic surface, transparent drapery, and the countenance of calm and peaceful contemplation are eloquently expressive of the restrained grace and spiritual dignity which the image symbolises. Its frontality and to some extent the symmetrical precision in the disposition of the limbs betray admittedly some architectonic air about the image, nevertheless, these could not undo the overall effect of an aesthetic charm contributed by the simple and austere plastic treatment of the body of the Master and its contrast with the lavishness of the exquisitely carved ornamentations on the throne and the aureole. Composed between the two flying *gandharvas* on top and the seven figures in adoption below, the image of the Buddha with its reposeful dignity is conspicuous as a form not only devoid of any frivolous mobility like that of the *gandharvas,* but also of the affecttion of the lifeless pattern of the gestures of the monks in adoration. The face lit up with a contemplative inner absorption conveys the idea of wisdom (*bodhi*), and the surface texture of shining smoothness of Chunar sandstone has contributed to the sophisticated bearing of the entire body of the image.

Although very few other sculptures from Sarnath could attain a similar, not to speak of a superior, aesthetic and technical achievement as noticed in the Buddha image discussed above, mention should be made of some of them in order to understand the aesthetic standard that was achieved at the Sarnath atelier. The head of the Buddha,[15] now preserved in the National Museum, is a veritable example of Sarnath art. The face is sensuous with full lips, aquiline nose and eyelids drawn with sinuous curves. But at the same time, its dispassionate expression with eyes looking inwards effectively parallels the formal proporties of the sensuous with those of the realm of metaphysics. 'There is a taut discipline in the geometric,

five seem to be seated on some kind of a raised seat, pointing to their difference in status from the other two figures on the extreme left. Interestingly, of these two kneeling figures, one is that of a female, and the other one seems to be that of a child. The latter is very much damaged, and this led, Sherman Lee to count the total number of figures flanking the Wheel as six. See Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

15 Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India Through the Ages,* London, 1965, fig. 50.

highly abstract forms which underlie the shape of the head or the hair-curls, neck and eye-brows; yet the total effect of the face is that of a humane and benign power.'[16] Three standing Buddha images from Sarnath,[17] now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, preserve the evidence for the evolution of the Sarnath idiom towards a new direction. These figures, on the surface, seem to be allied to A.D. 476-77 images from Sarnath mentioned above, but on a closer analysis, they appear to be their successors in point of style. The head is comparatively smaller, the limbs further elongated, the torso 'narrower, shorter and less articulated and weighty,' and, above all, the figures seem to strive for more elegance. They no doubt belong to a different aesthetic vision and workmanship than that the Sarnath artists had been engaged with in the preceding years, and they presumably hold out the symptoms of the movemnt of the Sarnath idiom towards a striving for the realisation of the body as an unified organism and its movement closer to reality, though betraying a predilection for elegance, sensuousness, and formal grace.

The excellence of the sculptral attainments that Sarnath had during the fifth century, did also touch upon the plastic activities of Mathurā during the same period. But qualitatively speaking the artistic activity at Mathura, particularly in terms of the production of Buddhist sculptures, during the period from the fifh century onwards was considerably at lower ebb than that at Sarnath. It seems that already in the sixth century, Mathura was seized upon with a degree somewhat retrogression, as is evident from examples like the Buddha image,[18] dated A.D. 549-50, from Mathura, in which are to be noticed features like squat and heavy proportions, pre-Gupta type of simple radiate halo, a lotus between the feet—all reminiscent of the standing Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Kushāṇa period.

REGIONAL MANIFESTATIONS OF THE GUPTA IDIOM

What was achieved in the fourth, fifth, and early sixth centuries at Mathura and Sarnath could not remain confined to these two places along. The experience gained at these centres was presumably shared by various other places througout India, and all the regions naturally produced sculptures which qualitatively approximated the

16 John M. Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of *Sarnath*", *Artibus Asiae*, XXV, 1962, p. 22.

17 *Artibus Asiae*, V. XXV, 1962, p. 182, figs., 6-8

18 J. Ph. Vogel, "La Sculpture de Mathura", *Ars Asiatica*, XV, Paris, 1939, pl. XXXI.a.

standard reached at Mathura and Sarnath, except for the few occasional fallings resulting mostly from socio-religious pre-conditions or variations of technical skill. Neverthelss, the sculptures all over India during these centuries had the Gupta Classical ideal as the common denominator. To study the reverberations of the Gupta Classical art in northern India, three broad geographical divisions of the entire region can be postulated, viz., Madhyadeśa, Eastern India. and Western India.

Madhyadeśa

A few interesting sculptures, like the image of Kārttikeya[19] from Banaras, the head of Śiva or Lokeśvara from Sarnath,[20] the Ekamukhaliṅaga[21] from Khoh (Madhya Pradesh), the Apsara[22] from Gwalior (Madhya Pradesh), the image of Gaṅga[23] from Besnagar (Madhya Pradesh), and the sculptures in the Śiva temple at Bhumara[24] (Madhya Pradesh)—all belonging to the Gupta period—have no doubt the registration of the distinctive Sārnāth idiom of of poise and balance, but they seem to be plastically heavier and spiritually inferior, for lack of refinement in modelling and felicity of the contours. The figure of Kārttikeya from Banaras, referred to above, betrays many of its inadequacies to bring it down to the aesthetic norms of the preceding centuries, although the image has an overall charm and elegance. Not only the laterally spread up face and the broad flattened chest, but also the crudity of the plastic form, as noticed particularly in the delineation of the feet, are the features reminiscent of the characteristics of Kushāṇa art. The idea of serene contemplation as has been articulated in the head of Śiva of Lokeśvara from Sarnath, referred to above, seems to have undergone a transformation by the time the same concept was arrested in the Ekamukhaliṅga from Khoh. In the latter, the meaningfulness of the plastic expression has been enhanced by the sensitivity of the modelling and the delicacy of the gliding linear contours. The Apsarā from Gwalior and Besnagar Gaṅgā deal with an artistic proposition viz., the delineation of the female from, which does not seems to have been the favourite subject with the sculptors of Sarnath of the Classical period. Nevertheless, the unmistakable

19 *CA*, fig. 44.
20 *Ibid.*, fig. 46.
21 *Ibid.*, fig. 48.
22 *Ibid.*, fig. 45.
23 *Ibid.*, fig. 49.
24 Benjamin Rowland. *The Art and Architecture of India*, Harmondsworth, 1959 pl. 79.

Classical note about them cannot escape notice. The flexions in the body and the elongation of the limbs, particularly in the figure of the river goddess, together with the fully rounded contours are the reverberations of the Gupta Classical ideal. The figures and floral scrolls on the door-jamb at Bhumārā are characterised by the refinement of delicate carving emphasising the rhythm of the movement of the floral designs and of the other forms. The reliefs carved on the architectural pieces from Garhwa[25] (near Allahabad) have veritable Gupta characteristics in plastic treatment and overall effect. The figures, even in group combinations, breathe an air of detachment, although they retain the spontaneity of existence and relevance to the narrative content. An interesting seated Buddha image[26] found from Mānkuwar (near Allahabad) is dated in the Gupta year 129 (= A.D. 448-49). Apart from its conspicuous shaven head and webbed fingers of the hands, this image has some very interesting stylistic features. The drapery of the figure has affinity with the Sarnath mode, but, plastically speaking, it is of a different level of achievement than that reached at Sarnath. Massive and squat proportions of the body, stiff and heavy hands, a facial expression of self-awareness and assertiveness— these characteristics of the image invariably link it with the style of Mathurā, and point to the survival of the anterior trends in the works belonging to the Classical period of the Guptas.

The Daśāvatāra (Vishṇu) temple at Deogarh (Uttar Pradesh) has some sculptures depicting interesting formulations of the Gupta Classical ideal. This temple, hence its sculptures, should be dated round the last quarter of the sixth century, although some scholars suggest a later date.[27] The temple has sculptured friezes adorning the sides of the basement, and three beautiful alto-relivo sculptures in the niches, one on each of the three sides of the sanctum. The friezes, depicting mostly the stories of the epics and the *Purāṇas* speak of the nature of transformation that had occurred in the field of narrative reliefs during the past few centuries. Following the older tradition, the figures are executed with a rustic simplicity, but there has been by now an infusion of some element of sophistication in them. That due to a dignified bearing and disciplined vigour these figures breathe an air of calm detachment is evident from the examples like the panels depicting the birth story of Krishṇa or the

25 *CA*, figs. 40-42.
26 *Ibid.*, fig. 43.
27 *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XXV, 1962, pp. 169ff.

episode of the release of Ahalyā by Rāma.[28] The impact of the Gupta Classical ideal is more evident in the sculptures contained in the niches of the temple. One of them, know as the Nara-Nāryāyaṇa panel,[29] belongs to the same sublime plastic conception and spiritual experience of Sarnath. The figures, both of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, are characterised by effeminate elongation of limbs, flowing linear contours, organic movement, refined modelling, and also a calm detachment. The figures in the Gajendramoksha panel,[30] have an interesting sense of organic movement created by the varied directions of the parts of the body of Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa. This sense of movement is more apparent in the figure of Vishṇu in the Anantaśāyī panel,[31] where, although the representation is of Vishṇu lying reposeful on the World Serpent, the plastic statement, surprisingly, partakes of a sweeping sense of line suggested not only by the counter-directions of the head, the legs, the arms, and the torso of the figure of Vishṇu, but also by the serpentine quality of his garland.

The Classical Gupta plastic tradition as received and interpreted by the sculptures of the Malava region is best expressed through the examples like the images of Gaṅgā from Besnagar,[32] Apsarā from Gwalior,[33] the standing Śiva from Mandasor,[34] the image of Narasiṁha in the Gwalior Museum,[35] the sculptures on the lintel of the *toraṇa* at Pawaya,[36] the celebrated carved figures on the live rocks of the Udaygiri[37] caves near Bhilsa, and also the Buddhist figures sculptures of the caves at Bagh.[38] In the overall artistic vision, all these sculptures have no doubt a general affinity, particularly in respect of their somewhat sturdy physical types, but, nevertheless, they hold out equally the various modifications and interpretations that the sculptors of this area were giving to their inherited experience of the Sāñchī days through the technical

28 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, New York, 1965. fig. 167.

29 M. S. Vats, "The Gupta Temple at Deogarh", *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 70, Delhi, 1952, pl. 11a.

30 Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pl. 110.

31 CA, fig. 50.

32 *Ibid.*, fig. 49.

33 *Ibid.*, fig. 45.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 522.

35 Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, fig. 170.

36 *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1924-25, p. 165, pl. XLIII (c) & (d).

37 Some scholars hold now that the famous Udaygiri Varāha should not be regarded as a Gupta contribution. See *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, special number on Western Indian art, Calcutta, 1965-66, pp. 56-58.

38 CA, p. 522.

efficiency imparted by the Classical Gupta art. While all these sculptures cannot be rated on the same level from the consideration of artistic excellence, particularly in view of the differences between one another in respect of their artistic proposition, a few of the sculptures stand out for special attention not only because of the conspicuity of the content, but also of the form. The relief sculptures of the Udaygiri caves, particularly the Varāhāvatāra relief,[39] can be cited as an example. In representing the myth of the rescue of the Earth from the ocean by the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu, the artistic proposition involved was no doubt to express in terms of the carved rock, the emergent cosmic force, which by itself is huge and comanding but not awesome in the least. The artist has very efficiently given a convincing expression of this cosmic episode not only by the monumentality of the form, but also with the compositional sobriety. The figure of Varāha-Vishṇu, carved in bold relief, stands in contrast to the series of figures in very low relief, represented in four tiers. These figures represent the gods, the Ādityas, Vasus, and Rudras,[40] who stand in breathless attention obviously with reverential curiosity, to the magnificient performance of Viṣṇu. The broad chest of the Varāha-Viṣṇu, his rotund but resilient hands and legs, and perhaps the posture that he assumes, bring out the picture of gigantic grandeur coupled with, paradoxically though, a sense of benign dignity. The almost semicircular configuration of the part of the body between the nose and the palm of the right hand of the figure of Varāha-Viṣṇu and the diagonality of the placement of his emergent form no doubt express the idea of the supra-propensity of the cosmic force involved in the mythical event. To this has been added the movement of his rounded and serpentine garland which, due to the convulsions of the divine body is, as if, falling off the left shoulder. The figures of the Nāga worshipping the Lord at his feet, and of the Earth goddess clinging to his body, offer the picture of a contrast—perhaps a contrast between the primordial and the emergent. The numerous figures of gods, particularly in their somewhat unusual serried composition, probably spell out another sense of contrast, as if, between the ceaseless flux of the Universe and its mute static antecedent.

The Varāhāvatāra relief of Udaygiri has connectedness with the Bhaja Sūrya relief of the earlier period, but this link is only on their sharing a common psychological air. The Udaygiri relief is far advanced in maturity of technique and diction of articulation—no

39 *Ibid.*, fig. 55.

40 D. Mitra, "Varāha Cave of Udaygiri—An Iconographic Study", *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, 1963, No. 34, pp. 99ff,

doubt, a contribution of the Gupta Classical idiom which touched upon the sculptural activity of central India through the preceding few centuries, and which made it stylistically relevant and vital to the subsequent art scene, particularly in the Deccan.

Mention should be made in this connection of a few interesting metal sculptures which will give us an idea regarding the prevalent stylistic trend, as reflected in metal images, in Madhyadeśa during the Classical period. Two bronze images of the Buddha are known from Dhanesar Khera (Banda district, U.P.), one of them is now preserved at the Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City,[41] and the other belongs to a private collection.[42] The former is an inscribed one, and on its basis the date of the sculpture in the Gupta period is almost a certainty.[43] In these can be seen the continuity of the Gandharan style: the conventional folds of the drapery, the predominant *ūrṇā* on the forehead, and the star type halo round the head. Some other bronze images of the Buddha with similar stylistic formulations have also come down to us from Phopnar[44] in Madhya Pradesh. These sixth century bronze images, although betraying the echoes of the Gāndhāra style in respect of the plastic treatment of the folds of the lower garment, seem to stand out as the prototypes of the later Nālandā school in many respects of stylistic affinity: the convention of regularly incised folds on the chest, sharp features of the face with a hook-like nose, eyes inlaid with silver, and pupils painted black. The Dhanesar Khera and Phopnar Buddhas presumably represent a phase of experimentation in the style of metal images in which the touch of the true spirit and technical diction of the Classical Sarnath idiom was still to come. Only when this style had undergone the experience of the sublimity of the Classicism of the Sarnath school, it was possible for the sculptors to formulate images like the celebrated Sultangunj Buddha, which no doubt inspired many metal images of the Buddha of the Nālandā and Kurkihar studios of the subsequent period.

Eastern India

Eastern India seems to have given a different interpretation to the Classical idiom of Sarnath. Here the spiritualism and sublime delicacy of the art of Sarnath yielded to an emotional and perhaps also

41 Rowland, *op. cit*,, fig. 86 (B).

42 L. Ashton, *The Art of India and Pakistan*, London, 1947-48, pl. 32, No. 197.

43 S. Czuma, "A Gupta Style Bronze Buddha", *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, February, 1970, p. 55.

44 M. Venkataramayya, 'Sixth-Century Bronzes from Phopnar', *Lalit Kala*, No 12, October, 1962, pp. 16-20 and pls.

a sensuous accent which was an obvious reflection of the ethnical and temperamental bearing of the people of the East. But surprisingly, it did not mean a change or replacement of one art idiom with another, but it was, so to say, an integration of the two, resulting in the production of numerous sculptures which synthesised the sublime spiritualism of Sārnāth with the emotional and even the sensuous import of the Eastern mind.

Quite a number of instances can be cited wherein this union between Classical Gupta trend and a regional predilection was effected. But this phenomenon is perhaps best illustrated in the colossal metal image of the Buddha[45] (now in the Birmingham Art Gallery) from Sultanganj (Bihar). Its graceful *ābhaṅga* posture, transparent drapery, luminosity of the texture of the plastic surface, and, above all, the suavity of the linear contours are no doubt the contributions of the ideology of the aesthetics of the plastic traditions of the Classical Gupta are of Sarnath. But the sensitivity of the bent finger-tips, the deep shadow round the eyes, and also the lines drawn from the nostrils to the mouth mark the figure with a distinct emotional fervour which obviously is an Eastern Indian introduction. The reflection of this Eastern Indian emotionalism is also to be noticed in another metal image of the Buddha,[46] most probably belonging to the Classical Gupta period, as is presumable from the inscription on the pedestal of the image, which contains a date in an uncertain era.[47] This image, now preserved in the Cleveland Museum of Art, also stands in the same attitude and shows the same gestures in the hands as those of the celebrated Sultanganj Buddha. The hieratic frontality of the figure is, however, eased by the subtle flexion in the body. The figure is characterised by almost all the well-known features of Gupta sculptural art: the sensitivity and plasticity of the body, the torso swelling with inner breath, the eyebrows softly rounded, the lips fleshy and full, the eyes with semi-open heavy eyelids displaying well defined eyeballs underneath, and the transparency of the drapery. The face has a contemplative expression, a

45 *CA*, fig. 58. In some recent studies, this sculpture has been assigned a date in the early eighth century. See, for instance, *Artibus Asiae*, XXVI, 2, p. 118; *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, February, 1970, p. 55. But according to Professor S. K. Saraswati, "The figure is equivalent to the fifth-century stone Buddha of Sārnāth, not only in stance and physiognomical treatment but also in spiritual import, humanised, in a certain measure, by the emotionalism of the eastern version of Sārnāth Classicism". *Op cit*, (second revised edition 1975), p. 177ff (n. 37).

46 Czuma, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.

47 The date of the inscription has been read variously by different scholars. These scholars seem to differ also regarding the identification of the era to which the date of the inscription refers. See for a discussion, Czuma, *op. cit.*, pp. 61ff.

veritable Gupta tendency to give the figure a spiritual content. The overall stylistic type of the figure bears interesting similarity not only with the Sultanganj Buddha figure and a few Gupta Buddhas from Sarnath, but also with some metal images of the Buddha from Nepal. Although this makes the confusion regarding the provenance of the figure worse confounded, the Cleveland metal image of the Buddha, particularly in view of its being inscribed and dated and because of its stylistic affinity with several known types and forms, serves as an important evidence regarding the nature of acculturation in artistic styles and conventions during the Gupta period.

The characterisation of the figure-forms in sculpture having the sublimity of the Sarnath conception, or even the sturdiness and pent-up energy as in its Mathurā counterparts, with emotional note, in varying degrees, is reflected in numerous sculptures from Eastern India, as for example, the Nāginī figure from Maniyar Math[48] (Rajgir, Bihar), the standing image of the Buddha from Biharail[49] (Rajshahi district, Bangladesh), the gold-plated image of Mañjūśrī in bronze from Mahāsthān[50] (Bogra district, North Bengal), the figures of the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā, carved on the door-frames of the temples at Dāh Pārvatiyā[51] (Darrang district, Assam), and also the terracotta plaques[52] (now in the Asutosh Museum, Calcutta) from Tamluk (Midnapur, West Bengal). The figure of Nāginī from Maniyar Math has the overall bearing of the Gupta Classical idiom, but it betrays also some elements of sensualism and a somewhat contrived elegance. The river goddesses from Dāh Pārvatiyā, on the other hand, although they have a similar sensuousness contributed presumably by the elongated limbs, do not lack the spontaneity of bearing and movement. A similar phenomenon of an indigeneous are tradition having been reinterpreted in terms of the Gupta Classical ideal can be seen in Eastern India even in relief sculptures. The physiognomical types, noticed in the reliefs on the pillars from Chandimau[53] (Bhagalpur district, Bihar), though stumpy and blunt, are distinguished nevertheless by the Classical idiom of the sensitivity of form and graceful linear contours. The deep and oblique cut in the decorative carvings of motifs and their graceful undulations add to the overall aesthetic effect which amounts to the desired

48 *CA*, fig. 59.

49 *Ibid.*, fig. 57.

50 *Ibid.*, fig. 61.

51 *Ibid.*, figs. 60 and 62.

52 Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

53 *CA*, fig. 56.

frivolity to make the figures humane and alive, and not slumbered in metaphysical elusiveness.

Western India

Western India was also experimenting with the various facets of the Gupta Classical idiom and was trying to adapt the same to its own indigeneous tradition. It has, of course, been pointed out by some scholars that the heritage of the sculptures of Western India of the Gupta period should not be traced back only to the repertoire of Mathura and Sarnath; their real ancestry lies with the Kshatrapa-Sātavāhana art represented by the objects hailing from Devni Mori and Mirpur Khas, and this idiom contributed to the development of the sculptures of the Samlaji-Dungarpur region.[54] But it is also of interest to note that the Western Indian sculptors drew heavily from both Mathura and Sarnath idioms of the Gupta Classical norm. If we look at the Govardhana-dhāraṇa panel from Mandor[55] and the door panel from Nagri,[56] both in Rajasthan, the unmistakable Mathura type of sturdy and massive physiognomy of the figures becomes evident. But at the same time, one cannot possibly miss the disciplined rendering of the plastic form together with certain amount of grace and poise which definitely come from Sarnath. The bronze figure of Brahmā[57] (now in the Karachi Museum) from Mirpur Khas in Sind is a veritable example of the artistic production in Western India with a positive bearing of the Sarnath Classical diction, both in plastic form and in spritual import. The plasticity of subtle and sensitive modelling, the gracefully flowing linear contours, the luminosity of the texture of the body revealed through the transparent drapery, and also the serene contemplative expression of the face—all these are the nuances of the Sarnath idiom. With these, of course, two striking features, presumably the contributions of the iconographic exigency and regional fancy, coexist: the flabby abdomen of the figure and its full round face; and, slender effeminate fingers, which, together, hold fast the figure to mundane and humane levels, in spite of its potential aesthetic charm of the spiritualism of the Sarnath type.

It is well known that by the fourth century, all the characteristics regarded as typical of Gupta Buddhas had appeared in many Buddha

54 U. P. Shah, 'Western Indian Sculpture and the so-Called Gupta Influence', *Aspects of Indian Art,* ed. P. Pal, Leiden, 1972, pp. 44-46.

55 CA, fig. 47.

56 Stella Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture,* Calcutta, 1933, fig. 61.

57 CA, fig. 54.

images found at Devni Mori[58] in Gujarat. Moreover, the sculptural discoveries made in South-western Rajasthan, particularly at Samlaji, Kalyanpura, Amjhara, and Tanesara-Mahadeva,[59] establish the existence of a vital sculptural tradition in that area which was as significant as the more renowned schools of Sarnath and Mathura. These sculptures are mostly carved of a soft schist of greenish blue (locally known as *pavena*) that abounds in the Dungarpur area. The most significant of these sculptures is perhaps the Tanesara group, so far as their proximity with the style of the Classical Gupta schools of Mathura-Sarnath is concerned. Of the important examples, mention should be made of the figure of a male divinity,[60] figure of Kaumāri,[61] and the representations of the mother and child.[62] The male divinity stands in graceful contraposto with his left hand resting on the thigh. The drapery is transparent and his body is adorned with ornaments well integrated with the body. The head is set off against a plain circular halo. The body is relaxed, and the softly modelled face has an expression of tenderness and beatitude. The figure of Kaumārī is interesting not only because of its equally effective Classical diction and charm, but also because of an unusual feature of this figure: the goddess has been shown with an emphatically swollen abdomen—no doubt to indicate the pregnancy of the goddess to emphasise her mother aspect. The sculptures representing the mother and child are also replete with many interesting elements of motherhood. All thes sculptures, as also those from Samlaji, Kotyarka, Jagat, and Amjhara, seem to be the products of the same stylistic tradition. They show some distinctive features: grace and elegance in the gestures and and postures of the figures, poignant expresison of intimacy between the mother and child, sensitive rendering of the faces, and the Classic simplicity of the figures, both in terms of modelling and surface embellishment. The female figures seem to be the descendants of the Yakshis of Mathurā or similar such types found in the arts of Karle or Kanheri of the early centuries of the Christian era, but they are not as monumental or earthly as their ancestors. The bulky bearing of the bodies can no longer be seen and the forms seem to be well defined with a flowing linear movement of the contours. These are, indeed, the characteristic features of the Gupta Classical tradition as reflected in the sculptures of

58 R. N. Mehta and S. N. Chowdhary, *Excavations at Devnimori*, Baroda, 1956.

59 U. P. Shah, *Sculptures from Samlaji and Roda*, Baroda, 1960.

60 *Bulletin of the Allen Memorial Art Museum*, Oberlin College, winter, 1971, fig on p. 104.

61 *Ibid.*, fig. 6 on p. 109.

62 *Ibid.*, fig. 5 on p. 107 and fig. 7 on p. 109.

Mathurā, Sārnāth, Bhumārā belonging to the fifth and the sixth centuries A.D., a period assignable also to the sculptures discussed above.[63]

DECORATIVE MOTIFS AND ORNAMENTATION IN GUPTA ART

Although during the Gupta period the sculptor's attention was more towards the representation of the human forms, in various moods and actions, he nevertheless showed great mastery in the representation of some decorative art-motifs, giving an account of his technical acumen of good workmanship. These decorative motifs are carved invariably with taste and elegance and with deep oblique cut to show play of light and shade. These motifs can be classified broadly under two heads: those consisting of patternised vegetal or animal forms or their fanciful combinations, and those which pertain to the depiction of geometric designs and symbols. The former includes representation of outlined beads and rosettes, arabesques, flowers, stalks and foliages, twisted rope design, intertwined creepers, figures of man, woman, grotesques, and all possible imaginative things. In the latter group of themes are to be included the swastika, diamond or lozenge-shaped motifs, criss-cross or parallel line designs, chess-board patterns and the like. Both these types of decorative motifs are to be seen on the body of the celebrated Dhāmekh stūpa of Sarnath belonging to the sixth century AD.,[64] and also in the door-frames of some contemporary temples.[65] All these geometric designs have invariably been cut with an angular accent so as to bring out the effect of variegated play of light and shade on the patterned surface. The exquisitely carved halos[66] of many of the images of this period show the mastery of the Gupta sculptors in the fineness of delicate carving of intricate designs and motifs. Although ornaments and jewellery in the figure sculptures during the Gupta period are sparingly ascribed, and they are invariably integrated to the body-form, the Gupta sculptor never considered them as superfluities, but he interpreted all such ornamental accessories as the complements to the body of the human form in its perceptual structural connotation. As a matter of fact, this conception led the Gupta sculptor to carve the ornaments and

63 R. C. Agarwala, 'Some More unpublished Sculptures from Rajasthan', *Lalit Kala*, X, 1961, p. 31ff.

64 Rowland, *op. cit.*, fig. 78(A).

65 *Ibid.*, fig. 79.

66 *Ibid.*, figs. 80 and 83.

jewellery with equal care and attention as he did for the representation of the human forms.

GUPTA TERRACOTTA SCULPTURES

The other popular mode of plastic expression during the Gupta period was through terracotta art which seems to have been widely practised throughout North India, particularly in the Ganga-Yamuna basin, obviously because the riverine plains were the most potential source of materials for the art, viz., malleable earth and clay. During the Gupta period, the scope of the art of terracotta was vastly widened because of the increasing popularity of structural constructions in brick. Not only that, carved bricks were used often to decorate both the interior and exterior walls of buildings, but various types of terracotta plaques and figurines were actually employed for architectural beautification. References to the art of terracotta and clay figurines found in the writings of Kālidāsa and Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the two literary stalwarts of the period, are no doubt indicative of the great popularity of this art during the period. And this is attested to by the great treasures of terracotta figurines discovered from numerous sites of North India: Harwan in Kashmir, Hanumāngarh and Bikaner in Rajasthan, Sāri Bāhol, Takht-i-Bahi, Jamalgarh in the Punjab, Brāhmaṇābad and Mirpur Khās in Sind, Pāwayā in Madhya Pradesh, Sāhet Māheth, Kāsia, Kośām, Bhiṭārgāon, Bhiṭā, Ahicchatra, and Rājghāt in Uttar Pradesh, Basārh in Bihar, and Mahāsthān, Tamluk, and Bāṇgarh in Bengal.

Although the art of terracotta, technically speaking, has its own mode, method, and also problems which are somewhat distinct from those involved in stone sculptures, this art, particularly in the period under review, seems to have followed the styles and trends of the contemporary plastic practices in stone. For the obvious reasons of differences in the nature of the material and of technique, there has been, of course, a basic distinction in the aesthetic note between the two forms of plastic expressions. The terracotta figurines perhaps do not have the sophistication of their lithic counterparts, but the former far excels the latter in the richness of human appeal and in the powerfulness of simple expressions. Analysis of a few examples of terracotta figurines will not only bring out their stylistic proximity with many of the sculptures in stone belonging to this period, but will possibly also enable us to appreciate the aesthetic charm and distinction that qualify them.

The human face depicted in a temple plaque from Bhiṭārgāon[67]

67 Saraswati, *op. cit.*, fig. 125.

has the rotundity of form and sensitivity of the plastic surface reminiscent of similar trends in lithic expressions. But the wide open eyes and the eyebrows indicated by simple incised lines, and also a slight tilt of the head together with the fleshy lips partly open as if in conversation, are the features through which this piece of art has entitled itself to distinction. The head of Pārvatī[68] from Ahicchatra is a charming delineation of the female face. The hairdo consisting of ringlets of hairlock serriated into a huge bun with an ornamented knot at the back presumably is a specimen of one of the concommitants of female beauty of the aristocratic society of the day. The intimacy of the artist's sensitive observation is perhaps more vividly recorded in a terracotta medallion[69] from Mahāsthān (Bengal) showing a human couple in an amorous gesture. The grace and dignity of the theme of conjugal love have been expressed by the artist with his rare mastery of the subtlety of the visual language. The standing male figure[70] on a plaque from Mirpur Khās in Sind, although somewhat stiff and characterised by a conventional affectation, does also contain the Classical nuances of the plastic fabric and perhaps also an element of spiritualism about it. The interesting plaque depicting Viṣṇu on Ananta[71] found from Bhiṭārgāon, is no doubt a crude and unsophisticated counterpart of its lithic contemporaries, but the rotundity of all the forms and their compositional distribution cannot escape notice. Moreover, the overall thematic sentiment has been convincingly expressed by the artist through the postures of the various figures. The two demons, Mdhu and Kaiṭabha, emerging diagonally from the left corner of the plaque, seem to be a very lively representation of the immediacy of the purpose and action. But what a contrast is there, truly as was the need, in the very casually lying figure of Viṣṇu! The artist's intention in glorifying Viṣṇu's divine complacency has been thereby fully served. In fact, the large number of terracotta sculptures belonging to this period precludes exhaustive enumeration and permits mention of only the most interesting, as has been done above. But the study of the vast storehouse of the terracotta art of the period shows that the artists followed to the extent it was possible through their medium, the style of the Cassical Indian sculpture in stone in the terms basically of volume and plasticity, but they deviated quite frequently in matters of gestures, postures, ethnic types, and similar other areas.

68 *Ibid.*, fig. 133.
69 *Ibid.*, fig. 132.
70 *Ibid.*, fig. 114.
71 *Ibid.*, fig. 128.

THE TRANSITION FROM THE CLASSICAL TO THE MEDIEVAL

The disintegration of Classical art idiom followed similar trends and tendencies as in the political set-up of India, from about the beginning of the last quarter of the sixth century. The absence of any strong ruler or dynasty to control the political destiny of the country as a whole during this period onwards gave rise to separatism, and to some extent individualism, in not only the political life of the country, but also in all other spheres. The reflection of this state of affairs could not but have its impact on the art scene of the country as well. In Cassical Gupta art all parts of India shared some basic norms and forms. Local preferences of predilections did also exist, but there was hardly any symptoms of assertive tendency on their part. Moreover, during that period, even these elements of regional moods and bias were well integrated in the art form in such a way that the product did seldom lose its homogeneity. This was because of the existence, during that period, of an overall political, and as such cultural, authority in operation throughout the country. But this ceased to be the case soon after the Guptas lost ground, and a series of short-lived political adventurism emerging from different parts of India came into operation leading to political competitions between one territory and the other and the consequent regional consciousness among the peoples of the respective territories The obvious outcome of this was a tendency towards assertion of the regional preferences, beliefs, and prejudices. This was reflected in the art of the age, particularly in the plastic art. About the middle of the eighth century A.D., the process in operation seems to have been completed, and thenceforth is noticed the rise and growth of a number of 'provincial' Schools of art, spread over the length and breadth of the country, in each of which there was very little eagerness to open up new avenues in artistic pursuits but to remain content with the past achievements in a mechanical wav, so to say. The sculptural output of this period, particularly of North India, was mostly repetitive, devoid of graceful modelling, or refinement of plastic texture due to the emphatic stylisation and overburdening of ornament and was characterised by heaviness of form without much of spiritual element in it.

But in spite of this dismal picture, some sculptors, evidently those few above the average, showed their mark in some productions spread over different regions of North India. In this connection mention can be made of the figure of the Buddha[72] seated in the *pralam-*

72 *Ibid.*, fig. 118.

bapādāsana, hailing from Sarnath. Although the figure contains all the nuances of the Classical Sarnath idiom, the aesthetic import is lamentably poor in view of its rarified plastic treatment and almost a 'drowsiness' in the facial expression in contrast to the introspective mien of its Classical counterparts. Even the mode of sitting, no doubt an innovation to add some relaxation to the posture, does not click. The sculptor evidently lacked the experience to appreciate that a novelty if not attuned to the proposition loses relevance and as such its effectiveness. The figure of the Buddha, as such, could neither be a convincing picture of serene contemplation, nor a sublime dignity. The lower part of the female figure[73] from Mathura assignable to the seventh century, of course, ranks with the productions of the Classical phase, particularly for its smooth and refined plastic texture, and flowing linear contours.

The transition from the Classical idiom of sculpture to the medieval is perhaps more clearly evident in the productions of Eastern India during the period between the middle of the seventh and that of the eighth century. In the centres, particularly like Bengal and Bihar in Eastern India, the Classical idiom of Sarnath had been already having a transformation with an accent on emotionalism and sesuousness. But nevertheless, there was not possibly and conscious attempt, till the bginning of the seventh century, for negating the Classical legacy; on the contrary, some Eastern Indian sculptors of the day seem to have been busy carefully incorporating in the sculptures elements of their own preferences and predilections consistent with the legacy of Classicism, as is evident in the representation of a lady on a door jamb[74] found from Bhagalpur in Bihar. But this tendency presumably could not have a long run, and, from the seventh century onwards, is noticed the emergence of new aesthetic formulations, which, although rooted in the Classical heritage in the ultimate analysis, do in fact prophesise the ushering in of what was destined to be the medievalism of Indian sculpture in its eastern manifestation, in the sculptures of the Pāla regime.

Some idea about the nature of sculptural activity during this period of transition can, however, be had from the sculptures from the Muṇḍeśvarī temple in Bihar or the sculptures discovered from Benīsāgar, a small village in the Singbhum district of Bihar. All these sculptures are now housed in the Patna Museum. The Muṇḍeśvarī sculptures, belonging most probably to the seventh century,[75]

73 *Ibid.*, fig. **113.**

74 *Ibid.*, fig. **109.**

75 H. M. Kuraishi, "Ancient Monuments of Bihar and Orissa", New Imperial Series LI, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1931, p. 146.

pertain mostly to the representation of figure sculptures like those of Brahmā, Śiva, Sūrya, Agni, Caṇḍī, Harihara,[76] etc. These sculptures seem to be similar in some respects to the sculptures of the Gupta temple at Deogarh. The similarities are mostly in the areas of the delineation of the torso, in the treatment of the facial features, in the hairdress and ornaments, and on such other sundry items. But the sculptures from the Muṇḍeśvarī temple seem to have been executed by inferior hands. These sculptural forms are characterised by a lack of agility and we notice in them an increased stiffness. The sculptures from Beṇīsāgar are all Brahmanical, and almost all of them are Śaivite.[77] These sculptures, by and large, follow the stylistic trend noticeable in the Muṇḍeśvarī group of sculptures, and therby they perpetuate the phase of experimentation when the sculptors showed their perfunctory allegience to the Classical Gupta norms.

But it is of interest to note that even in the seventh century, the eastern version of the Gupta Classical idiom persisted, as a parallel trend, with the gradually emergent medievalism, as is documented by the sculptures in the great temple at Pāhārpur (Rajshahi district). These sculptures can be classified into three groups from the stylistic point of view. In one group, for instance, in the representation of an amorous couple or the figure of the river goddess,[78] the smooth and graceful contours of the sensitively modelled form, although undoubtedly swayed by Eastern Indian sensuousness, are nevertheless reminiscent of the Classical counterparts in respect of some formal proximity, if not in the overall aesthetics. But in another group,[79] not far removed from the first in point of chronology, there is virtually nothing left of the plasticity and grace of the Classical idiom. That this style was drawn more towards the formulations of the conventional hieratic cult images is clearly evident from the proximity of style of a few isolated examples of cult images, belonging to this period, as for instance, the bronze image of Śiva[80] from Sunderbans, the Kākdīghi Visnu[81] and the Chauddagrām metal images of Sarvāṇī and Sūrya.[82] This style, no doubt, is the precursor of the medieval hieratic sculptures of the Pālas of the

76 *Artibus Asiae*, XXV, 1962, p. 192, figs. 14-18 and 24.

77 *Ibid.*, figs. 25-29.

78 *Ibid.*, p. 153 and *SIS*, fig. 123.

79 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

80 *Ibid.*, fig. 127.

81 *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXVIII, pp. 178-79, pl. 7, fig. 1.

82 N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* Dacca, 1929, p. 204, pl. LXX; p. 172, pl. LIX.

subsequent days. The third group of Pāhārpur sculptures, seem, in point of style, to have been the lithic replica of numerous terracotta plaques on the walls of the Pāhārpur temple. These sculptures,[83] although crude and coarse in executon and unsophisticated in bearing, are documents of an autochthonous art idiom, in workmanship and composition and naive in bearing, but very powerful in emotional content and aesthetic appeal. As visual documents of the many facets of the mind of the people and of their day-to-day humble life, these sculptures have no doubt deep social significance.

In central India, as well as in the west, in Rajasthan and Gujarat, the transition from the Classical to the medieval was also through a gradual desiccation of the Gupta Classical ideal and infiltration of the so-called medieval factor. The Mātṛikā figures[84] from Bherāghāṭ (Jabalpur district, Madhya Pradesh) and the image of Avalokiteśvara[85] from Sāñchī, assignable to the seventh-eighth centuries A.D., are coarse in treatment and lack the gracefulness of the contours. The bust of the female figure[86] from Gwalior retains the rounded form of the Classical idiom, but fails to be equal in respect of the plasticity of the modelling. Rajasthan and Gujarat seems to have shared the contemporary plastic trends and tendencies of central India. That even the centres of art in the Punjab hills followed a similar course is evident from the seventh-century sculptures of Chambā, as for instance, the wooden reliefs[87] of the Brahmor temple or the metal image of the Buddha[88] from Fāṭhpur. In fact, throughout North India, there seems to have been in the art scene during this period, an apparent compatriotism in so far as everywhere there was either an incompetent handling of the Classical norm or the failure to spell out expressedly what new message, if at all, the sculptors intended to come out with. As a result, there was neither a proper continuation nor a new orientation of what had been achieved earlier. Nevertheless, one striking feature of the age which should not escape notice is that almost all the regions of Northern India which got celebrity in sculptural activity during the Classical period continued to produce sculptures, which might not have been equal to their Classical counterparts in quality but probably are not far less in numerical strength. This shows that the sculptors did not feel

83 S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1937, figs. 20-24.
84 Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, London, 1965, figs. 127, 128.
85 *CA*, fig. 77.
86 *Ibid.*, fig. 75.
87 J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 7, fig. 2.
88 *CA*, fig. 78.

spentup once the dominant impact of the Classical aesthetics melted away, rather they seem to have kept thes how alive within their own capacity to fulfil the requirements of the transition from the Classical scene to the medieval.

THE MEDIEVAL TREND

Despite the endless struggles and strifes among various rulers or dynasties in North India during the period following the end of the rule of Harṣavardhana, the tradition of the art of sculpture continued as has been seen above. Each dynasty seems to have encouraged the construction of temples, one more stupendous and lavish than the other. This made the period quite significant in architectural activity. The temples required sculptural embellishments and also the cult images and their litany for the sanctum cellas and for the various walls. This gave a good inspiration for the advancement of sculptural art. But the impact of the political fragmentation of the period was nevertheless reflected in the arts, particularly in sculptural art. There emerged various styles, each of them upholding the respective regional predilections and preferences.

From about the middle of the eighth century, symptoms of some new orientation in artistic practices became evident. The uncomfortable groving for a direction during the period of transition seems to have terminated, but what emerged out of it was, of course, in no way as brilliant as what had preceded. Nevertheless, there was the rise of a different approach towards art, and the elemental distinctiveness of this new approach is what is referred to as the 'medieval' factor or 'medievalism' on Indian art.

In sculpture, this so-called distinctiveness amounted to the loss in gradual progression, of the two most essential and vital characteristics of Classicism, viz., the roundness of the form and its flowing linear rhythm. As a corrollary, the plasticity of modelling and the suavity of the contours also had to give way. Consequently, the sculptural productions were virtually denuded of the essence of Classicism, and they no longer partook of a visual language intelligible equally to all. No longer they were redeemed by the homogeneity of purpose and performance, and perhaps the glory of creativity was substituted by the glamour of ostensibility.

That was the account of the loss of Classicism. But this was, of course, substituted, if not compensated, by the plastic characteristics like flat surface, sharp linearised edges often giving rise to intriguing angular configurations, stiff and formalised attitudes and stances of the figures, and the sum total of all these—the represenation of a

series of lifeless living forms which occupy space but seldom perform the occupation that they were supposed to do, aesthetically speaking.

This is, of course, by and large a generalised view of the artistic situation, and it cannot be said that exceptions, to highlight the character of the rest, were not there. But sculptural productions with genuine creativity were very rare in North India in the mediaeval period till the beginning of the tenth century.

It has, of course, to be appreciated that the medieval sculptors' approach towards art is rooted in their antecedent endeavour in the last two centuries for changing the axis of artistic preference and predilection. The influence of the Gupta Classicism outlived its anticipated span. There was a change in the political and social set-up ever since. In the new context, the 'reminiscences of the past' achievements did no longer click for obvious reasons. The sculptors of the age with their successive loss of efficiency through generations could not also justify their claim to the glory of the Classical heritage as its worthy successors. Moreover, an appaling reflection of the political and the socio-economic frustration of the two centuries following the termination of the fairly peaceful period of the Guptas, was destined to give rise to similar attitudes in every expression of the popular mind. Presumably, art during this period had to attune itself to the physical realities of life for its acceptance by the society, and as such it could not afford to indulge in the luxury of intellectualisation of the preceding ages. The aesthetics of art had to compromise with the functional relevance, because the artists now onwards had to seek sustenance from patrons, who, in the changed circumstances, had altogether a different view of art, and of life as well The medieval Indian sculptor, unlike his Classical predecessors, therefore, seems to have been more a professionalist devotedly discharging his vocational responsibility to the patron by doing things mostly corresponding to the latter's need and not possibly much as he himself felt.

During this period there was a proliferation of architectural activity in the form of structural temples, occasioned either by the regional competition or by similar spirit among the votaries of various cults and sects nurtured by the affluence of their royal or mercantile patrons. These temples needed for each of them the image of the cult icon to be installed in the *garbhagriha*, and also the representation of the entire litany consisting of the *pārśvadevatās* and the *parivāradevatās*. For this, the artist's services were commissioned and the latter could entitle himself for praise and payment, and also for future commissions, only if he had done the work exactly corres-

ponding to the patron's knowledge and understanding, which no doubt were based on the liturgical injunctions of the faith of his affiliation. Naturally, therefore, the sculptor became subservient to the iconographic formulations. Being a professionalist, the sculptor could not at the same time restrict himself to such works pertaining to a particular religion only. This demanded his knowledge of iconographic norms of various religious orders in all possible details. To help him the iconographic canons were codified in different texts like the *Śilpaśāstras* and the *Vāstuśāstras.* The sculptural art of the medieval period, particularly in North India, is virtually a lithic transliteration of the contents of many such texts.

The temples required to be embelished with sculptural decorations on their walls. In this regard also the sculptors had to follow the codifications of the liturgical and allied literature. But here only they were possibly allowed some liberty for individual expressions but, understandably, within a permissive limit. Some of the medieval temples have got on their exterior walls occasional glimpses of such deviations.

The cult images, which seem to have been the major theme for the sculptures of this period, were characterised mostly by a rigid frontality, because the totality of the presence of the divinity, of which the image was supposed to be a visual replica, was a concommitant for the concentration of the mind of the devotee. Moreover, the sculptor had to ascribe to the icon all the attributes or emblems or jewellery as prescribed in the canons, because these were supposed to be the symbolic reminders of the deity's divine grace and greatness. Such conception required the ascription of an aureole to the icon and the incorporation of the latter within a stele in which the central position is occupied by the principal deity and the others by the members of his litany All these could not but make the whole expression highly schematic and formalised, and the sculptor virtually had no scope to rise above this limitation and somehow transmute elements of naturalism to it. The mode of worship of the deity together with a host of its associates required the representation of the litany in various forms of *maṇḍalas* (mystic compositions), and this made the sculptural composition many a times overcrowded and look bizarre.

During this period, there was also a great development of tantricism which permeated the mental attitude of almost all the sects and cults of the period in varying degrees. This contributed to the esoteric character of the art as well. The import of the elements of esoterism, thus introduced into art, were appreciated only by a limited few who were initiated into the doctrine. Consequently, many of

the sculptural expressions were tending towards non-communicability and the sculpture of this period was virtually denuded of all the qualities of excellence of the earlier periods: it lost much of the aesthetic charm and became highly mechanised and conventional; it was no longer illuminated by the spiritual experience of the sculptor; and being addicted to the esoteric rigmarole of tantricism, it ceased to be intelligible to the people at large. Art, particularly sculptural art, of this period with its prolific productive spree, patronised by the affluent religious treasuries, continued to exist, but failed to share the hope, aspiration and contemplation of the people in general.

The above survey pertains to the general situation in the are scene in North India from the middle of the eighth to that of the thirtenth century, and the picture seems to have been virtually the same everywhere, occasional exceptions notwithstanding. During this period, art movements in the different regions were separated from one another, and there seems to have been no dialogue between one artistic zone and the other for sharing a common artistic vision and for undertaking a journey towards a common goal. In fact, the art scene was seized upon, so to say, by a sort of bankruptcy in creativity. The art expressions were merely gestures without conviction, performance without feeling. But fortunately, from about the tenth century, some sculptors started showing promise of new hopes, and quite a number of sculptures with distinctiveness of their own were produced in various parts of North India. A critical estimation of these early medieval sculptures of Northern India will necessitate their grouping in terms of the following geographical distribution: Eastern India, Ganga-Yamuna valley, Central India, Western India, Punjab and the Himalayan tracts.

Eastern India

The medieval sculptures of Eastern India can broadly be distributed under two geographical divisions, viz., Bengal and Bihar as one, and Orissa as the other. This classification is made only to distinguish between the two in the matter of the extent of the persistence of Classical elements in either of these areas. And since the sculptures of both these areas seem to retain their link with the Classical heritage, however distant or debased that might be, we have to admit some overlapping of styles of art operative in these two artistic zones, at least in the early medieval period. The similarity is, however, not only in respect of the legacy of Classicism, but also in view of an emphatic tantricism that characterise the sculptures. Nevertheless,

it is interesting to note the subtle differences in the apparently similar artistic propositions handled by the sculptors in these two zones.

The important centres of art of the first zone were Nālandā, Kurkihār, Bodhgayā, Rājgīr, and Champā in Bihar, and Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Bogra, Dacca and Sylhet in Bangladesh. The second zone yields sculptures from Lalitgiri, Kendrapara, Udaygiri, Khiching, Ratnagiri, and Jajpur, and also from a few early temples of Bhuvaneswar. There was, of course, a prolific output in the sculptural productions in the medieval period, particularly in Orissa, but they are mostly outside the purview of the period ending in the tenth century.

The more known specimens of sculptures of Bengal and Bihar consist mostly of cult images, in stone and metal, and occasionally in wood and ivory. The stone sculptures are mostly carved out of black chlorite (*kaṣṭipāthar*) and the metal images are cast in brass or acto-alloy (*aṣṭadhātu*) by the lost wax process. Whatever the material and whatever the theme represented, the sculptures seem to be largely allied to the eastern version of the Classical idiom of Sarnath. They retain, in varying degrees, the plastic qualities of the Classical sculptures, but they lack the spiritual experience of the latter. The spiritual element seems to have been substituted by physical charm and sensuousness, no doubt a reflection of the sexo-yogic practices of tantricism which were gaining ground during the period. But the most striking feature of the sculptures seems to be to be their indubitable metallic precision, which, combined with the texture of black chlorite, often adds elusive character to the material. The stone image of Avalokiteśvara[89] from Nālandā, although a bit sturdily conceived, is characterised by a soft and pliable fleshiness within definite outline. Moreover, a somewhat elongated physiognomy, the subtle flexion in the body and the facial expression have added to the figure elements of grace and tenderness. Another significant piece, the figure of the Cakrapurusha,[90] found from Aphsad near Gayā, has also the Classical grace and tenderness, particularly in pose and proportion. But its sensuous modelling is an unmistakable indication of its being allied to the early Pāla idiom. The sensuously fleshy body was later on disciplined under the control of definite lines which, however, compelled the pent-up vigour tend to outflow the defined form, as for instance, the seated figure of the Buddha

89 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Struggle for Empire* (henceforth *SE*), Bombay, 1957, fig. 93.

90 *Handbook of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1966, p. 232, fig. 2.

from Ujāni,[91] now in the Dacca Museum. But the same treatment has yielded a different effect on the figure of Pārśvanātha[92] from Kānṭābeṇiā: to a certain extent a petrification of the flesh and a relativey integrated vigour of the body. Of the many metal images belonging to this period, those from Nālandā and Kurkihār, both in Bihar, deserve mention. All such specimens are characterised by the moulding of the form with vitality and sensuousness disciplined by an accommodative outline. The facial types are full, occasionally a bit longish, and the flexions of the body attuned to the overall plastic intent. The figures of Tārā and Bhairava,[93] both from Kurkihār, and some similar images from Nālāndā,[94] are examples in point.

The sculptures from Orissa during the same period seem to be allied more with the Classical trend which preceded the culmination of the same in Sarnath. They show a preference for a heavy physiognomical form together with its plasticity of modelling. The sculptures from Lalitagiri,[95] for instance, lack the subtle delicacy and spiritual grace of their contemporary counterparts from Nālandā. The heavy appearance and treatment, together with their sturdier build, and perhaps also a tight modelling, have endowed the sculptures from Udaygiri and Ratnagiri, belonging to the ninth century a character that is almost of the same idiom as that of the Lalitgiri works. But the latter seems to be comparatively more graceful due perhaps to the forms being slender. Some sculptures from Khiching[96] show admirable grace and tenderness, even though their heavy bearing often diminishes the total aesthetic effect. But that the Orissan sculptors were soon destined to prove their genius is aready indicated in the sculptures of a few early temples of Bhuvaneswar. The sculptured panels on the walls of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple[97] are already replete with the symptoms of this trend. The graceful figures on the walls of the Mukteśvara[98] and the Rājārānī temples testify to progress of the move towards the superb achievment of the sculptures of the Liṅgarāja temple of Bhuvaneswar and of the Sun temple of Koṇārka in the twelfth century.

The sculptures of Eastern India, combining the plastic excellence of the Gupta period with the refined elegance of the new period, in-

91 *Struggle for Empire*, fig. 92.

92 *Ibid.*, fig. 95.

93 *Ibid.*, fig. 94. and *SIS*, fig. 134.

94 Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of India*, London, 1965, fig. 109.

95 *Art of the Indian Subcontinent from Los Angeles Collection*, ed. Davidson 1968, fig. 36.

96 Saraswati, *op. cit.*, fig. 160.

97 *Ibid.*, fig. 153.

98 *Ibid.*, fig. 163.

fluenced the style of the statuaries of Burma, Nepal, Tibet, Thailand, Cambodia, and Java, and became the prototype of the local schools. particularly in Nepal and Tibet.

Ganga-Yamuna Valley

Very few sculptures, assignable to the early medieval period, are known to us from the Ganga-Yamuna valley, which formed the hub of the empire of the Gurjara Pratīhāras in the medieval period. Successive political turmoil, to which this area was subjected, presumably destroyed many of the art objects which could otherwise serve as documents of the achievements of the artists under Pratīhāra patronage. Obviously, many portable pieces of sculptures were also removed to different parts of India from this area in the trail of circumstances, and since the sculptures of this region shared similar stylistic features with some of their geographically contiguous neighbouring areas, many art objects belonging to this region lost their identity of provenance and got mixed up with the others. This might partially explain the phenomenon of the surprising paucity of sculptural materials from the Ganga-Yamuna valley. But fortunately, a few well-known specimens of sculpture from this area give a glimpse of the then artistic situation existing in the Ganga-Yamuna valley. Two basic trends seem to have been current there, either simultaneously or in successive order. In one, represented by such sculptures as as the head of Ardhanārīśvara[99] from Mathurā, and the head of a female figure[100] (now in the Boston Museum) from Uttar Pradesh, indications of the survivals of some elements of the Gupta plastic conception, although in a somewhat stiffened and desitant manner, can be seen. A similar stylistic note is also evident in the headless figure of Ṛishabhanātha[101] (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum) found from Mirzapur in Uttar Pradesh. The figure is seated in the attitude of meditation and is represented with the simplicity and quality of inner resonance for which the Gupta style is celebrated. In this respect, the trend of plastic practices in this area seems to be of the same nature as observed in contemporary Eastern India, in spirit at least, if not in technical specifications as well. Mention should be made in this connection of the figure of Pārvatī[102] in red Sikri sandstone found from Mathurā (now pre-

99 *Ibid.*, fig. 173.

100 *SE*, fig. 110.

101 *Indian Sculpture: A Travelling Exhibition*, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1971, fig. 14.

102 *The Museum New Series*, published by the New Ark Museum, Vol. 22, No. 4, Fall 1970, fig. 3 on p. 8.

served in the New York Museum). It shows the four-armed form of Pārvatī in the stance of a dance. The elongated limbs, attenuated waist, and the gracefulness of posture have rendered the form sensuous. But the softness of modelling and the serene expression in the face are unmistakably Gupta. But the other trend, represented, for example, by the so-called Rukmini[103] from Nokhās (Etah district, Uttar Pradesh), shows a greater proximity with the Classical norm in respect of smooth and sensitive plasticity of modelling and graceful linear contours. A number of headless figures in buff sandstone from Mathurā (now preserved in a private collection in the U.S.A.)[104] presumably are also the documents for this stylistic trend. There is, however, no doubt that in this area also the impact of medievalism gradually outdid, even though later than in many other areas, all vestiges of Classicism, and the artists had to fall back upon the representation of cult icons following the socio-economic exigency.

Central India

Central India extending between Rajasthan and Gujarat in the west and Allahabad in the east, was a centre of prolific sculptural activity, particularly in the latter half of the medieval period. In the period under review, this area seems to have drawn heavily either from the eastern or the western Indian norms of the contemporary period. This was evidently the impact of the geographical contiguity of central India with the eastern and the western Indian artistic zones. Eastern Indian vision of the day inspired the sculptors to produce the works like the image of Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara[105] from Mahobā, in which physical charm through attitudes and moods has been arrested, but there is not much of excellence in plastic quality. The figure of the Vṛiksha Devatā[106] from Gyaraspur has also all the possible nuances of physical charm and of the exuberance of ornamental attributes. The exaggerated axial torsion of the body and the cumbrous ornaments and detailed coiffure are the distinctive features of the figure, but they have disturbed its liveliness. This work, however, cannot be regarded as the index of the nature of artistic excellence in this area during the period under review. In many other examples of sculpture, this predilection for slender forms accentuated flexions is totally absent: they draw heaviness and gross exuberance from the contemporary western Indian repertoire.

103 *SE*, fig. 109.
104 Davidson, *Op. cit.*, figs. 60 A-D.
105 *SE*, fig. 119.
106 Kramrisch, *Art of India*, fig. 119.

As examples of this type, mention can be made of the representation of the Vāmana form of Viṣṇu[107] (now in a private collection) or the figure of Brahmāṇī[108] (now in the collection of Mrs. and Mr. Harry Lenart of the U.S.A.). A synthesis of these two trends, and the consequent birth of an idiom replete with all elements of mediaevalism were however the contribution of the subsequent sculptors, who worked under the care and patronage of the Candellas of Jejakābhukti, the Paramāras of Dhārā, and the Haihayas of Tripurī.

Western India

The situation was not much different in western India, comprising Rajasthan, Gujarat and Kathiawad. The remnants of the Classical trend are noticed side by side with the emerging note of medieval symptoms. In Rajasthan, of course, the persistence of the elements of the Classical norm is seen even in the tenth century sculptures from Sirohi,[109] Osia, Baroli, and Harshagiri.[110] But Gujarat seems to have fallen, much earlier, in the grip of the medieval trend. There, the sculptures are characterised by lines with nervous tensions, sharpness of angularity in the flexions and curves, and perhaps also by a disorganised and disintegrated composition which takes out the vitality from even the most apparently bold forms.

But it has to be noted that in western India, particularly in Rajasthan, in the ninth century, a new fascination with the representation of beautiful female forms began, and such form emerged as a separate decorative element. These female forms have, almost always, large spherical breasts, sharply indented waists, and wide ample hips. One of the legs is rather stiff while the other is bent slightly at the knee. The lower torso is thrust forward and lifted to one side, while the feet remain facing forward. These stylistic innovations can first be noticed in the sculptures at Baroli, and these characteristics are carried further by the sculptors of Harshagiri. But at the latter site there emerges a new facial type with prominent and sharply arched eyebrows. The figures there have large eyes, oblong in shape, which tend to dominate the face. This mode gained wide acceptance and can be noticed in almost all the later sites in Rajasthan.

Punjab Hills and Himalayan Tracts

In the Punjab hill states and in the regions situated in the western as well as the eastern Himalayan belts, a similar simultaneous exist-

107 Davidson, *op. cit.*, fig. 52.
108 *Ibid.*, fig. 43.
109 *Ibid.*, fig. 53.
110 *Aspects of Indian Art*, ed. P. Pal, Leiden, 1972, pls. XL-XLV.

ence of the two trends was noticed: one, which cast a lingering look to the Classical past for its sustenance, and the other, which, shaken off of all lure for the heritage, showed a compromising leaning towards medievalism. This is what one can read in the sculptures from the Punjab hill states, like those from Kangra,[111] or the sculptures from Kashmir,[112] or even those from Nepal. But these hilly regions, particularly Nepal, preserved for a considerably longer period the Classical norm alive, though of course that Classicism is to an extent percolated through the Eastern Indian art of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.[113] Nevertheless, as was the case elsewhere, in these areas also, Classicism, following the logic of acculturation, had to bequeath its mantle to medievalism, and consequently, from about the eleventh century onwards, almost everywhere in Northern India, there was a virtual substitution of the Classical norm with the Medieval.

111 Kramrisch, *Indian Sculpture,* Philadelphia, 1960, pl. 48.

112 *The Art of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, figs. 50-61.

113 *Ibid.*, figs. 77-97.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE(B)

ART AND ARCHITECTURE SOUTHERN INDIA

A. ARCHITECTURE (A.D. 320-985)

I. CAVE ARCHITECTURE

THE CREATIVE IMPULSE of Indian genius appears to have found one of its most vigorous expressions in the rock-cut architecture. The cave excavations were known to many civilizations of the past, but nowhere had the rock-cutters shown such audacious scheme as in the southern part of Indian sub-continent, especially in the Deccan. In this period, as in the earlier, there was an abundant activity in cave excavation pertaining to all the three religious systems popular in the region, viz. Buddhism, Brahmanical Hinduism and Jainism.

1. *The Buddhist Caves*

(i) *Chaitya*: From the very beginning two types of caves were excavated by the Buddhists: The Chaitya shrines which were their chapels and, secondly, the *vihāras* or *saṁghārāmas* which served as monasteries. 'A *Chaitya* shrine in its typical form consists of a long rectangular hall, apsidal at the rear-end and divided into three sections by two rows of pillars along the length of the hall meeting at the back end. The votive *chaitya* is always found as situated at the apsidal end and the entrance to the shrine in front, i.e. opposite to the votive *chaitya.* The nave is covered by a barrel-shaped vault and the two aisles by two vaults, each half the section of that of the nave. Over the entrance doorway in front is placed a huge arched window, shaped like a horse-shoe, known as *chaitya* window, dominating the entire scheme of the facade".[1] The *chaitya* type, thus described, came to be gradually crystallised in the examples at Bhājā, Kondāne, Pialkhorā, Bedsā, Nāsik Kānheri Ajaṇṭā (Caves IX and X) and Kārle, all in Western India, between second century B.C. and second century A.D. The roofing, the design and setting of the pillars, doorways, facade decorations etc found in the examples apparently betray copious imitation of the technique and patterns of structural practices in wood, bomboo, etc. The

1 *Age of Imperial Unity.*

plan and execution of these caves show that, instead of evolving a new form, they followed the contemporary structural shrines made of less durable materials. In the said four hundred years, mostly under the stable rule of the Sātavāhanas, the rock-cut *chaityas* developed as a type from its beginning at Bhājā to an early culmination at Kārle, though all through the basic plan remained the same. But after these centuries of flourish there is a gap of about three hundred years in the evolution of the *chaitya* type.

From the middle of the fifth century A.D. a new wave of rock-hewn chaitya cave came into being at Ajaṇṭā, a place already known for its *chaityas* and *vihāras* excavated during the early centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian era. Of the twenty-eight rock excavations found at Ajaṇṭā, five belong to the earlier phase and they are *chaityas* Nos. IX and X and *vihāras* Nos. VII, XII & XIII. The remaining twenty three belong to our period, but out of them only two, i.e. Caves Nos. XIX and XXVI, are *chaitya* halls and others are *vihāras*. Again, the *chaitya* Cave No. XIX is earlier and finer of the two. The facade of the cave is 38 ft by 32 ft, while its interior measures 46 ft by 26 ft; and thus it is not a large hall. The interior of the *chaitya* is divided into a nave and two aisles by fifteen closely set pillars, in addition to two pillars at the entrance, all eleven feet high. These pillars, with their richly patterned shafts, cushion capitals and massive brackets, support a broad triforium or frieze, five feet wide and divided into panels, and continued all around the nave. Above these rises the vaulted roof with the ribs cut out of the rock. In contrast, the ceilings of the aisles are flat, a characteristic also noted in the earlier *chaityas* of the place. The votive *chaitya* stands on a slightly elevated platform in the centre of the apse and being 22 ft high almost reaches the vault above. Though carved out of a monolith, its body shows a drum and a dome placed on a *vedikā*, and the dome carries above a tall finial in tiers, consisting of a *harmikā,* three diminishing parasols and a vase at the top—all indicating an emphasis on the vertical thrust.

The other *chaitya* hall of the series, i.e. No. XXVI, was excavated some fifty years after the Chaitya No. XIX. It is, however, larger in size and measures in interior 68 ft long, 36 ft wide and 31 ft high. Here the number of columns increases to twenty-six in addition to two at the entrance. So far as architectural treatment is concerned, this *chaitya* hall is same as the *chaitya* No. XIX, and in all respects it is nothing but an elaboration and extension over the earlier one. From the minute carvings of the interior, rhythmic proportions of the pillars, harmonious arrangements of different components and from their total integration, it is apparent that as an

architectural type the excavated *chaitya* hall came to be perfected in the fifth-sixth centuries A.D., especially in Cave No. XIX at Ajaṇṭā. But what seems to be very much significant of the cave shrines of this phase is an overall change in the psychology and attitude of the Buddhist votaries—their transformation from a believer in aniconism to one of overwhelming idolatry. And this change determines the modification in ornamentation of the interior as also of the facade of the shrines. In the earlier *chaitya* halls the ornamentation of the facade was limited to repetitive architectural motifs like the rail, *stūpa*, *chaitya*-window, pilaster, etc. with the enormous horse-shoe aperture over the doorway dominating the entire scheme of the frontage. In the ornamental plan of these two *chaityas* figures, mostly of the Buddha, appear to stand out as the predominant and recurring theme in marked contrast to that in the earlier. They are made to cover every possible space, eliminating or reducing in scale and import the earlier architectural motifs. Even the votive *stūpa* at the apse shows in front a Buddha in high relief in each one of the Ajaṇṭā *chaityas* of our period. Another significant progress marked in these *chaityas* is their total freedom from earlier dependence on wooden practices. Except for the wooden frame-work of the huge *chaitya* window, and the carved ribs of the vaulted roof retaining appearance of wood works, the wooden ancestry has been totally discarded. Instead, the workmen engaged in excavation appear to have had fully realized the inherent difference of the material they were handling, and, as such, they evolved a new technique to exploit the effects of volume and void by a judicious quarrying and chiselling of the rock. "The later halls thus present," says Percy Brown, "a definite style of architecture, more flexible, sophisticated, and plastically ornate, than any which had hitherto prevailed."[2]

Although almost contemporary of the later phase of Ajaṇṭā caves, the Buddhist rock architecture of Ellorā show a slight difference in character, and it is noticed both in *chaitya* and *vihāra* types. Ellorā, is the most important centre of rock-excavated architecture in India, and here flourished three distinct groups of cave architecture associated with Buddhism, Brahmanical Hinduism and Jainism. Among the followers of these three faiths, the Buddhists were the first to work at the site and thus their establishments were cut out in the most favourable location. Here in between A.D. 450 and 650 a group of twelve rock-hewn halls were made to meet the growing demand of the monks. This group may again be divided into two sub-groups: Caves nos. I to V are known as

2 Brown, Percy *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)*, Bombay, 1965, p. 58.

"Dhedwada sub-group", and Caves nos. VI to XII form a slightly later sub-group. Each sub-group comprises a *chaitya* hall and a number of *vihāras*. The 'Dhedwada sub-group' as its prayer hall, i.e. *chaitya*, in Cave V, locally known as Mahanwada, and by combining a prayer hall and a monastery it presents an unusual type. It is an extensive establishment measuring 117 ft deep and 58½ ft wide, and is divided into a nave and two aisles by twenty-four pillars in two rows. The hall has twenty-three living cubicles on its sides, while at the far end is a transverse vestibule beyond which is a square cella containing a seated Buddha along with his attendants. Along the centre of the nave run two parallel platforms extending over the whole length of the hall. It is a unique feature having only one instance in the "Durbar" hall at Kānheri. In all likelihood these platforms served as seats for the monks during their worship.

Cave no. X, known as the Viśvakarmā cave, provides the prayer hall for the latter sub1group of the Buddhist caves at Ellorā. Although it represents one of the latest examples of the excavated type of *chaitya* halls, and is larger in dimensions, the Viśvakarmā closely resembles the two Ajaṇṭā *chaityas* described above. Its internal arrangement is almost the same, but it lacks in decorative carvings when compared with the Ajaṇṭā *chaityas*. In two respects, however, the Viśvakarmā cave at Ellorā marks a significant stage in the development of rock-cut *chaitya* type. First, the apsidal end of the hall is entirely blocked by the votive *stūpa* which, being itself completely relegated to the background, bears a colossal image of the Buddha, seated in *pralambapāda āsana* between two standing attendants. This image not only stands out as the frontpiece of the *stūpa*, but also represents the principal object of veneration. Secondly, this *chaitya* shrine shows a facade that is substantially different in layout from those found in the Ajaṇṭā *chaityas*. In the Viśvakarmā cave, writes S. K. Saraswati, "The facade itself is divided into two sections, the lower consisting of the portico with its range of pillars, and the upper exhibiting a composition which is quite unusual in this context. The enormous horse-shoe opening, which gave such a distinctive character to the frontage of such shrines, is missed here for the first time. The design is not eliminated altogether, but being reduced in size, as we find it in the small, almost circular opening, it loses its distinctive meaning, and also apparently its traditional significance".[3] This alteration seems to have not only marked a stylistic innovation but to represent also a

3 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *Classical Age*, Bombay, 1962, p. 474.

changed outlook of the Buddhist votaries. For since the advent of the anthropomorphical representation of the Master as the "worshipful one", the sanctity of the *chaitya* hall along with its *stūpa* began to diminish, and it is no wonder that after the Viśvakarmā cave at Ellorā the chaitya hall as the shrine *par excellence* seems to have gone out of use.

(ii) *Vihāra* or *saṁghārāma*: A structural monastery, known to the Buddhists as *vihāra* or *saṁghārāma,* in its mature form was usually planned as a private dwelling consisting of four ranges of cells or sleeping cubicles on four sides of an open courtyard. In the rock-cut version of the monastery a slight, but obviously necessary, modification may be noted. The typical plan of the rock-cut monastery shows three ranges of cells on three sides of a central hall opening out into a pillared gallery in front. As in the case of *chaitya* shrines, the monasteries may also be divided into two distinct phases of development. The earlier phase is represented by the Western Indian *vihāras* excavated at Bhājā, Ajaṇṭā (nos VIII, XII, and XIII), Nāsik (nos. X and III), Junnar (the Ganesśe Leṇā), Kondāne, Pitalkhorā, Bedsā and Kārle. All of them belong to the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era and are marked for their simplicity in ornamentations, which were usually confined to the facade and the doorways of the monastic cells. Motifs used are essentially of architectural character, i.e. *chaitya*-window, rails, latticed screen etc., and, no doubt, betray their dependence on the forms associated with woodwork. Introduction of the pillars, however, took place in this phase. In fact, the pillars forming a square at the centre of the hall in the Kārle monastery and its storeyed elevation are two significant aspects of the rock-cut type that were furher developed in the subsequent ages.

A prolific expression of the rock-hewn *vihāras* had its beginning in our period sometime in the fifth century A.D. A study of the plans of different *vihāras* excavated at Ajaṇṭā in this phase would reveal certain stages of evolution of the type. The earliest sub-group of *vihāras* executed at Ajaṇṭā in the Mahavāna style includes three caves numbering VI, VII and IX, and they represent the transitional phase between the early Hīnayāna types met with at various Western Indian centres on one hand and the final Mahāyāna type noted at Ajaṇṭā in the sixth-seventh century on the other. Cave XI shows, as if following the Kārle example, four pilars creating a square at the centre, while Cave VII next in order of excavation, contains two sets of four pillars, placed side by side, to provide support to the roof of a larger hall. The lower storey of Cave VI, which follows Cave VII in execution, combines the system of four central

pillars of Cave XI with an additional series of pillars around the main, resulting a cumbersome arrangement of pillars in the plan. The next stage in the experimentation may be marked in the upper storey of Cave VI. It shows a highly satisfactory system of columniation by providing a colonnade on each of the four sides of the central hall, a plan that had been adopted in all the subsequent rock-cut *vihaāras* at Ajaṇṭā. After these experiments the plan of the monastic hall became more or less standardized, although variations in the details, resulting from fertility of innovations, are not unknown in the succeeding groups. Of such later examples significant are Caves I, IV, XVI, XVII, XXI and XXIII, and, again, among them the high water mark in the *vihāra* excavation at Ajaṇṭā was reached in Cave XVI in the first half of the sixth century. But the rock-cut *vihāra* type appears to have reached its supreme aflorescence in Cave I at Ajaṇṭā. Both Caves XVI and I are approximately of the same size and planned much on the similar lines. Each of them contains an exterior verandah 65 ft long and a main hall 65 ft square, the latter having a surrounding aisle formed by a colonnade of twenty pillars. These are the usual measures in approximation of the Ajaṇṭā *vihāras* of later phase. An innovation of the phase may be noted in the introduction of a sanctuary containing an image of the Master carved out in the depth of the rock, and this measure no doubt qualitatively changes the character of previous *vihāras* which were exclusively used as dwelling shelters.

After the experimentations at Ajaṇṭā, certain new developments were also recorded at Aurangabad and Ellorā. In Aurangabad Cave VII and Ellorā Cave VIII, the image sanctuary in each case has been carved out in the middle of the monastic hall as a free-standing shrine. In the second storey of Cave XIIat Ellorā: and also in Cave II of the same place, another new feature is noted. The cells radiating from the central hall in the lateral sides are found to be replaced by the image galleries, "each in the form of a kind of iconostasis". Storeyed excavations may be found in Ajaṇṭā Cave VI and Ellorā Cave XI and XII, the last two rising to three storey each. Of these, again, Cave XII of Ellorā, known as the Tin Thal, i.e. "thhre storeyed", is the most striking and also the most comodious of all. The Tin Thal has sufficient cells to lodge at least forty priests, while its assembly hall is big enough to provide a space for the congregation of hundreds. Sober and dignified in treatment, the facade of the *vihāra* shows three rows of plain square pillars rising in stages. The massive pillars in their plain execution offer a clear contrast to the brilliantly sculptured galleries in the interior. In its totality, the Tin

Thal stands out as one of the most remarkable examples of rock-cut architecture found anywhere in India.

2. *The Brahmanical Caves*

The rock-cut mode of architecture was also carried on by the followers of Brahmanical and Jain creeds. In South India the Brahmanical caves were at first cut at Bādāmī, under the rule of the western Chālukyas. Evidently carved in the sixth century A.D., the cave shrines at Bādāmi, four in number, show clear advance over the caves at Udayagiri in Madhya Pradesh. In their general appearance and internal arrangements, all the Bādāmī cave shrines represent a common type, and each of them includes an open court in front, a pillared verandah, a columned hall, and a small square cella cut deep into the rock. The facades show a classic simplicity and in contrast the pillars and walls inside are profusely carved to represent various designs and mythological figures.

In the far south, cave style was introduced in the first quarter of the seventth century by Mahendravarman Pallava at Mandagapattu in the District of South Arcot. The style found its exponents also among his successors. Each of these shrines consists of a hallow rectangular pillared hall or *maṇḍapa* with one or more cells cut deep in one or more of the interior walls. The *maṇḍapa*, in its turn is often divided into proximal and distal sections, the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the *ardha-maṇḍapa*, either by a row of pillars corresponding to the facade row, or by differing in floor-levels or ceiling heights. The shrine-doors are generally flanked by pairs of *dvārapālas* or guards, a feature sometimes found repeated on either side of the entrance to the *maṇḍapa*. Appearing already in one of the cave-shrines at Bādāmī, the *dvārapālas* constitute an invariable feature of the Brahmanical cave temples of later days. Towards the latter part of Mahendravarman's rule, storeyed caves began to figure, but no appreciable advance in the design can be recognised. The caves excavated by his son Narasiṁhavarman Māmalla show similar plan, but the facade of these caves are usually marked by the more elaborate ornamentation of their pillars and cornices.

This rock-cut activity was also pursued in the Andhra region. On either bank of the Krishna, at places like Undavallī, Penamaga, Sitarampuram in Guntur District, and Vijayawada and Mogalrajpuram in Krishna District, about a dozen cave temples are found to form a separate series in the Chalukyan territory dating from A.D. 700. Each of these cave temples consists of a rock-cut hall or *maṇḍapa* with one or more, often three, shrine-cells behind. The

hall is either astylar or multi-pillared,and sometimes found as divided into front and rear sections by two rows of pillars and pilasters, the usual facade row and the inner row. Although these cave temples are ascribed to the Eastern Chālukya line that ruled in Veṅgī, the general Pallava impression on the plan is undeniable. A series of eight cave temples also occur in the Bhairavakoṇḍa hills in Nellore District, but they are not so important from the point of architectural interests. The Pāṇḍya contemporaries of the Pallavas started rock-architecture in further south by about the beginning of the eighth century and continued it in the two succeeding centuries till they were overthrown by the Cholas. Their cave shrines are to be found all over in Madurai, Ramanathapuram, Tirunelveli, Kanyakumari, Trivandrum and Quilon Districts and also in the southern part of the district of Tiruchirapalli. They are larger in number than the Pallava examples but are essentially similar to them in plan. Besides, they show certain characteristic features of their own.

Under the Chālukyas and their Rāshṭrakūṭa successors flourished the great Brahmanical caves at Ellorā. Dating from about A.D. 650, the sixteen excavations belonging to this faith (Caves nos. VIII to XXIX) extend along the west face of the rock. The Daśāvatāra (no. XV), the Rāvaṇa-kā-Khāi (no. XIV, the Rāmeśvara (no. XXI) and the Dhumara Leṇa (no. XXIX) are the most important excavations, not to speak of the great Kailāsa—"an entire temple complex completely hewn-out of the live-rock in imitation of a distinctive structural form". The Brahmanical cave temples at Ellorā may be divided into three types. The first, best illustrated by the two-storeyed Daśāvatāra shows a multi-columned hall with the sanctuary dug out at its rear end, and the lateral sides of the hall representing sculpture galleries. It has a marked similarity with the scheme of the Budhist *vihāras* and, possibly, being the earliest among the Brahmanical shrines of the site, was inspired by them. In the places of monastic cells on either side of the hall, a kind of iconostasis, containing divine images in high relief in the large sunken panels flanked by pilasters, has, however, been introduced. In the second type the sanctum, a free-standing cella with a passage of circumambulation around, is shaped out of a mass of rock situated in the centre of the rear end of the hall. Of the two caves of this type, the Rāvaṇa-Kā-Khāi and the Rāmeśvara, the latter one is better known for its magnificent sculptures abundantly carved on its walls and the exquisitely designed massive pillars of the facades with their charming bracket figures.

The third type, appearing from the second half of the eighth cen-

tury, may be recognised in the Dhumara Leṇā the last and the most elaborate in the series of the Brahmanical caves at Ellorā. It consists of a cruciform pillared hall, (the main hall alone being 150 feet by 50 feet in measure), having more than one entrance and court, with the free-standing square cella hewn out of the rock near the back end. "In architectural arrangement as well as the gracefulness of its ponderous pillars and sculptures this cave is probably the finest among the Brahmanical excavations, not only at Ellorā but also at other sites."[4] The Brahmanical caves in the islands of Elephanta and Salsette, near Bombay, reveal designs similar to Dhumara Leṇā, but in comparison they are smaller in conception and irregular in execution. It may, however, be noted that the main hall of the Dhumara Leṇā is axially driven into the depth of the rock, while that of Elephanta is found to be excavated parallel to the face of the rock. The temple of Jogīśvara in the island of Salsette is an inferior execution, but its significance lies in the fact that it is the latest of its type and dates about A.D. 800.

The cave-temples were never as suitable for the Brahmanical worship as the structural ones, and that seems to be the reason why of about twelve hundred cave excavations not more than a hundred are Brahmanical. The structural temples were so appropriate to the needs of Brahmanical worship that even in the mode of rock-cut architecture, the excavators were steadily moving towards the perfect imitation of structural temples, and as a result we get the grand Kailāsa temple at Ellorā executed in the rock-cut style.

3. *The Jain Caves*

The earliest phase of Jain rock architecture, found at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri in Orissa, has already been mentioned, and the second phase has been represented by two caves, one at Bādāmī and the other at Aihole, both in Western India and belonging to the seventh century. They are essentially similar in plan and arrangements; and each of them consists of a pillared quadrangular hall with a cella cut out at its far end and chapels on either side, a scheme not far off from those of the Buddhists and Brahmanical counterparts of the age.

The most important group of Jain caves was excavated at Ellorā and date from the ninth century. There are five shrines in the group and among them the Chhoto Kailāsa (no. XXX), the Indra Sabhā (no. XXXII) and the Jagannātha Sabhā (no. XX) are of greater significance. The first one is a small imitation of the renowned Brahma-

4 R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *Classical Age*, p. 491.

nical temple of the same name, while the second and the third shrines are partly a copy of the structural form and partly cave excavation. In the forecourt of each stands a monolithic shrine preceded by a gateway, both carved out of the rock, and behind it rises the facade of the cave in two storeyes. Each of the storeys, in their turn, reproduces the usual plan of a pillared hall with a chapel at the rear end and cells at the sides. In spite of identical plan and arrangement the Indra Sabhā, particularly its upper storey, is superior both in balance and organic character to the Jagannātha Sabhā which presages a decline and ultimate disappearance of this mode of architecture in the following centuries.

II. TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE

Almost simultaneously with the experimentations of Central and Northern India during the days of the Guptas, the builders of the Deccan started constructions of shrines under the early Chālukyas, whose contribution to the development of temple architecture in India appears to have not yet been fully appreciated.

1. *The Deccan*

The patronage to the early architectural movement in the Deccan came from the Western Chālukyas between A.D. 553 and 642; and during this period a number of places flourished as important centres of the movement, and among them Aihole, Paṭṭaḍakal, Mahakala, Bādāmī, and Alampur are especially noted for their structural shrines. The first efforts of the Chālukyas are represented by about one hundred stone-built temples at Aihole, their old capital, now a somewhat decayed village in the Badāmī *taluk* of the Bijapur district of Karṇāṭaka. The temples of Aihole are remarkable for their archaic forms and pronounced virility. Chronological and stylistic considerations place them in the earliest phase of Indian temple architecture, and so far as the Deccan is concerned, they seem to represent the very beginning.

Although it is customary to regard the Lād Khān temple as the oldest among the shrines at Aihole, the ground plans of the temples of Konti-guḍī group, as also some of their architectural designs, suggest that they precede the Lād Khān in date. The Konti-gudī group consists of three temples, of which two are connected by means of a pillared portico and stand facing each other in the east-west direction. The third temple of the group is adjacent to the temple facing the east, which, in its turn appears to be earliest of the three. This east-facing earliest temple of the group shows a rec-

tangular ground plan with a series of six pillars in front, three of which are on each side of the central entrance. There are eight more pillars, arranged in two rows in a transverse fashion, to support the ceiling. The shrine is set clumsily to the backwall and its approach is through two of the central pillars of the rear row. The temple is without any *mukhamaṇḍapa, sabhāmaṇḍapa* and *antarāla,* and as such appears to be primitive in conception. The other temple, connected to it by a pillared portico and standing facing the west, is squarish in plan. It also shows similar absence of formal components like *mukhamaṇḍapa,* etc., but is significant for having a surmounting square structure above the main hall. This square structure may be counted as the rudiment of *śikhara* that gradually developed at the site in the following years. The third temple of the group is similar in dimension and shows a ground plan similar to that of the first temple. It seems to be latest of the group and introduces a transverse wall, of course, late in date, following the line of the first row of pillars. This wall, however, radically changes the interior plan of the temple, for it provides an enclosure or *antarāla* to the *garbhagṛha* or the shrine in one hand and a *mukhamaṇḍapa*-like verandah to the temple on the other. Later on this *mukhamaṇḍapa* emerged distinctively as one of the major components of Aihole temples.

It is, however, the Lād Khān that shows the maturest form of the early temples at Aihole. Though the temple is simple in plan, it is undoubtedly better conceived than those of the Konti-guḍī group, and marks an advance over them by introducing a *mukhamaṇḍapa* and a *sabhāmaṇḍapa.* In shape it is a low, flat-roofed square building with a small supplementary storey of later date above. Three of its sides are completely enclosed by walls, and two of them are found to the relieved by perforated stone grills. The fourth side, forming the eastern face, projects out with an open-pillared porch. The interior of the temple is dominated by a hall that resembles a pillared pavilion, as it contains two square sets of columns, one within the other, providing a double aisles all round. A large bull (*Nandī*) in stone occupies the central bay, while the shrine proper, a shrine not leading off the main hall, is found to be built within it against the back-wall. The pillars of the hall are massive as they are supposed to support a heavy stone-roof, the weight of which was further aggravated by introducing a *śikhara*-like square storey above. Though it appears to have been conceived in terms of an assembly hall, rather than a temple, the overall impact of the Lād Khān is formidable, and its plan as well as elevation shows a clear discipline. In the words of Percy Brown, "it is stark, strong, and enduring, the

utterance of a robust and vigorous people having great potentialities but, at present, of undeveloped powers".[5]

Though in a direct contrast with the Lād Khān, the Durgā temple at Aihole is extremely significant for marking an experimentation in the evolution of Indian temple architecture. This example follows the model of a Buddhist *chaitya* hall standing at Ter, a place not far from Aihole. The Durgā temple was erected sometime in the sixth century A.D. and is an apsidal structure measuring externally sixty feet by thirty-six feet. There is a twenty-four feet portico on its eastern front, and thus in its entirety the temple is eighty-four feet long. Standing on a high and heavily moulded plinth, the top most tier of the temple rises up to thirty feet in height from the ground; and over the tier a short pyramidal tower was subsequently added. The notable features of the temple are its peripteral exterior and the passage formed by the colonnade of the verandah that is carried round the building and joined with the similar pillars of the portico. This portico is approached by two staircases, one on each side of the front, and from it entrance to the main hall is made. The interior of the main hall, which is forty-four feet long, follows the usual form a *chaitya* shrine and consists of two rows of four pillars that divide it into a nave and two aisles, and an apsidal shaped cella at its rear end; the aisles continuing round the cella as a processional passage. The roof of the nave is raised higher than that of the side aisles, and as such, almost in all details the temple follows the plan of a standard *chaitya* shrine of the Buddhists. Another temple of similar type is the Huchchimalligudī also at Aihole. This temple shows a smaller and simplified form of the Durgā temple, for it has no apsidal end nor a peristyler verandah. But as noted in other temples of the place, it also bears a subsequently added *śikhara* above. The most significant aspect of this otherwise simple temple is the introduction of a vestibule or *antarāla,* that separates the main hall, i.e. *maṇḍapa* from the cella, i.e. *garbhagṛiha.*

The next stage in the evolution of temple architecture at Aihole may be noted in the construction of the Tārabasappā, the Nārāyaṇa. the Huchchappayyā-gudī, the main temple of Galaganātha group, and the temple adjoining to Huchchimalli-guḍī. Their advance is marked in the ground plan that shows the sanctum-cella as almost detached from the main hall, a step which was definitely taken to meet the growing religious requirements of the Brahmanical worshippers, and led the temple architecture to their functional fulfilment.

The final phase in the development of temple structure at Aihole

5 Percy Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

was, however, reached in the Meguti temple, which stands in a graceful dignity on the imposing eminence of Meguti hill, situated three furlongs east to the Aihole village. This is a Jaina temple, and it is known from an inscription that it was built in A.D. 634 by one Ravikīrti during the reign of Pulakeśin II, and thus was the latest among the Chālukya temples at the place. The temple is significant not only for its improved constructional technique as may be noted in the use of smaller blocks of stone in the masonry work, but also for its refined and delicate ornamentations of the outer walls in the intervals between the pilasters. In plan also the temple is impressive and registers a marked progress towards an organized and balanced scheme. It is a long rectangular building consisting of two parts, the shrine with its surounding gallery and the large pillared hall, i.e. *mukhamaṇḍapa*. A narow vestibule, i.e. *antarāla*, connects these two parts. The pillared *mukhamaṇḍapa* has a staircase to reach the roof above, where. on the main shrine of the ground floor, stands a second shrine containing a Jaina image. The *śikhara* main hall supported by pillars, and the cella in its back-wall. This over the upper shrine is, however, now totally lost. The overall impression of the temple is that of a unified design, which is, no doubt, a logical outcome of the earlier attempts made at Aihole. The Meguti temple is significant specially for its impact on the history of subsequent temple architecture in the south.

In spite of divergence in plan and execution in the temples at Aihole, it is possible to trace a line of evolution through the years. The beginning of the evolution shows temples, as in the Konti-guḍi examples, having a rectangular transverse plan with a sanctum-cella built in the back-wall of the hall. The next stage, as marked in the Lād Khān temple, exhibits a plan consisting of a pillard portico, a stage has been replaced by the temples of Tārabasappā, the Nārāyaṇa, the main temple of the Galaganātha group, etc. These temples show a pillared portico, a main hall supported by pillars, and, more particularly, a sanctum cella detached from the main hall. Finally, we get the developed plan consisting of a pillard portico, a main hall, an antichamber or vestibule and a cella, the last component being with or without ambulatory passage.. The Meguti temple is the example of this last stage of evolution at Aihole. There is, of course, another distinct type noted at this place, the best example of which is the Durgā temple showing a rectangular ground plan with an apsidal back. But this type is nothing but an adaptation of the Buddhist *chaitya* form, and, being abandoned by the subsequent temple-builders, seems to be less significant from historical viewpoint.

A survey of these early temples of Aihole would immediately lead one to connect them with the main stream of architectural movement of the entire country dating at least from the days of the Guptas. And it would be marked that the Aihole temples represent some of the Gupta types noted in other centres. The type represented by the Durgā has its parallels in the temples of Chezarle, in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. From the consideration of the development of Indian temple architecture much more important is, however, the Gupta type described as the flat-roofed square temple, with a covered ambulatory around the sanctum, and preceded by a porch in front, sometimes with a second storey above. These characteristics, which seem to form the nuclei of the elaborate *Drāviḍa* type of temples of the medieval period, are noted as basic features of a large number of temples at Aihole. The plan apart, in the sphere of designs and motifs, too, the temples of Aihole appear to have left a lasting impression on the *Drāviḍa* temple style. The *kudu* motif, the bold mouldings of the plinth and of the cornice, and the deep niches on the outer walls, all noted in the Meguti, may be cited as typical Chālukya features which the *Drāviḍa* temples retained. In elevation, the second storey above and the tiered pyramids are also important for their role in the development of huge *vimāna* of the *Drāviḍa* temples. Again, when the regular *śikharas* with *paga* division are noted among the temples at Aihole, one has also to admit its relation with the tradition of Gupta temples of the North.

Following a political catastrophe of the Chālukyas, i.e. the defeat of Pulakeśin II in the hands of the Pallava ruler Narasiṁhavarman I in A.D. 642, the architectural activites of Aihole came to be discontinued. It was only after thirteen years that Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-81), son of Pulakeśin II, recovered the Chālukya dominion from the hands of the Pallavas and began architectural activities anew, but the venue was shifted from Aihole to Paṭṭaḍakal. The change of place seems to be connected with the change of faith of the latter Chālukyas; for while the early Chālukyas were followers of Viṣṇu, the latter ones are found to be devotees of Śiva; and Paṭṭadkal, place for the Sivaites. There are ten temples of significance at Paṭṭadkal, and, beginning in the middle of the seventh century, they were built in a period of one hundred years and more. Of these temples five are in the *Nāgara* or North Indian style, while the remaining five are in the *Drāviḍa* or southern. The temples in the *Nāgara* style are Pāpanātha, Jambuliṅga, Galaganātha, Kāśiviśveśvara, and Kāḍasidheśvara.

The Pāpanātha, dated c. 680, is important for the stage of evolu-

tion it represents in the development of Indian temple styles. Both in plan and elevation, the temple shows its conceptual limitations, which may be marked in the failure of correct disposition of the main elements of the structure. For instance, the vestibule or *antarāla* that forms the shape of a square court, containing four widely set pillars, is too large a component to serve the actual purpose of it, and rather becomes a supplementary assembly hall. In appearance the temple seems to be a combination of both the *Nāgara* and *Drāviḍa* styles. The *śikhara* above, though stunted and small, unmistakably connects it with the former, but the entire composition is essentially *Drāviḍa* and has a general likeness to that of the Virupākṣa temple standing nearby. The Pāpanātha in its entirety, some ninety feet in length, is raised over a plinth of several bold string courses. Its sanctum is enclosed within a covered ambulatory and is preceded by two axially arranged halls, the first one occupying the place of vestibule or *antarāla* and the second constituting the forward assembly hall or *maṇḍapa,* both of them containing pillars and of square shape, and, finally, an open portico projects in front. The roof is flat and has its diversion in the shooting up *śikhara* over the sanctum at the eastern end. A series of decorative grills set on the side walls provides light for the interior of the vestibule and the assembly hall, while the ambulatory of the sanctum is lighted by the boldly projecting windows, one on each of the three sides. In spite of some minute decorative works, the overall impression of the Pāpanātha is that of a massive solid character, and this seems to be true from outside as well as inside, where the bulk of its walls and shape of its pillars testify to this characterization. Among the temples at Paṭṭaḍakal bearing northern type of tower, Kāśiviśveśvara and Galaganātha are also notable for their proportionate disposition and matured treatment of the *śikhara,* that shows regular *paga* division on its body and a pronounced curvilinear shape. From stylistic considerations these two temples are assignable to the eighth century A.D.

The transitional phase in the development of two major Indian temple styles represented by the Pāpanātha has its further manifestation in a group of temples found at Alampur, a village on the west bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā river in the Raichur district of Karṇāṭaka. The Alampur temples, six in number, appear to have been produced in the wake of architectural movement that had its chief centres at Aihole and Paṭṭaḍakal, and somewhat also at Bādāmī. Although situated at an appreciable distance from the chief centres of the movement, the Alampur temples are found to be built inside a fortified enclosure in a manner already noticed at Aihole. In plan and composition all the six temples are essentially identical and show a gene-

ral similarity with the Pāpanātha at Paṭṭaḍakal. The best preserved temple of the Alampur group is the Viśva-Brahmā temple, which is basically identical with the Pāpanātha, though it is found to be in better proportions and in the disposition of different adjuncts much more coherent. The Alampur temples are usually placed in the period of the Pāpanātha at Paṭṭaḍakal, but it would be better to assign them a slightly later date.

The final flourish of the Chālukya temple took place at Paṭṭaḍakal about the middle of the eighth century A.D., particularly during the reign of Vikramāditya II (A.D. 733-744). In his time were built the magnificent temples of Lokeśvara, better known as Virupākṣa, and Trailokeśvara, also known as Mallikārjuna, by his two wives Lokamahādevī and Trailokyamahādevī respectively, to commemorate his victory over Kāñchī, the capital of the rival Pallava rulers. Of all the temples at Paṭṭaḍakal, the Virūpākṣa is the most matured and ambitious expression; and it is undoubtedly a milestone in the evolution of *Drāviḍa* temple style. The other temples of the style at the place are Saṅgameśvara, Mallikārjuna, Chandraśekhara and the Jaina temple situated to the west of the village at a distance of two furlongs. Some early attempts at giving form to the temples broadly conceived in the *Drāviḍa* style may also be found at Bādāmī and Mahākūṭa.

But none of these temples is comparable with the Virupākṣa, which shows signal progress over the others both in conception and execution. Although the Chālukya territory had its own experience and role in the development of *Drāviḍa* type of temples there are reasons to believe that the design and construction of Virupākṣa were thoroughly inspired by those of the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchīpuram. From the epigraphic record found both at Paṭṭaḍakal and Kāñchīpuram, it apears that Vikramāditya II, entering the Pallava capital as a conqueror, was deeply impressed by the art of the latter temple; and it is, therefore, assumed that he brought builders from the South to undertake construction of temples for his own. This assumption finds a logical basis in the essential identity of plan and composition of the Kailāśanātha with those of the Virūpāksha.

The Virūpākṣa shows a comprehensive scheme, which consists of a central structure, preceded by a detached *nandī* pavilion, contained in a walled enclosure entrance to which is made through an impressive gateway. It is larger in size than previous examples and measures one hundred and twenty feet from the front of the porch to the back of the shrine. But for proportionate and harmonious arrangement of various components, and for plastic decorations on the outer walls, it is very much pleasing to the eye. What is more commendable

of the temple is the fact that it retains the heavy solidity, characteristic of all such early constructions, but at the same time ushers in the future development of the style that is remarkable for balancing plastic embellishment with the overall plan of the structural background. If the Virūpākṣa owes its plan and composition to the Kailāsanātha of Kāñchīpuram, it also sets example in plastic decoration for such a great creation as the Kailāsa at Ellorā. Among the *Drāviḍa* type of temples, at Paṭṭaḍakal there are two other notable examples. The Saṅgameśvara, also known as Vijayesvara in the memory of its builder Vijayāditya, was constructed in the previous reign, and from the compositional point of view the temple appears Trailokyeśvara or Mallikārjuna that stands adjacent to the Virūpākṣa and follows the same general plan and overall treatment.

A survey of the temples found at Aihole, Bādāmī, Mahākūṭa, Alampur and Paṭṭaḍakal would reveal that nuclei of the preceding centuries, usually associated with the Guptas of the North, attained certain logical advance. At the Chālukya centres all architectural tendencies marked in the different Gupta temple types made certain definite forward steps in formulating distinctive temple styles that had their fulfilment in the subsequent ages. This is true not only with regard to the *Drāviḍa* style, a formidable achievement of which is clearly noted in the Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭaḍakal, but also in the development of *Nāgara* style; for here we find the formalisation of the *śikhara* tower with its salient characteristics like *paga* divisions. *bhūmi-āmalakas* placed at the corness, the crowning *āmalaka,* lacerated *chaitya* motifs, etc. And what seems to be further significant is the laying of the foundation of a distinctive expression that is designated by Cousens as the Dakhanese. This latter style is born of an admixture of two major temple conceptions, the *Nāgara* and the *Drāvida,* and had its fulfilment in the upper Deccan during the following centuries.

The political power of the Deccan shifted from the hands of Chālukyas to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas sometime in the middle of the eighth century A.D., but the architectural activities of the region continued unabatedly under the new rulers. Of the structural temples built during the days of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the one on the outskirts of the temple city of Paṭṭaḍakal, and dedicated to the Jaina worship, may specially be noted. It is a *Drāviḍa* type of temple consisting of a three-storeyed *vimāna,* square in plan from the base to the surmounting pyramid, the ground storey contained the principal sanctum, which is, in its turn, double-walled with a closed circumambulatory between the walls. The temple faces east and comprises following components: *mukha-maṇḍapa* or the portico, *maṇḍapa* or the inner

hall, a short *antarāla* or the vestibule, and *garbha-gṛha* or the sanctum. The temple is remarkably simple in disposition and one of its highlights is the half elephants in stone, mounted by persons, in the outer hall or the portico. These are life-like sculptures and remind one the similar sculptures of the Indra Sabhā at Ellorā. According to Cousens, this Jaina temple was constructed in the days of Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 814-877), but from stylistic considerations it appears to have been executed sometime towards the closing years of the eighth century.

By far the most significant contribution of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to the development of *Drāviḍa* temple style is undoubtedly the grand Kai lāsa and Ellorā. It is a magnificent creation of Indian architectural genius and, so to speak, it has no parallel in the entire history of world architecture. An extensive temple complex, covering an area of 300 feet by 200 feet, is found to have been completely hewn out of a living rock. This stupendous work possibly began in the reign of Dantidurga, the founder of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa house, and was completed by his successor Krishṇa I (A.D. 758-773). The scheme of the temple follows the fundamental pattern of a *Drāviḍa* temple as represented by the Kailāsānatha at Kāñchīpuram and still more closely the Virūpākṣa at Paṭṭaḍakal.

The temple complex of Kailāsa and Ellorā consists of four principal characteristic components of the *Drāviḍa* style, viz. *vimāna*, *maṇḍapa*, *nandī-maṇḍapa* and *gopuram*. The main unit, comprising of the *vimāna* and the *maṇḍapa*, occupies an area of approximately 150 feet by 100 feet, and is raised over a lofty plinth nearly 25 feet high, which forms the ground storey. The plinth is heavily moulded at the bottom and at the top, and over this substantial superstructure stand the *vimāna* and the *maṇḍapa*, and the latter is approached by grand flights of steps in the front, that is, the western side. The flat roof of the *maṇḍapa* is supported on sixteen pillars arranged in small groups of four each at the corners, thus dividing the hall into cruciform aisles. From the *maṇḍapa* a vestibule leads to the sanctum cella, the tower of which rises in four storeys and ultimately ends in a dome-shaped *stūpikā*. From the level of the court to the apex the *vimāna* is 95 feet in height. Around the sanctum cella and enclosing the ambulatory, so to say, are arranged five lesser chapels, each repeating, on a smaller scale, the principal theme standing at the centre. In front of this main unit on its axis stands a detached flat-roofed *maṇḍapa* for the Nandī. On either side of the *mandī-maṇḍapa* is a free-standing column (*dhvaja-stambha*) nearly 50 feet high from the level of the court bearing at the top the *triśūla* or the sacred emblem of the god. All these components are situated within

a rectangular court surrounded by cloistered galleries, containing a series of life-like sculptures of Śiva and his consort Pārvatī, and approached in front by a double storeyed gatehouse, the precursor of the imposing *gopurams* of the later days. Acclaimed as 'the world's greatest rock poem', the Kailāsa and Ellora appears to have achieved the sanctity of the great god's abode by the dint of sheer labour and devotion of its excavators. Viewed as a whole, it represents the most ambitious and articulated piece of sculpture ever executed in India, and is one of the most magnificent examples of *Drāviḍa* architecture.

2. *Tamil Land*

The foundation of *Drāviḍa* temple style was laid down in the seventh century A.D. This fact is attested not only by the temples at Aihole but also by the monuments of Mahābalīpuram, the sea-port of the Pallavas, who flourished sometime in the closing years of the sixth-century and were the masters of the Tamil country and its adjacent regions for about two hundred years. They were great patrons of arts and one of their early monarchs, Mahendravarman I, has already been noted for his contribution in the development of rock-cut architecture, and presently we shall refer to the free-standing monolithic structures, known as *rathas*, at Mahābalīpuram, which were cut out of the granulitic boulder-like out-crops during the reign of his son Narasiṁhavarman Māmalla.

Altogether there are eight *rathas* at Mahābalīpuram and all of them, except the Drupadī *ratha*, show storeyed elevation of the roof. Each storey is terminated by a convex roll cornice ornamented with repeated depiction of a motif, locally called *kudu*, which represents a *chaitya*-window arch enclosing a human head. To break the monotony of the flatness of outer walls, pilasters and sculptured niches are introduced, while the upper storeyes are found surrounded with small pavilions. These are the common elements noted in all the *rathas*, but there are also marked divergences among them emanating from the basic plan of their sanctum cellas. The Nakula-Sahadeva *ratha* exhibits a rectangular ground plan rounded off at one end and a storeyed roof surmounted by a vault with an apsidal back. This type is, no doubt, an imitation of the Buddhist *chaitya* hall, examples of which may be noted among the ruins discovered at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. But this type, as also the Draupadī *ratha* showing the humble form of a thatchroofed hut, has no bearing in the subsequent development of temple architecture in the region.

Among the other *rathas* are found two types of plan, one square and the other rectangular. The Dharmarāja and the Arjuna repre-

sent the square type, while the Bhīma and the Gaṇeśa rectangular. The former is surmounted by a pyramidal elevation capped by a domical member; and the latter bears an elongated barrel-shaped vault with gables at the two ends as a roof. These two forms appear to be vital in the growth of *Drāviḍa* temple type, because one may recognize in them the geneses of the *vimana*, representing the sanctum with its pyramidal tower, and the *gopuram* or the imposing gateway leading to the temple enclosure, respectively.

Of the square type of *rathas*, the Dharmarāja appears to be the most impressive as well as the most perfect example. It consists of a square ground storey with an open pillared verandah all round. Above the ground storey rises a pyramidal tower of receding storeyes finally topped by an octagonal *stūpikā*. A convex roll cornice decorated with *chaitya*-window motifs (*kudus*) demarcate each of the storeyes, and the upper storeyes are found surrounded by decorative pavilions (*pañcarams*). The sanctum appears to be situated in the upper storey, while the pillared verandah of the ground storey provides an open ambulatory. In it one may recognize an adaptation of the storeyed form of the Gupta temple types that shows an ambulatory around the square cella. The decorative details are, however, of local origin and some of them seems to be legacies of the Buddhist architecture of Andhra country. The *stūpikā* which tops the pyramidal tower is, for example, a derivation from that of the rock-cut relief shrines found at Undavalli in the Guntur district. The roll cornice appears in the Mahendravarman period or even earlier and is also evident in some of the temples of Aihole. The decorative pavilions (*pañcarams*) were introduced, so to speak, to fill up vacant spaces around the horizontal stages for conceiling the storeyed character of the roof and thereby to lend it a pyramidal shape. From all considerations the Dharmarāja *ratha* may be regarded as the heralding point from which the *Drāviḍa* temple style began its long and variegated march that continued for about a thousand years to complete is evolution.

While the square type of the *rathas* provides the basic plan for the sanctum of the *Drāviḍa* temples, the rectangular type with its storeyed elevation surmounted by a barrel-vaulted roof anticipates the distinctive characteristics of *gopuram*, i.e. the enormous gateway to the spacious temple enclosure. The rectangular plan is clearly suitable for a gateway building and the barrel-vaulted roof with a gable at either end offers an effective covering for a building of this plan. The fundamental resemblance between the plan and design of the type of rectangular *rathas*, as illustrated in the Gaṇeśa, and those of the monumental *gopurams* of the subsequent *Drāviḍa* temples is very

apparent. It seems that the square and rectangular types of *rathas* were excavated side by side at Mahābalīpuram, and it was the genius of the later *Drāviḍa* architects that combined these two independent structural forms in a composite scheme. With these two distinctive types of *rathas,* square and rectangular in plan, the foundation of *Drāviḍa* style was laid down in the first half of the seventh century A.D. And through the passage of time, from the days of the Pallavas till the end of Vijayanagara empire in the sixteenth century, and even later, the style continued its prolific activity.

Most of the rock-cut *rathas* at Mahābalīpuram appear to have been left unfinished by the excavators. It seems probable that with the death of Narasiṁhavarman Māmalla in A.D. 674 the patronage to this particular mode of art ceased, and, as a result, the *rathas* had to the abandoned in their incomplete state. However, a new trend came into vogue under his successors. In the last quarter of the seventh century Parameśvaravarman started experiments of constructions in dressed stone, for the shrine of Vedagiriśvara on the top of the hill at Tirukkalukkunram in the Chingleput district, modified during his days, shows introduction of the structural stone-work. The apsidal temple at Kuram in the same district, and also built in the time of the same ruler, employed granite slabs along with brick work reinforcement. It was, however, during the reign of his successor Narasiṁhavarman II, also known as Rājasiṁha Pallava (c. A.D. 695-722), the prosperous days of structural temples began. He was a great builder and the six temples associated with him were the shore, Iśvara and Mukunda temples at Mahābalīpuram, a temple at Panamalai in the south Arcot district, and the temples of Kailāsanātha and Vaikuṇṭha Perumala at Kāñchīpuram. In the construction of temples he was possibly inspired by the Chālukyas of Bādāmī, and it seems that in plan and design the Bhūtanātha temple at Bādāmī stands between the Dharmarāja *ratha* and the shore temple, both at Mahābalīpuram. Whatever may be the fact, three of the six Rājasiṁha temples are of extreme significance. For they not only mark an important stage in the evolution of *Drāviḍa* temple style as a whole, but also furnish some valuable data regarding the early formation of the style. These three temples are the shore temple of Mahābalīpuram and the Kailāsanātha and Vaikuṇṭha Perumala of Kāñchīpuram.

The shore temple, so named as it stands on the brim of the sea at the ancient port, is the first significant temple in dressed stone and belongs to the closing years of the seventh century. A formal temple scheme appears to be already in the process as the temple

is placed within a spacious rectangular court enclosed by massive walls. The principal features of the plan show two shrines, asymmetrically attached to each other, each having a pyramidal tower completed with the *stūpikā* and a pointed finial. Of the two shrines the eastern one, facing the sea, is larger in dimension and seems to be the main shrine dedicated to Śiva, while the western one, apparently less significant, was consecrated to the worship of Vishṇu. Each of these towered sanctuaries shows a storeyed elevation terminated with a dome-shaped *stūpikā,* and roll cornices and small pavilions demarcating each stage of elevation. These elements are, no doubt, derived from the square type of *rathas* of the place, the best example of which is the Dharmarāja. In fact, in principle the monolithic Dharmarāja and the structural shore temple belong to same category, because both of them consist of a square lower storey and a pyramidal tower in diminishing tiers above. But there is some unmistakable originality in the visualization of the shore, which may particularly be marked in the shape and design of its twin towers. The horizontal demarcation lines of the tiers are less pronounced here than those of the Dharmarāja, and, instead, the overall emphasis is on the verticality, which has resulted "more rhythm and more buouney" of the towers. It is certain that the architect enjoyed a greater freedom in the process of building up the temple in dressed stones; but this alone does not explain the elegance attained in it. This can only be justified by recognizing a new inspiration that began to work during the days of Rājasiṁha.

Not long after the construction of the shore temple at Mahābalīpuram, the Ḳailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram, also dedicated to Śiva, came into being. Here for the first time we find a unified conception of a temple scheme along with its all components and characteristic as fully expressed. The principal features of the temple complex consist of a sanctum with a pyramidal tower and a *maṇḍapa,* i.e., pillared hall, with a flat roof preceding it; and both of them situated within a rectangular court enclosed by a peristyle composed of a series of cells. Standing near the western end of the court and facing the east, the sanctum bears a tower of extreme beauty and elegant contours. Though of same character, in comparision with the tower of Dharmarāja, that of the Kailāsanātha shows greater harmony and balance in the disposition of different stages. The sharp swing from somewhat compressed forms of the monolithic *rathas* to the loosely knit composition of the shore seems to have found a balanced mean in the mature shape of the Kailāsanātha. In fact, the Kailāsanātha is a land mark in the development of *Drāviḍa* temple style and it offers for about a hundred

years a schema that had to be emulated in distant centres of the Western Deccan. Among the components of the temple we find, apart from the towered sanctum or *vimāna* and the pillared hall or *maṇḍapa,* an *antarāla* or vestibule connecting them, which, of course, is a later addition. Access to the enclosed courtyard containing the temple complex is now made through two passages in the eastern wall on two sides of a rectangular building with storeyed elevation and a barrel vaulted roof above. Though it now functions as a subsidiary chapel, originally it seems to have been planned as a gatehouse, i.e. *gopuram,* which is an indispensable part of a fully developed *Drāviḍa* temple. Another significant element introduced in the Kailāsanātha is the peristyle cells ranging all round the inner face of the courtyard. Hence, in the Kailāsanātha we find at least four basic components of the style, viz. *vimāna, maṇḍapa, gopuram* and an array of *vimānas* along the walls of the court, i.e. peristyle cells.

The Vaikuṇṭha Perumala at Kāñchīpuram is another great temple attributed to Rājasiṁha Pallava, which was constructed sometime after the Kailāsanātha. The temple stands within a court that can be approached through a portico in the east. On the outside the walls of the court shows pilasters and niches to break the monotony of their extensive flatness, and on the inside runs a continuous colonnaded cloister separated from the central components, i.e. the sanctum and the *maṇḍapa,* by an open circumambulatory passage. Of the two central components the *maṇḍapa* is interiorly a square hall with transverse aisles of eight pillars, and it leads through a vestibule to the sanctum, a square chamber above which rises the pyramidal tower crowned by a *stūpikā.* The sanctum is in four storey, each containing a passage round its exterior, a cella in the centre and a corridor encircling both of them for circumambulation. When compared with the Kailāsanātha the Vaikuṇṭha Perumala lacks in overall freshness, but surpasses the former in the sense of economy as noted in the disposition of various elements.

In the second half of the eigth century A.D. the power of the Pallavas began to decline; and the Western Chālukyas came into prominence by defeating them. The Western Chālukyas were, however, admirers of the Pallava achievements in the field of art and architecture. The most pronounced testimony to this admiration appears to be the Virūpākṣa temple of Paṭṭadakal which was constructed on the model of the Kailāsanātha at Kāñchīpuram. The temples of Kailāsanātha and Vaikuṇṭha Perumala at Kāñchīpuram and the Virūpākṣa at Paṭṭadakal represent a very significant stage in the evolution of *Drāviḍa* style, that further developed under

the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in the Deccan and the Cholas in the south. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa contribution to the style is best noted in the rock-cut temple of Kāilāsa at Ellorā, and it has already been fully discussed. The contribution of the Cholas, who replaced the Pallavas in the Tamil country in the second half of the ninth century A.D., is so significant and momentous that it deserves a close study.

Most of the temples built by the Cholas during the ninth and tenth centuries, before the accession of Rājarāja in A.D. 985 are small compositions in stone. If the number is an index of any activity, the early Chola rulers, starting from Vijayālaya right upto Uttahachola, appear to be the great patrons of temple architecture. In fact, under these rulers the *Drāviḍa* style seems to have gone through new experiences and, though the temples of the period were basically connected with the Pallava ones, there are ample evidences to show fresh thinking in relation to their layouts and embellishments. Of the innumerable temples attributed to the early Cholas significant are the Vijayālāya Cholīśvara at Melamalai, Bālasubramaṇya at Kannanur Sundareśvara at Tirukkattala, Muvar Kovil at Kodumbalur, Nāgeśvarasvāmī at Kumbakonam, Brahmapurīśvara at Pullamangai, Kuraṅganatha at Śrīnivāsanāllur, the twin temples of Agastyīśvara and Cholīśvara at Kailaiyur and the Śiva temple at Tiruvaliśvaram. Among these Vijayālaya Cholīśvara was built in the reign of Vijayālaya (A.D. 850-871), while the Bālasubramaṇya and Sundareśvara; may be placed during the days of his son Āditya I (A.D. 871-907). Vijayālaya's grandson, the great builder Parāntaka I (A.D. 907-955) is credited for the Nāgeśvara, Kuraṅganāth and Brahmapurīśvara; and it appears from the general style that the twin temples of Agastyīśvara and Cholīśvara were completed before the accession of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985), and thus possibly in the reign of Uttamachola (A.D. 969-985).

The earliest of Chola temples, the Vijayālaya Cholīśvara stands elegantly on the eastern slope of Melamalai, at a distance of ten miles from Pudukottai. The main temple is raised on a strong double lotus base with walls running round the *vimāna* and *maṇḍapa*, the monotony of which has been broken with slim pilasters topped by planks. But with the exception of the dvārapālas, that flank the entrance of the *maṇḍapa*, there is no figure sculpture in the ground floor, and as such the spaces between the pilasters are empty. The main shrine or *garbhagṛha* is circular in plan, and is enclosed within a square hall that provides a narrow passage for circumambulation. The *vimāna* together with the *maṇḍapa* gives the building a rectangular shape, and both the components are so integrally connected that in totality the temple shows a rare unity

and balance. The temple complex is, in its turn, enclosed by walls having sub-shrines facing it.

Over the pilasters, the flanking stones and the cut-in typical angular corbels is the curved roll cornice with its *chaitya* arches or *kuḍus* showing laughing faces all round. On every tier under and over the roll cornice are rows of *gaṇas,* gargoyles or *yālis*, apsaras and gods. The superstructure of the *vimāna* rises in three tiers above the *garbhagṛha* and is topped by a *stūpikā*, lower two tiers being square and the upper one circular in shape. The lower tiers have broad parapel walls, the recesses of which contain *apsaras* showing the graceful poses of southern *Bharata Nāṭya* dance. On the third tier, below the *stūpikā* are great stone bulls or Nandis, and in between the bulls are four elaborate *chaitya* arches with niches containing portraits of Śiva in his various aspects. The *maṇḍapa* is flat-roofed, and there are monolithic pillars crowned with bracket capitals to support the roof. The Vijayālaya Cholīśvara is undoubtedly one of the finest examples of early Chola temples, and by combining a superb sense of restraint, as found in the outer walls of the ground floor, and a discerning choice for embellishments noted in its superstructure, it clearly testifies to the aesthetic vision of its builders who were destined to bring the ultimate formulation of the *Drāviḍa* temple style.

In comparison with the Vijayālaya Cholīśvara, the temples of Bālasubramanya and Sundareśvara appear to be less accomplished. Both of them show similar treatment of outer walls of the ground floor with pilasters, heavy roll cornices containing *chaitya* window or *kuḍu* motifs, and integrated disposition of the sanctum and the *maṇḍapa* as noted in the Vijayālaya Cholīśvara. But they are single storeyed buildings; the Sundareśvara showing graded terraces right upto the *śikhara,* while the Bālasubramaṇya having a bell-shaped superstructure just above the sanctum. Aesthetically, however, these two temples resemble the austere appearance of Vijayālaya Cholīśvara.

In the next phase of deveopment of the style this austere gravity makes room for a charming sensuousness. This phase is especially represented by the Kuraṅganātha and Nāgeśvarasvāmī. The Kuraṅganātha at Śrīvāsānallur is one of the finest examples of Chola architecture. It is of modest proportions, and its sanctuary with the attached *maṇḍapa* covers a total length of fifty feet. The whole temple stands in a built-in pit, wherefrom springs the moulded base curved and shaped like an inverted lotus. From this lotus base the *vimāna* soars high up. The *vimāna* is double-storeyed, and, sig-

nificantly, the upper storey is built in brick. The temple is topped by an elaborate square *stūpikā,* having four prominent *chaitya*-niches projected at the four sides. While the outer walls of the *maṇḍapa* retains the severe plainliness of the earlier temples, the walls of the sanctum are found to vibrate with a number of figure sculptures set in niches flanked by pilasters. Deep is the carvings of the mouldings at the base, and so also of the roll cornices and the parapet running above the *maṇḍapa.* The niches and *chaitya*-windows, which decorate the second storev and above are, however, without anv figure sculpture. The entire temple is remarkable for proportionate distribution of parts; and an overall restraint in embellishment, in spite of introducing some life-size figures on the outer walls of the sanctum, characterizes it as a classic creation. A similar simplicitv is also marked in the disposition of various elements in the temple of Nāgeśvarasvāmī at Kumbakonam; but in it life-size figure sculptures, some of which are remarkable pieces, are found to enliiven even the walls of the *maṇḍapa.* The Brahmapurīśvara at Pullamangai also represents the same phase. Like the Nāgeśvara, this temple is also single-storeved, but shows further elaboration in detail in comparision with the Kuraṅganāthā. In the temples of Kuraṅganātha, Nāgeśvarasvāmī, and Brahmapurīśvara, a return to the early Pallava simplicity mav be noted, but at the same time a more rational attitude is marked in relations to purposeful distribution of plain spaces and architectural decorations. Besides, bv introducing brick in the construction of upper storev, the Kuraṅganātha anticipates the great phase of *Drāviḍa* temple style that was to follow immediatelv.

The twin temples of Agastyīśvara and Cholīśvara at Kiliaivur, the tripple shrine or Muvar Kovil at Kodumbalur and the Valīśvara temple at Tiruvalisvara are also remarkable for their individual treatments. For example, the Agastyīśvara shows a square *stūpikā,* while the Cholīśvara a bell-shaped superstructure of extreme simplicitv; the lotus petals of the base of Muvar Kovil is deeply cut, and the Tirubalīśvara shows a temple which is elegant as well as ornate. But none of them shows anv advance over the Kuraṅganātha as an architectural establishment. In fact, the next phase of the *Drāviḍa* temple style after the Kuraṅganātha began only with the great Cholas after A.D. 985.

B. SCULPTURE IN SOUTH INDIA

I. DECCAN

1. *Ajaṇṭā, Aihole, Bādāmī and Paṭṭaḍakal* (c. A.D. 450-750)

An interval of about two hundred and fifty years separates the flourishing days of early rock-cut art and architecture in the Deccan, witnessed at Ajaṇṭā, Bhājā, Kondāne, Pitalkhorā, Nāsik, Kārle and other places, and executed in a period between *c.* 200 B.C. to A.D. 200, from a second phase that began to work again at Ajaṇṭā sometime in the middle of the fifth century A.D., when the region was under the rule of the Vākāṭakas, the illustrious contemporaries of the Imperial Guptas of the North. The earliest rock excavations at Ajaṇṭā in its second phase include the monasteries bearing Cave nos. XVI and XX and the Chaitya hall with No. XIX, all of which are significant for containing commendable relief sculptures. These relief-bearing caves are, however, of about hundred years late and were evidently executed by the officers and ministers of the Vākāṭakas sometime around A.D. 550. The contact that existed between the houses of the Vākāṭakas in the Deccan and the Imperial Guptas of the North appears to have been extremely effective in ushering a new age of cultural efflorescence in the life of Indian people. It is no accident, therefore, that some of the basic traits of Indian classical art that developed in the Āryāvarta also found their expression in the contemporary reliefs of the Deccan. Thus, the figures, mostly of the Buddha, carved on the facade of Cave XIX show their unmistakable closeness to the sculptures executed at Sarnath in the same period. The fully developed plastic treatment of the forms along with a tempered psychological attitude towards life permeates the sculpture of both the centres. But this should, however, be admitted that the intellectual luminosity marked on the faces of Sarnath Buddhas is totally absent in their counterparts at Ajaṇṭā. Insead, certain doctrinal injunctions seem to have turned them somewhat mechanical in expression. The depression of the dimly lit caves seems to have left a lasting impression on them. Otherwise, there is no dearth of sympathy in the delineation of the Master, as may be noted in the scene wherein he has been shown as offering his begging bowl to his son Rāhula at Kapilavastu. In comparison with the Buddha forms much more relaxed and worldly is the depiction of Nāgarāja along with his consort and a *Chaurī*-bearer. Two Yakṣa figures, flanking the huge *chaitya* window of the facade of Cave XIX, are likewise lively in expression and show a commendable treatment of mass in

rhythm. Their massive forms are profusely ornamented, and thus, they offer a spiritual contrast to the severe plainliness of the Buddha forms carved in abundance on the various parts of the facade of the cave. Among the reliefs of Cave XVI especially noteworthy is the representation of a celestial couple for its extremely pleasing plastic treatment.

The figures in the later caves at Ajaṇṭā, such as I, II, IV, XX and XXIX, appear to be of slightly different taste. They are usually treated in an expansve scale and sometimes in an activised form, too. In this phase, which represents the latest of the rock-carvings at Ajaṇṭā and comes down to the seventh century A.D., an additional exuberance may be marked in the delineation of forms. For instance, the reliefs of Hārīti and Pañcikā in Cave II, the Buddha in *dharmachakra* pose in Cave I, and the huge and extended Buddha in his *mahāparinirvāṇa* in Cave XXVI, are examples of massiveness that found its further expression in the rock-carving of Ellorā and Elephanta. The scene depicting Māra's daughters as tempting Buddha, found in Cave XX, is also significant for its bearing on similar scenes of group dancers and musicians noted at the latter centres. It seems that many of the norms displayed at Ellorā and Elephanta were already set forth at Ajaṇṭā in its last phase and this is particularly true so far as the physiognomical types of female beauties are concerned. Take for example, the sensitive and relaxed shapes of Yamunā in Cave XX and the *apasaras* at the right upper part of the door-frame of the *chaitya,* bearing Cave no. IV. Both the figures show tri-bend flexions, characteristic bulge of the hip and globular shape of the bossoms, which are, no doubt, typical traits of female forms met with in the early medieval Deccanese sculptures of Ellorā, Aurangabad and Elephanta. The sculptures found at Aihole, Bādāmī, and Paṭṭaḍakal also testify to the fact that the basic concepts of depicting figures in stone in the Deccan were formulated in the seventh century A.D., when the region was politically guided by the Chālukyas of Bādāmī.

In the annals of the Deccanese art and architecture of the sixth-seventh century A.D. Aihole, where the Western Chālukyas had their beginning, both as a military power and a patron of arts, seems to have been the counterpart of Mahābalīpuram of the South. For the genesis of a new art movement that was destined to have a full play not only at Bādāmī and Paṭṭaḍakal, but also in the far distant centres like Ellorā, Aurangabad and Elephanta of the subsequent period, had its humble start at this old township on the river Mālaprabhā. The art activities of Aihole thrived in two distinct phases, first in the sixth and the seventh centuries and again in the twelfth and the

thirteenth centuries. The entire art movemnet of the place in its early phase was confined to the reign periods of the four Chālukya kings, viz. Pulakeśin I (A.D. 553-567), Kīrtivarman I (A.D. 567-597), Maṅgaleśa (A.D. 597-609) and Pulakeśin II (A.D. 609-642), and continued without interruption for about one hundred years. As in the evolution of temple types, so in the development of the art of sculpture, a number of stages may be marked here. The earliest sculptural stage has been represented by the reliefs noted in the Kontguḍi group of temples. Several divine and human personages are found carved on the facade and in the interior of the temples. Unfortunately, most of the figures are severely damaged and, thus, leave no scope for stylistic consideration. However, in the veranda-like maṇḍapa of the temple group, on three huge ceiling slabs are found three interesting sculptures of Brahmā, Umā-Maheśvara and Viṣṇu, arranged left to right keeping Maheśvara couple at the centre, almost in *situ*. Each of the principal deities shows fully developed iconic type. Brahmā with his three faces, frontal one in a pleasing smile, seats on a clearly chiselled fully blossomed lotus and holds his known *āyudhas*. Śiva in his *jaṭāmukuṭa* bears in hands *triśūla-dhvaja* and serpents, while Umā seats on his left lap in an uncomfortable manner. Viṣṇu is shown lying on Ananta; but for the downward direction of the panel the god appears to be in a standing posture, while the coils of the great snake provides a decorative background. Stylistically, each of these sculptures betrays a feeling for details and the artist responsible for them appears to have sufficient control over the chisel. This is particularly evident from the minute carving of the snake Ananta, and also in the representation of the lotus-seat of Brahmā. Although the sculptor was aware of the expressions of gods, all of whom appear to be in a benevolent mood, his capacity in depicting psychological aspect of an anthropomorphic form remains to be limited to a mere smiling countenance. Despite its slim and proportionate shape, the plastic treatment of the Viṣṇu is rather stiff. The trunk of the Brahmā image is obviously stunted; but the figure of Śiva is undoubtedly much more balanced and elegant. The overall impression of these examples is that of a stage when certain early conventions restrict a growing plastic conception. The growing elements are, of course, the plastic norms that were to be developed in the next phases not only at Aihole but also at Bādāmī and Paṭṭaḍakal. The sculptures noticed in the Lād Khān temple at Aihole include at least three interesting couples and an image of Yamunā. These sculptures are stunted in form, but their plastic treatment is essentially classical in tone. The application of the laws of various degrees of flexion imparts to them a rare grace

that could not be marked in the examples of Kontguḍi. Two of the three couples are shown in clear frontal pose and appear to be reminiscent of the healthy pair carved on the face of the rock-out cave at Kārle. But the Yamunā figure and the couple depicted on its corresponding pillar base are of extreme interest for their clear display of the characteristics usually associated with the Gupta classicism. Fully developed rounded plasticity and pliability of their limbs, along with a pronounced feeling for linearism, and especially the cadence noticed in the female figure of the couple, focuses on the fact that the classical idioms of the North received a new impetus in the Deccan sometime in the closing years of the sixth century A.D. In the next century, too, classicism continued at Aihole as the chief expression. For instance, the representation of Kārttikeya on a peacock, carved on the ceiling of the maṇḍapa of the Huchimalliguḍī temple is, despite its swaying movement, a clear reverberation of the Gupta type of Kārttikeya discovered at Banaras. Similarly, the Nārāyaṇa on Ananta, found on the ceiling of the Huchchappayya-Matha, reminds the Viṣṇu images carved on the niches of the Daśāvatāra temple at Deogarh. But a tendency for elongating the figures, in a manner noticed in the Pallava style, is also witnessed in some examples of the Huchchappayya-Maṭha reliefs. And this tendency appears to have been further strengthened in the rock-cut shrine of Ravana-phadi, situated in the vicinity of the temple site at Aihole. The images of Śiva as dvārapāla, dancer, Harihara and Ardhanārīśvara, and specially the Mātṛikā forms of the cave show characteristics of the Pallava sculpture, such as slim and attenuated figures with an overwhelming emphasis on linearism, which has been accentuated by the full play of the hands and legs, as well as the tapering shape of the headgears. Lines incised on the clothes of the figures are also indicative of a new element in the domain of Chālukya sculpture. It is not unlikely that the Ravanaphadi shrine was cut out in a period when the Pallavas were ruling at Aihole after the devastating defeat of Pulakeśin II in their hands in A.D. 642. Thus, a steady stylstic evolution of the sculptures worked out at Aihole may be traced, and in this evolution at least four marked stages are clearly discernible in the examples of Kontguḍi, Lād Khān, Huchimallaguḍī and Huchchappayya-Maṭha and Ravanaphadi.

The Chālukya capital was shifted from Aihole to Bādāmī by Pulakeśin I, and, to speak from the viewpoint of sculpture, too, this movement was extremely effective. It is because Bādāmī shows a clear advance over the experiences recorded in the art of Aihole. Among a number of rock-cut caves at Bādāmī, at least three are significant

for containing reliefs of a very formidable standard, and they are Caves I, II and III. Cave I, which is a Śaiva shrine, is apparently the oldest, while Caves II and III follow it and they are presumably contemporary to each other. As an inscription of Maṅgaleśa dated A.D. 578 has been found on a pillar of Cave III, it is believed that the cave along with Cave II belong to the latter half of the sixth century A.D., while Cave I is stylistically assignable to the middle of the same century.

The reliefs found in the caves at Bādāmī are, admittedly, finest among the Chālukya sculptures. For instance, look at the multi-armed dancing Śiva in Cave I for movement and cadence, the Harihara of the same cave for pent-up energy, the dvārapāla of Cave II for relaxed mood, and the Trivikrama and Varāha forms of Viṣṇu in the latter for surging vigour vocalized through their diagonal thrust. The Trivikrama carved to shape in Cave III is, however, much more monumental in form and definitely of a higher grade. Here a classical detachment on the part of the deity makes him a real god, and his ornamentations, as found in the huge headgear, broad necklace, and pendent earrings, and also in flowing garland and the sacred threads, are the works of minute details. This love for details noticed in the delineation of ornaments as well as in the treatment of individuals seems to be a characteristic of the art of the Chālukyas, and it was first evident in the depiction of three major deities, viz. Brahmā, Umā-Maheśvara and Viṣṇu, on the ceiling of the maṇḍapa of the Kont-guḍi temples at Aihole. This aspect of the Chālukya sculpture will be further apparent when they are compared with the plainliness of the Pallava reliefs noted at Mahābalīpuram. The images of Harihara and Narasiṁha also in Cave III, are equally significant as sculptures of a very high order. The slightly bent stance of the half lion and half human incarnation of Viṣṇu remains to be the most dignified expression of the deity so far depicted in Indian art. These sculptures of Bādāmī represent some of the best examples of the Deccanese version of Indian classical expression, and they clearly show that the version was never aesthetically inferior to that of the Āryāvarta. The Śaivite image from Parel, Bombay, famous for the god's multiple representation and remarkable for its vital force, seems to be plastically connected with the experience of Bādāmī sculpture.

If Bādāmī was the logical development of Aihole, Paṭṭaḍakal seems to be a worthy successor of Bādāmī. Paṭṭaḍakal, standing on the left bank of the river Malaprabhā and some five miles farther down in eastern direction from Bādāmī, had been significant as a place of coronation of the Chālukya rulers and grew up as a temple city in

the seventh-eighth century A.D. Among the temples erected at the place, the most renowned are Pāpanātha, Virupākṣa and Mallikārjuna. The Virupākṣa and the Mallikārjuna were originally named as Lokeśvara and Trailokeśvara, respectively, and were constructed by the two queens of Vikramāditya (A.D. 733-744). From the stylistic consideration the Pāpanātha should be placed before these two temples, sometime towards the end of the seventh century A.D. The sculptures of the temple, for instance, the panel depicting the dancing Siva with Pārvatī, immediately remind the sculptures of Bādāmi for their composition as well as treatment of mass. It is, however, interesting to note that the Pāpanāth introduces the illustrations in relief of the episodes from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*, the practice which found further encouragements in the temples of Virupākṣa and Mallikārjuna. However, the best examples of the Paṭṭaḍḍkal sculpture are found in the Virupākṣa temple. The amorous couples, carved on the lower parts of its sixteen pilasters, are almost lifelike and bear the testimony to the artist's awareness of the social environments. Among the amorous couples may be noticed Kāma and Rati, marked by their iconographic characteristics. A medallion representing a mounted elephant charging a horse, is of extreme significance for its realistic execution reminding the similar in the Mughal miniatures. The Śaiva dvārapālas flanking the shrine shrine door of the temple display monumental strength in relaxation, a mood of expression frequently met with among the sculptures of Bādāmī. The physical movements shown in the figures of Naṭarāja and Rāvaṇa as shaking the Kailāsa are undoubted precursors of the whirling actions found at Ellorā. Whether in the selection of subject matters, or in the setting of physiognomical twpes the art of the Western Chālukyas, noted at Tihole, Ajaṇṭā, Bādāmī and Paṭṭaḍakal, appears to be the forerunner of the art of Ellorā, Aurangabad and Elephanta that flourished immediately after.

2. *Ellorā, Aurangabad and Elephanta* (c. A.D. 650-985)

In the annals of rock-cut art in India, the position of Ellorā is unrivalled. The place flourished for about six hundred years as a centre of great artistic activity and all the major faiths prevalent in the time, viz., Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism, found their vigorous expressions on its rocks. There are three distinct groups of rock excavations at Ellorā, indicating separate marches of the faiths, and among them the Buddhist caves appear to be the earliest in date, covering approixmately a period streaching from A.D. 600 to 900 The

Brahmanical group followed the suit and they flourished between A.D. 650 and 1000, while the Jain group, beginning its work in the eighth century, extended the activity of the centre up to the end of twelfth century A.D.

Although the Buddhists initiated in carving the rocks at Ellorā, their art adds nothing commendably new to their achievements already recorded at Ajaṇṭā in its late phases. In spite of technical assurance and iconographical precision, noted for instance in the *mānushī* Buddha and Bodhisattva sculptures carved in rows in the Tin Thal Cave (no. XII), the Buddhist figures show an unmistakable conventionalization resulted from the domination of religious doctrine over the inspiration of the artist. The sharp chiselling and high polish of the form fail to inspire emotive feelings in the spectator, and this failure seems to be not only of the sculptor but also of the moribund state of the religion concerned.

The Brahmanical enterprises at Ellorā, however, brought into effect a new artistic wake that has no parallel in the domain of art of the entire sub-continent. The Brahmanical caves excavated in the seventh century A.D. include Rāvaṇa-Kā-Khāi (no. XIV), Daśāvatāra (no. XV), Rāmeśvara (no. XXI) and Dhumar Leṇā (no. XXIX), all of which are significant for containing sculptures of great merit. The physiognomical types experimented at Aihole and finalized at Paṭṭaḍakal appear to have set norms for the figures worked out n these caves. But the success of the sculptor of Ellorā does not rest on the types but in a rare capability of infusing life to the figures carved out of stone. The figures once confined to their respective places, now appear to be freed from their lithic background, and like living forms they move in different directions. In short, the reliefs of Ellorā of the period are permeated with a liveliness that is not usually found even in Indian sculpture. A steady transformation in composition, from setting the main figure in vertical to diagonal, may be traced through the sculptures of Aihole, Bādāmī, Paṭṭaḍakal and Ellorā. At Ellorā, this diagonalism seems to have taken its final shape in the excellent reliefs of the Daśāvatāra cave. The panels depicting Andhakāsura-vadha and Tripurāntaka aspects of Śiva, and also his role as the protector of his follower Mārkaṇḍeya from Yama, the diagonal representation of the god is found to be made with a geometrical precision. But this compositional set up appears to have reached to its finality in the panel representing Śiva as dancing *lalita* in the same cave. His rhythmic stance as well as the swing of his right front hand has been represented with a skill that is not usually noticed even at Ellorā. Of the relief-panels found in the

Rāvaṇa-Kā-Khāi Cave specially noteworthy are those portraying Śiva dancing *lalita* and Rāvaṇa shaking the mount Kailāsa.

From the plan of the caves and some of their sculptures it appears that the rock excavations at Aurangabad took place sometime in the second half of the seventh century A.D. and, thus, they fall between the above discussed Ellorā caves and the famous rock-hewn temple named Kailāsa which is evidently datable in the first half of the eighth century A.D. The sculptures of Aurangabad caves are remarkable for their plastic treatment. Here the figures, the worshippers of Cave III in particular, show a clear predilection for mass, and their placing in an advancing row along with carvings almost in the round testify to the introduction of a new element in relief sculpture. An worshipping female figure, with her fully developed lip and breast, may be cited as an example of the love for plastic volume borne by the Aurangabad sculptor. Another interesting aspect of the reliefs at the place relates to the compositional layout of one of its panels. This panel, belonging to Cave VII, presents a dancing female figure of extreme elegance at the centre along with female accompanists three on each side. The composition of the panel shows a half circle, at the middle of which stands the dancing form. So lively is the scene that one feels the cadence of the dancer and the bits of the music when he stands before it. A number of Bodhisattva and Tārā images, noted in the Aurangabad caves, are also significant for their balanced and proportionate execution. From the plastic qualities of the figures it seems that the Buddhist art in the Deccan showed its last flash at Aurangabad.

From the high rock of Aurangabad we must move to Elephanta, an island six miles away from the shore of Bombay in the Arabian sea, to trace the line of stylistic development of the Deccanese sculpture. For whether in posture or in form the fabulous figures of the Elephanta cave are undoubtedly connected with the imges found at Aurangabad. But the over all spirit as well as scale of Elephanta is, no doubt, far above the reach of the sculptors responsible for Aurangabad reliefs. This will be more than evident from the *Maheśamūrti*[1], the three-faced bust of Śiva, to which the island owes much of its fame. In this sculpture, Śiva, the suprēme god, has been represented in his full manifestation. His calm central face, resting on a chest of stupendous proportions, which is, again, adorned by rows of necklaces, bears on it mountain-like locks of hairs encircled by an elaborate tiara, and having a crest above in the shape of a

1. The nomenclature *Maheśamūrti* does not seem to be accurate. The image is syncretistic one combining Śiva in his placid and terrific aspects with his consort Umā. See *ante*, pp. 912-13, KKDG.

kītimukha. The expression of the face is that of *yogin*: a meditā tive mind permeates the oval countenance and the eyes are closed in deep concentration. One of the hands of this central form, which represents the god as a preserver, holds a citron, while the other is damaged. To the left of the spectator is the grim face of Bhairava, an aspect of Śiva representing destruction, and, significantly, it is in the shadow. The protruded forehead, curved nose, twirling moustache and cruel mouth hold terror. Symbols of death, a skull and serpents, adorn his hair, and, again, he bears another serpent in his hand. In contrast, the face to the right of the spectator, representing the god in Vāmadeva form, shows a pleasing feminine aspect of creation. The face itself is female and found to blossom in a sensitive and relaxed expression with soft cheek and fully developed lips. This aspect holds a lotus in hand, while the hair is bedecked with festoons of pearls and fresh flowers and leaves. Thus in this grand representation the supreme god Śiva is depicted in his full cosmic circle as destroyer, preserver and creator. This eighteen-feet high lofty form, which inspires veneration in its spectator by a sheer existence, is, no doubt, one of the magnificent human creations and an eloqent testimony to the spiritual ascendency of Indian art in the line already set by the Parel example. Thus, it readily reminds the much celebrated Buddha image of Sarnath, another climax of spiritual expression in India. But, in spite of a common meditative *yogic* stance, the sculptures are unmistakably different, and this difference is religious and metaphysical, regional and cultural, and thus, relates to the evolutionary background of the respective images. Though classical in expression, the sculptures in the cave of Elephanta are lineally inseparable from the Deccanese tradition of mighty rock-cut art, the early beginning of which is marked in the examples of Bhājā and Kārle. And this affinity seems to be undeniable when we approach the panels cut out in the cave representing some significant mythical exploits of Śiva. In these panels the experiences of the Deccanese artists, who worked at Bhājā and Kārle, Ajaṇṭā and Bādāmī, appears to have fully crystallized, and, so to speak, in the finalization of the technique the experiences of the sculptors of far south, that is of Mahābalīpuram, were also taken into account. This will be borne out by the panel, wrought on the wall to the right of the spectator facing the Maheśamūrti, and representing descent of the heavenly river Gangā on earth at the behest of Bhagīratha, the legendary king, for sanctifying the mortal remains of his forefathers who died of the wrath of the great sage Kapila. The entire panel is found compositionally divided into two parts and at the centre, in the background of a vertically running

crevice stands Śiva in the action of receiving the violent impact of the river in her descent from heaven. The Gaṅgā has been depicted as a three-headed goddess just above the hairlocks of Śiva, while Bhagīratha is shown as kneeling at the bottom to the left of the great god. The swaying figure of Śiva symbolizes the flowing river, while Pārvatī, standing near by, humanizes the entire panel by turning his face to other side. Brahmā, Viṣṇu and other companions of the god are also presented in the scene. Overall impact of the panel, and its composition in particular, is that of a miniature of the huge *Kīrātārjunīyam* scene of Mahābalīpuram. The very division of the entire panel with the help of a vertical crevice clearly indicates that the sculptor of Elephanta was quite aware of the great lithic experiment of the Pallava counterpart. To the opposite of the Gaṅgā vataraṇa panel is the relief of Ardhanārīśvara. In it Śiva has been shown in unison with Umā as leaning on his mount Nandin. Here, too, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Indra and other companions of Śiva are found depicted surrounding the main Ardhanārīśvara form. Compositionally compact and plastically pronounced, the scene leaves pleasing impact on the viewer. Two panels, executed on two side walls at the rear of the chapel that enshrines liṅga, are also significant for their classic grandeur and epic scale. One of them represents Śiva as the destroyer of Andhaka demon, and the other his marriage with Pārvatī. These two panels, depicting two themes of contrasting sentiments (*rasas*), display the high aesthetic attainments of the sculptor. In the former, Śiva has been shown in his fierce ruthless aspect as a destroyer of the demon with a physical vehemence very much suitable for the action. The full play of his numerous hands, particularly one brandishing a heavy sword, and his grinning teeth are really awe inspiring. And what a contrast has been achieved in the panel just to the opposite of this cruel one. Here Śiva has been represented in his most pleasing mood, as the *Kalyāṇa-sundara,* in the act of marrying Pārvatī. In the presence of heavenly members he is shown as accepting the girl from Parvata, the father of Pārvatī, while Brahmā is found to act the religious performance. An interesting aspect of the scene is the fully developed forms of Śiva and Pārvatī, which are, no doubt, the best examples of anthropomorphic types carved in the cave. And it is undeniable that they immediately recall the shapes so precisely chiselled out in the caves of Aurangabad. Indeed, Śiva of the panel is nothing but a follow up of the Bodhisattva form depicted in Cave VII at Aurangabad.

In spite of the magnitude of the reliefs of Elephanta, the final achievement of the Deccanese sculpture waited to be executed in the Kailāsa temple at Ellorā. The entire temple complex of the

Kailāsa, the abode of and, hence, dedicated to Śiva, was excavated out of the live rock in the third quarter of the eighth century A.D. under the patronage of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Krisṇa I (A.D. 756-78). As a work of art the temple itself is a unique example of sculpting and the superb carvings, depicting the myths and legends associated with the god (Śiva) and stories from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* which it bears on its walls, are grand in conception and facile in execution. Indeed, these reliefs have substantially contributed to the rich repertoire of Indian art. By way of illustrations one may refer to the exquisite example like Rāvaṇa's shaking of the mount Kailāsa, Naṭarāja, Kalyāṇasundara and Gajāntaka forms of Śiva, various incarnations of Viṣṇu including Varāha and Nṛsiṁha forms, and several incidents from the Epics. It appears that some of the basic themes which recurred time and again in the Deccanese art reached to their final form in the reliefs of the Kailāsa. For instance, the incident of Rāvaṇa's shaking of Kailāsa had been depicted in the Virupākṣa temple at Paṭṭaḍakal, and this has also been represented in the Kailāsa. In both the representations the incident has fully been realized by showing Rāvaṇa as uprooting the mount Kailāsa. But while the Virupākṣa panel shows a simple composition made out more or less in vertical terms, the Kailāsa relief displays altogether a different mode of expression. Here Rāvaṇa is depicted as attempting to whirl the mount above his head with his ten pairs of hands on the axis of his trunk which, in its turn, is solidly squatted on the ground. Though limited is his success, the tremor of the rock has been felt by the divine pair, and being shaked up Pārvatī leans back on Śiva for support, while one of their attendants is clearly shown as fleeing. But the god keeps himself calm and unagitated and saves the situation by the simple gesture of pressing down a foot. This scene, no doubt, has been visualized in a full epic scale and thus is far advanced in plan and execution from the one noticed in the Virupākṣa temple. It seems that between these two representations comes the third one carved in the Dhumar Leṇā cave. It is possible that this example of Dhumar Leṇā inspired the sculptor of the Kailāsa to take up the theme. For, in both the representations *dramatis personae* are same, but while the figures in the Dhumar Leṇā are shown as totally unconcerned of Rāvaṇa's fit, and thus extremely idealized, those of the Kailāsa panel appear to be fully activized by the action, and thus the latter scene is decidedly realistic. In similar manner some of the well-known themes of the Śaiva, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta mythology are found to have reached to their culmination in the works executed in the Kailāsa. Thus, for example, come the Mahiṣamardinī panel on the north

wall of Raṅgamahal and the dancing Śiva on the ceiling of the same component. These two reliefs, as also the Andhakāsuravadha-mūrti of Śiva, seem to be some of the best examples of the Kailāsa sculpture. Besides, there are a few isolated panels which may draw attention of a discriminating spectator. Among them to be noted first is the couple in 'kiss' found on the balustrade of Laṅkeśvara and remarkable for its passionate embrace. The panel representing Jaṭāyu preventing Rāvaṇa in his abduction of Sīta is another brilliant example of the deft attained by the Kailāsa sculptor. And the leaping Hanumān, on a plain extensive surface of the wall, shows the high aesthetic ability of the Kailāsa artist in utilizing open space. Hence the Kailāsa at Ellorā, expresses myriad moods, be it the ecstatic dance of Śiva or the fury of Śiva-Bhairava, with appropriate and consummate sincerity. The figures, usually depicted in deep niches between high pilasters, show detailed and differentiated modelling made effective through deep and graduated cutting of the stone. And in the physiognomical types of the figures may be noted a happy absorption of the slender shapes of the south by the mighty and ponderous forms of the Deccanese rock-cut tradition.

But this was a short lived period, and immediately after the creative phase in the Kailāsa, the art of Ellorā became insipid and conventionalized in the caves of the Jainas. And after a few hundred years the stolidity and volume of the Deccanese art found a new expression in the mechanical and florid but otherwise a deftly executed art of the Hoysalas in Karṇāṭaka.

II. TAMIL LAND

1. *Mahābalīpuram* (*c.* A.D. 600-668)

Mahābalīpuram stands out as one of the most prominent art centres of south India. Its importance as a place of experimentations in the development of South Indian temple style has already been discussed. The illustrious reign periods of Mahendravarman I (*c.* A.D. 600-30) and Narasimhavarman Māmalla (*c.* A.D. 630-668) are equally significant for contributions in the field of plastic art. Nourished essentially on the rich harvest of the Āndhra school, the Pallava sculptor made himself acquainted with the experiences of his counterparts in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Valley, Malwa and the Deccan and, then, by virtuosity of his own genius introduced a new standard to be known for its prolific and variegated out put, the bulk of which was executed at Mahābalīpuram, the ancient port, from where the influence of the school spread across the Bay of Bengal to different islands.

The Pallava sculptures noticed at Mahābalīpuram may be divided

into following categories: (i) the great *Kirātārjunīyam* relief executed on a live rock; (ii) rectangular panels of the *maṇḍapas,* i.e. the rock-cut cave-shrines; (iii) the relief figures on the walls of the monolithic *rathas;* and (iv) a number of isolated sculptures in the round. Conceptually as well as technically most significant work of Mahābalīpuram is the extensive panel that has been identified as depicting the mythological story of the feud between Arjuna and Śiva in his disguise of a Kirāta. The genesis of the story is found in the *Vanaparpan* of the *Mahābhārata.* But in this relief the sculptor appears to have followed the version of the famous *Kāvya, Kīrtārjunīyam,* by Bhāravi. The work was executed during the reign of Mahendravarman I, who happened to be an admirer of the poet.

The story of the 'Kīrāta's feud with Arjuna', also known as 'Arjuna's penance', is found carved on the surface of a rock measuring 90'×50', of which three-fourths are completed and one-fourth at the lower left end remains unfinished. The power of imagination of the master-artist is more than apparent from the very selection of the carrier that is to bear on it a challenging theme already dealt with successfully by a great poet of the age. A fissure running vertically divides the entire surface of the rock into two almost equal halves. This fissure could have posed an unsurmountable problem in unifying two parts of the rock to an average sculptor. But the genius of the master-artist turned it into a flowing Gaṅgā and, thus, instead of separating the theme into two, it brings together two different myths, both occurring on the banks of the sacred river, by bridging the gap of the intervening time. Of the two myths, one is 'Arjuna's feud with Śiva as a Kirāta, and the other is the story of Nara Nārāvaṇa representing the third Pāṇḍava as Nara and Viṣṇu as Nāryāyana. The importance of the vertically flowing Gaṅgā is, however, not limited only to the theme of this huge panel; it also plays a pivotal role in the entire composition, for. all the figures, human, divine and animal, are found to move laterally from two sides to the flowing river. Hence this adoption of a crevice as an integral element of the entire panel appears to be one of the most marvellous examples of ingenuity shown by the Indian artists.

The layout of the grand panel divides the entire surface of the rock in four to five tiers in which figures of various categories are depicted as moving horizontally. It seems that these tiers represent different worlds, such as terrestrial, nether, aerial, stellar and celestial in ascending stages, and each of these worlds is shown with its usual inhabitants. For example, in the regions that may be termed terrestrial, one may witness wild animals including lions, elephants, deer, monkeys, rabbits, squirrels, rats, etc. in their respective beha-

viour, and in the aerial and celestial regions the *gandharvas* and *kinnaras, gaṇas* and *devas, vidyadharas* and *siddhas*. The sympathy of the artist is, however, equal to all beings and he remains the same painstaking executioner all through in depicting any of the figures, whether a grinning monkey or an elusive squirrel on one hand and the flying *vidyadharas* and the worshipping ascetic on the other. The figures are in high relief and they are carved in abundance to cover the entire face of the cliff; but such is their arrangement that the panel in its entirety never appears to be over worked. No artificial frame or boundary delimits the composition which overflows the rock to the ground, as in the monkey family situated to the left. Here the rock itself has turned into the material, every feature of which, whether it is a bulge or a cavity, and not excluding the crevice running vertically, has been judiciously utilized to suit needs of the theme. It seems that earlier conception of rock-carving noticed at Bhājā and Udayagiri has reached to a culmination at Mahābalīpuram. Here the concept of rock-carving attains a supreme expression in which the entire mass of the rock, as Kramrisch observes, "allows itself to organize into relief."[2] The vast composition is full of figures, almost all in life-size, representing men and animals, birds and trees, gods and semi-divine beings. Every figure has, however, been visualized in plastic terms and executed with a loving care. One may, for instance, note the life-like elephant family moving towards the Gaṅgā along with the calfs, the hermit approaching the river with a pitcher on his left shoulder to carry back its sacred water, or the deer couple the male member of which is shown as scratching his nose with a hind leg. It seems that the animal forms are of especial interest for the sculptor of the great panel. Though figured in idealised proportions, each of the anthropomorphic forms also breathes an air of clear realism. Usually the figures are shown in supple and graceful slenderness and with refined contours which could scarcely be improved upon. But there are also instances, as in the case of the ascetic Brahmin or that of Arjuna's penance, where the artist's approach is sheer naturalistic. Indeed, he seems to be a keen observer of the nature, nay, almost a naturalist, and, therefore, succeeded in portraying the behaviour even of the lower animals like squirrel, rat, rabbit, cat and tortoise—not to speak of elephant, deer and monkey—with a sympathy and knowledge seldom found elsewhere in Indian representational art. Although innumerable figures of various kinds are found to crowd the extensive composition, everything appears to be well placed and all

2 *Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1933, p. 79.

of them well integrated. A restraint movement permeates the figures with poise and dignity, and nowhere they are found to be vehement in actions and gestures.

The overall impression is one of joy and ecstacy of existence, and yet a high sense of detachment pervades all through and breathes an air which is essentially classical. It seems that "the epic myth serves as the vehicle, not for any spiritual quest, but for depicting life in its natural surroundings".[3] The grand panel of Mnhābalīpuram appears to be inspired in many ways by the murals wrought on the walls of Ajaṇṭā caves. It is not altogether unlikely that the master-artist who planned the panel aspired to translate an epic theme in a scale usually envisaged in a mural and at the same time grant it a permanency, and, thus, a masterpiece, "a regular fresco in stone", came into being.

Some of the reliefs executed in rectangular panels of the *maṇḍapas*, and grouped under second category by us, retain to a great extent the verve of the open-air *Kīratarjunīyam* panel. For example, we may refer to the scenes of Durgā fighting with the buffalo demon and Viṣṇu in his eternal sleep on the coils of Ananta, both in the Mahiṣamardinī cave, Viṣṇu as Varāha raising the goddess Earth from the ocean in the Varāha Cave II, and Kṛṣṇa lifting mount Govardhana in the Kṛṣṇa-maṇḍapa. Each of these indoor panels is individually planned and, in spite of their common rectangular framing, none of them is compositionally a repetition of another. The panel representing Durgā as fighting with the buffalo demon is full of action and here the compositional emphasis is chiefly on the diagonals. In the scene showing Visnu in *yoganidrā* on his serpent-couch, the panel has been visualized mainly in horizontal terms. But two standing figures, one brandishing his club, near the feet of the god, not only infuse an element of drama to otherwise a quiet scene, but also create a compositional diversion with their vertical presence. The panel depicting Viṣṇu as Varāha, who raises the goddess Earth from the ocean where she had been submerged, the emphasis is, as it should be, on the vertical thrust. In all the scenes the artist appears to have arranged the figures following the spirit of the theme and his success in presenting them in pictorial terms is almost proverbial. The intensely lively pastoral scene of the milking of the cow, as found in the panel illustrating the mythic story of Kṛṣṇa's lifting of mount Govardhana, may be specially noted as an early flash of genre art in India, a thing that had been destined to flourish later in the hands of the *Rajasthani* and *Pahari* painters.

3 Saraswati, S. K., *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta, 1957, p. 167.

There are also other reliefs at Mahābalīpuram that belong to the temples, termed *rathas*, cut out of live rock and form the third category of our classification. Among these reliefs, placed in the low sunk, vertically set, rectangular panels flanked by pilasters, are found some of the finest examples of Pallava sculpture. Lineally connected with the tall and slender Āndhra type, these sculptures are much more simplified and generalized in modelling and show discipline and restraint that were not usually met with in the early examples found at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍā. The figures generally set in vertical stances, appear to have been guided by the flanking shafts of pilasters and, despite the pliability marked in their plastic treatment, they are unmistakably architectural in character. Standing on long legs, and with slim arms, they are usually with high pointed crowns; their overall emphasis is always on the verticals and in conformity with the architectural discipline of the *rathas*. They represent both gods and mortals, and, as we know from the inscriptions, some of them are portraits of the Pallava monarchs, viz. Siṁhaviṣṇu, Mahendravarman I and Narasiṁhavarman, first two being accompanied with their queens. Male figures are shown as epitome of masculine strength with their broad shoulders and erect trunks and this is not only true for the forms of kings and divinities but also of ordinary men, although the latter are shown in comparative ease of posture and attitude. In contrast the female shapes are much slighter and thinner with their narrow chests, close shoulders and small breasts. By temperament also they appear to be docile and apparently dependent on their more vigorous male partners. Their strength is not in robustness but in faminine grace, and this has been especially accentuated by their elegant flexions. "But whether it is a male or a female, a god or a king (there is nothing to distinguish them except by the inscription), a divinity or an ordinary mortal, a disciplined impersonal attitude characterizes all facial and bodily appearances".[4] This attitude is, however, not born of any deep spiritual experience; it represents only a "formal acceptance of life with a cultured aristocratic detachment."[5]

The sculptors at Mahābalīpuram were not confined only to the carvings of reliefs. They unleashed an unprecedented energy on the live rocks at the place and transformed many of them into *ratha* temples. These *ratha* temples, when considered from the technical viewpoint, are nothing but examples of enormous sculptures in the round. But for their significance in the development of South Indian

4 R. C. Majumdar (ed), *Classical Age*, Bombay, 1962, p. 538.
5 *Ibid.*

temple style we have, however, already discussed them in the section dealing with architecture. Apart from these *rathas,* there are a number of isolated pieces of sculpture in the round scattered at Mahābalīpuram. For instance, the bull near the Kṛṣṇa-maṇḍapa, the elephant near the Sahadeva *ratha,* the lion standing in front of the Draupadī *ratha,* the bull beside the Arjuna *ratha,* etc. may be noted. In the depiction of bull and elephant the Pallava sculptor shows his usual familiarity with the object and both the animals thus bear the stamp of Pallava realism. The lion figure near the Draupadī *ratha,* as also the Durgā's lion found within the enclosure of the shore temple, is, however, much more conventionalized in its representation. But among the sculptures treated in round at Mahabalipuram, by far the most significant is the monkey family carved out of a live rock near the hill bearing the extensive *Kīrātārjunīyam* panel. The members of the monkey family, showing the male picking vermin off the female while the latter suckles her two little babies, appear to have been thoroughly humanized by the empathy of the artist.

Along with the rock-cut and structural architecture the art of carving also flourished at various other centres in the Pallava kingdom. Reliefs representing decorative designs, deities and mythological stories were freely used to embellish religious establishments. But as found in the highly ornate Kailālasanātha and Vaikuṇtha Perumal temples at Kaāñchīpuram, both attributed to the time of Narasiṁhavarman II (c. A.D. 695-722), they are usually of iconic interest and seldom add anything creative to the achievements already recorded at Mahābalīpuram. Instead, a stiffening conventionalization of forms, marked by a firmer outline, and an emphasis on ornamentation steadily appeared to work in the Pallava sculpture produced after the glorious days of Mahendravarman I and Narasiṁhavarman Māmalla.

2. *Early Chola* (A.D. 850-985)

Along with the temple architecture the art of sculpting also flourished during the early phase of the Chola rule (A.D. 850-985) in South India. A difference may, however, be noted in the development of sculptures of the period from that of the temples. The early Chola temples, such as, Vijayālaya Cholīśvara (main temple) at Narttamalai and Kuraṅganātha at Srinivasanallur, succeeded with their golden proportions and meticulous finish in breathing a fresh air after the chocking experiences of cumbersome over ornamentation of the late Pallava temples. But an examination of stone sculptures on the walls of early Chola temples reveals that they are in-

separably linked up with the Pallava tradition of representational art, and there is nothing discernable in them to be termed as Chola from stylistic consideration. No doubt, here and there a number of notable sculptures are found, but they hardly contribute anything new to visual aesthetics. Sculptures found in the niches on the walls of the Muvar Kovil temple at Kadambalur, viz. Vīṇādhara, Naṭarāja, Gajasaṁhāra, etc., are lively pieces with feeling for movement and plasticity. The Dakṣiṇāmūrti (Śiva), situated under the arch of the dome of Cholīśvara temple, is also a good piece of work. The relaxed posture of the god and the sensitive treatment of his face testify to the class of its draughtsmanship. But the qualities that attract the spectator towards these sculptures are found much more generally and clearly present in Pallava reliefs of Mahābalīpuram. The gigantic form of the dvārapāla, i.e. gate-keeper, of the same temple is also remarkable for the vigour it expresses, still as a work of art it fails to evolve a new style. The situation, however, favourably changes about the middle of the tenth century A.D., the period representing the second phase of the early Chola art. The Valīśvara Naṭarāja, a figure on the upper tier of the Valīśvara temple at Tiruvālīśvaram, datable just before the accession of Rājarāja I (A.D. 985), seems to be a forerunner of the Chola sculpture that contributed in the next one hundred years so greatly to the annals of Indian art. The Naṭarāja shows almost all the requisite characteristics of a bronze dancing Śiva. The full swing of the left leg appears to have been accentuated by the opposite direction of the loin-cloth, apparently whipped up by the wind. The elaborate headgear and the divine serenity of the face are equally significant. The sculptor's ability of infusing movement to this dancing god is further manifested in the freedom it enjoys from the lithic background. Though envisaged as a high relief, the noble Valīśvara Naṭarāja expresses the spirit of a sculpture in the round, and this visual sense seems to have provided the aesthetic setting for creating the fully rounded iconic type of the deity in bronze. The niches of the temples of Kuraṅganātha at Srinivasanallur, Nāgeśvaraswāmī at Kumbakonam and Brahmapurīśvara at Pullamaṅgai contain figures chiefly of iconographic interest. This system of representing icons, usually one at a time in niches flanked by pilasters, is known from the days of the Pallavas, but seems to have been formalized by the Cholas, especially in their days of extreme flourish that began with the accession of Rājārāja I. In some of the figures of above mentioned temples a clear feeling for realism may be noted. For example, the full-length portraiture of a Śaivite saint, found in a niche on the wall of the Nāgeśvarasvāmī may be pointed out. Plastically sound form of the

saint is visualized in a perfect frontal pose, and his hands are found to be judiciously arranged, right-hand raised to explain something and the left placed on the hip. Upper part of the body from the loin is bare, while the lower garment is symmetrically disposed of with parallel ridges. The ear-lobe of the saint is elongated, hence placing him spiritually in the rank of Buddhas and Tirthaṅkaras, the western Indian representation of the latter possibly providing the archetypal example for it. But the plastic quality of the images carved in the niches are not always equal to this example; rather they are generally stiff and lifeless in appearance, with certain feelings for details, particularly in the delineation of ornaments.

Much more sgnificant is, however, the fact that the Chola sculptors started bronze-casting sometime in the middle of the tenth century A.D. The chronological sequence of the early Chola bronzes is yet to be settled. Nevertheless, the researches already made by the scholars make it possible to place at least a group of highly interesting bronzes in our period. The group consists of four images, viz., Vṛṣavāhana, Tripurāntaka, Pārvatī (the consort of Tripurāntaka-Śiva) and Gaṇeśa. They all belong to the Umā-Maheśvara temple of Konerirājapuram built sometime between A.D. 969 and 976. A mere superficial glimpse of the images would be sufficient to know them as examples of a highly developed art form. It is not unlikely that in bronze-casting, too, as in many other things, the Cholas continued the tradition established by the Pallavas. The importance of the Kanerirājapuram bronzes is not only for the technical assurance they show, but laso for setting certain norms that in later days came to be known as characteristics of the Chola bronzes. The Vṛṣavāhana, for instance, stands in a slightly bend (*ābhaṅga*) poise which can only be effected by a master artist. The image is perfectly measured and seems to have been executed following the prevalent canonical injunctions. The fully developed form, strong though it is, has a soft sensuous surface, the scarce ornaments hardly disturbing its smooth pliability. The judicious distribution of fleshy part of the body and the ornamental diversions speak very highly of the artist's maturity. The *Vṛṣa* standing beside the god is apparently a very late addition, for it shows highly conventionalized form and nothing of the realism that characterize the Chola art. While the Vṛṣavāhana is an apostle of dignified majesty, the image of Tripurāntaka is that of a refined elegance. The former unmistakably shows some affinity with the stone carvings in its feeling for plastic volume, but the latter is a typical example of the Chola bronze with a clear emphasis on linearism. The squarish shape of the Vṛṣavāhana face is found to have

been replaced by an oval in the Tripurāntaka. The weight of the body is remarkably shed off by the latter, and its standing posture is obviously visualized in terms of a rhythmic stance. Physiognomically as well as stylistically the image of Pārvatī standing along with Tripurāntaka as his consort, is a perfect match. Her front and back being treated with equal care, the Pārvatī represents one of the finest examples of the early Chola bronzes. The Gaṇeśa image of the place is, however, of a different idiom. Though a masterly executed work, its chiselling is so over-meticulous in the delineation of ornaments, locks of hair, designs on the loin-cloth, etc., that it breathes an entirely different air and tends to be essentially medieval. Thus, among the Kunerirājapuram images the Tripurāntaka-Pārvatī couple appears to be the most representative. On the basis of aesthetic qualities of these two figures it is possible to postulate that the vital norms of Chola bronzes, such as slim but firm figures, enliven yet restrained expression, a harmonious disposition of plain and ornamented surfaces, etc., may be found to be well formulated in the third quarter of the tenth century A.D.

The Konerirājapuram bronzes help us in dating a few other early Chola examples coming from a number of centres. It is generally believed that the workshop responsible for the Konerirājapuram images was prolific in output and at least some of its products could have been identified by the scholars. The unblemished Kalyāṇasundara group of images from Mānavaleśvara temple at Tiruvelvikudi is surely of the same style, though the facial expression of Śiva-Pārvatī of the group is somewhat extrovert. Another fine example of the style is the Tripurāntaka preserved in the Tanjavur Art Gallery and believed to be from Mayūranāthasvāmī temple at Mayavaram. When compared with the Konerirājapuram Tripurāntaka, this image of Mayavaram shows a naive expression and lacks the divine dignity of the former. Other bronzes attributed to the Konerirājapuram workshop include two groups of images from Pallaveśvara, viz. Vṛṣavāhana with consort and Pārvatī with Skanda. The last example is remarkable for linear qualities marked in the slim shape of the figure of Pārvatī as also in her limbs, ornaments and ridges of the garment.

To sum up, the sculptural movement of the early Chola period, extending from A.D. 850 to 985, is significant for laying the foundation of future developments of the school. The early Chola sculptors working in stone, no doubt, followed in general the trend set up by the Pallavas, and, in spite of their attempts to create a new visual aesthetics, their success in the medium was few and far between. But when they began to concentrate in metal casting, sometime

about the middle of the tenth century, they immediately smashed new grounds. In fact, the basic characteristics of Chola bronzes, that raised Indian sculpture to such an unbelievable height, are found to be mostly formulated in the third quarter of this century, particularly in the reign of Uttamachola. Most of the vital characteristics of Chola masterpieces in bronze—slim forms with an accent on linearism realized by shedding off extra masses, judicious distribution of plain surfaces and decorative elements, disposition of figures in elegant stances and an overall sense of self-assured dignity—may be found introduced in the bronzes produced towards the end of the tenth century. The *Naṭarāja* image of the Gaṅgājaṭādharar temple at Govindaputtur, belonging to the closing years of the early Chola period, shows all these characteristics and, besides, is remarkable for its thriving vitality. A clear direction on certain stylistic traits and tendencies was, thus, set out in the early Chola period following which the Chola art reached its finality in the subsequent centuries.

CHAPTER THIRTY-ONE (C)

PAINTING

I. DECCAN

1. *Ajaṇṭā* (*c.* 475-550)

IT IS ALREADY mentioned that the Vākāṭakas share the unique distinction of ushering in a period of unprecedented cultural developments in India with their great contemporaries of the North, the imperial Guptas. The claim of the Vākāṭakas to this distinction rests much on the scintillating creations of the painters, which once embellished the walls of almost all the caves excavated in the Western Deccan during their reign. But, lamentably, most of the paintings being peeled away, there at present exists only fragments of what in the past represented one of the foremost expressions of Indian creative genius. Neverthless, the remnants of paintings of the Deccan as well as of the South, executed in our period, remain to be an eloquent testimony to the achievements of Indian painters in the field of visual art. As no painting of this period has survived, the destruction of natural and human agencies in the North proper, the importance of these paintings situated to the south of the Vindhyan range increases further. For this period, at least, study of South Indian painting amounts almost to the study of Indian painting of the classical tradition as a whole.

A perusal of the contemporary literature reveals that the art of painting was fairly popular among the cross section of the people. There were various categories of painting, such as, portraits, landscapes, narrative paintings, etc., to meet the demand of the people of different socio-economic strata. Palaces and temples were adorned with painted decorations; and there were galleries, too, to nourish the aesthetic cravings of the patrons and connoisseurs of the art. References to a popular brand of painted scrolls, depicting instructive stories to inculcate moral to rural masses, are also noted in the early Buddhist literature. Among the painters there were both professionals as well as amateurs. The *Mahāvastu*, a Buddhist text belonging to the second century B.C., includes the painters in the list

of artisans, while from Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* it is evident that painting was one of the valued accomplishments for a sophisticated citizen. Place of painting in the social milieu of the élite may be appreciated from the fact that almost in all the best known Sanskrit plays, belonging to the early, middle and late classical periods, it plays a crucial role in complicating a plot or in saving a situation. Further, it is known from the literature that paintings were executed on canvas (*paṭa*), woodden panel (*paṭṭa*), and wall (*bhitti*). For obvious reasons examples on canvas and panels could not survive, and, therefore, our present study is limited to those wall-paintings that have endured the hazards of time.

The remaining paintings of our period are confined to a number of murals discovered mainly in the rock-cut shrines and monasteries of the western Deccan and a few temples of the South. Faint traces of painted forms may be noted in the caves at Kanheri (cave XVI, sixth century), Aurangabad (caves III and VI, sixth century) and Pitalkhorā (Chaitya cave I, sixth century), but more significant remnants are found in the Caves at Ajaṇṭā (caves I, II, XVI, XVII and XIX, fifth-sixth century), and Bādamī (cave III, sixth century) in the western Deccan, and Bagh (cave IV, c. A.D. 500) in Central India. Besides, some of the excavated temples at Ellorā, viz. Kailāsa, Indrasabhā, Gaṇeśa and Laṅkeśvara, contain vestiges of painting assignable between c. A.D. 750 and 800. In the South, paintings of considerable interest are marked in a rock-hewn Jain shrine at Sittaṇavāsal (seventh century), in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kānchipuram (seventh century), in the rock-cut temples at Tirumalaipuram (Digambar Jain, seventh century) and Malayudipatti (Vaiṣṇava, between A.D. 788-840) and also in a Śaiva temple at Tirunandikkara (ninth century). However, by far the most significant centre of pictorial art is Ajaṇṭā whence the basic norms of Indian classical painting appear to have radiated to various directions. Whatever may be the place of their execution—Central India, the Deccan or the South—paintings of the period show some common denominators formulated and standardized at Ajaṇṭā, only exception being Ellorā where, beside the main Ajaṇṭā trend, a new and significant visual conception may be noted as emerging.

In the study of Ajaṇṭā paintings belonging to our period, it would, however, be imperative to refer to the achievements consummated at the centre in the earlier phase. The paintings in Caves X and IX at Ajaṇṭā, executed in the second and first century B.C., respectively, show that almost all the essential characteristics of the pictorial tradition termed after Ajaṇṭā were already in a formative stage. While the

technical assurance of these paintings implies a long standing practice behind, their aesthetic attainments appear to be at par with those of the contemporary reliefs at Bhārhut and Sāñchī. This is evident not only in the selection of themes, which are usually stories from the *Jātakas* or processions of the Buddhist votaries, but also in the manner of their depiction in friezes and panels set, as if, on an unrolled ribbon. In this early phase of Buddhist narrative art the common practice of the painter and the sculptor was to arrange the figures in simple lateral compositions; and both of them equally aspired to achieve a linear rhythm within the set up of this arrangement. Another notable common aim seems to be the rounded modelling of forms, and in this respect the painters of Caves X and IX at Ajaṇṭā were, no doubt, somewhat ahead of their contemporary stone carvers of Bhārhut and Sāñchī. In the paintings of this period two modes of visualization may be noted as working simultaneously: one representing that type of contemporary reliefs in Bhārhut and to some extent also in Sāñchī, and the other showing a 'Cubical conception'. The former mode shows a static frontality inherently connected with the technical limitation of the carvers and apparently belongs to the past and does not recur afterwards. The latter one, however, is of signal importance, for it shaped one of the vital characteristics of the Ajaṇṭā paintings of the subsequent ages. This mode is represented by the bulging rocks as well as 'the cubical compartments which empty their contents into the forward direction', and indicative of the direction of forthcoming, a feature so dominant in the Ajaṇṭā paintings of later days.

Apart from Caves X and IX, all other Ajaṇṭā caves containing paintings of worth consideration belong to our period and on epigraphical and stylistic grounds their chronological arrangement should be as follows: Caves XVI and XVII (c. A.D. 475-500), Cave XIX (c. A.D. 475-525), Cave I (c. A.D. 475-500), and Cave II (c. A.D. 500-550). *Cave XVI*: Unfortunately, most of the paintings in Cave XVI are lost now. Among the surviving ones, episodes both from the *Jātakas* and the Buddha's life are noted. The *Hasti* and the *Mahā-ummagga Jātakas* are clearly represented on the front wall of the hall while the fragments of another *Jātaka*, viz. *Sutasoma*, depicted in Cave XVII in detail, may be also recognized. In the *Hasti-Jātaka* Boddhisattva was born as a benevolent elephant who jumped down from a precipice to die and be served himself as food to some hungry travellers. The travellers are shown amidst their feast on the body of the self-sacrificing animal. Of the *Mahā-ummagga Jātaka*, episodes showing adjudication of disputes by Mahosadha are represented. In the depiction of 'the riddle of a

son' a popular version of the story has been followed. Mahosadha was asked to settle the claim over the motherhood of a child between a woman and a goblin. In this version of the story he orders to cut the child into two parts so that it can be equally shared by the claimants; and seeing the hesitation on the part of the woman he easily recognises her as the real mother. Besides, 'the riddle of the chariot' and 'the riddle of the cotton-ball' are delineated here. The entire right wall is devoted to the events of the life of the Buddha, e.g., Sujātā's offering of *Pāyasa,* the offerings of Trapussa and Bhallika, Buddha with his begging bowl in the street of Rājagṛha(?), a royal visit of Bimbisāra(?) to the Master, Gautama's first meditation, the prediction of Asita, preaching of the Buddha, etc. Besides, there are scenes showing the dreaming Māyā and Śuddhodana as anticipating the birth of Gautama. But from the pictorial point of view much more significant is the panel of the left wall depicting the forceful ordaining of love-sick Nanda by his half-brother Buddha on the occasion of the latter's first visit to Kapilavastu. In spite of the damages suffered by the panel, scenes of Nanda's tonsure, his sorrow at his forceful ordination, and his journey through air with Buddha, who intended to pacify him by promising the heavenly nymphs in case he practised the religious exercises, are easy to recognise. The most moving scene of the episode, however, is the one in which Sundarī, the wife of Nanda. collapses at the sight of Nanda's crown brought to her by a messenger with the news of his desertion of the worldly life. The sensation created by this tragic news is not only expressed by the sympathetic delineation of the swooning princess, but also by marking its reactions on the faces of her attendants. It seems that the figures, arranged as if on a stage, are emotionally united; and to speak of its composition, the scene represents one of the finest examples of Ajaṇṭā paintings.

Cave XVII: Cave XVII depicts incidents both from the *Jātakas* and the life of the Buddha, and contains some of the best paintings of Ajaṇṭā. The *Jātaka* stories represented in the cave are *Chhaddanta, Mahākapi, Hasti, Vessantara, Sutasoma. Sarabhamiga, Machchha. Mātiposaka, Sāma, Mahisa, Śibi, Ruru* and *Nigrodhamiga.* Apart from his representation as one of the seven *Mānushī* Buddhas along with Maitreya, a number of events from the life of the Master may also be noted here. The events include the subjugation of Nālagiri, miracle of *Śrāvastī,* preaching of *Abhidharma* to his mother in the Trāyastriṁśa heaven, descent at Sāṅkasya from the heaven along with Śakra and Brahmā by means of a ladder, the great assembly at Sāṅkasya where Sāriputta's wisdom was displayed, his meeting with

Yaśodharā and Rāhula at Kapilavastu and his worship by the followers. Besides, the episodes from the *Jātakas* and the life of the Master, there are other themes, too, of which the most important is Siṁhala's conquest of Śrilaṅkā, and also a few unidentified female figures showing exquisite forms.

Of all the *Jātaka* stories painted in the cave, the *Vessantara* appears to have received the highest attention from the painters, for it occupies almost the entire left wall of the hall. In this well-known *Jātaka,* Boddhisattva, born as prince Vessantara, plays the role of a selfless philanthropist. His father King Sañjaya was forced to banish him as he had given away the state elephant endowed with the supernatural power of bringing rain to the Brahmins of draught-stricken Kaliṅga. In spite of its poor preservation, the panel shows Vessantara as taking leave of his parents, driving with his family on a chariot through a market street; his life in the hermitage, his gift of the children to the wicked Brahmin Jujaka in the absence of his wife; the recovery of the children by his father Sañjaya from the greedy Brahmin, and the happy return of Vessantara and his wife Maddi to capital through the grace of Śakra. In the representation of *Vessantara Jātaka* it appears that the art of narration in painting attained an unprecedented height at Ajaṇṭā. The selection of incidents, their compositional arrangements and delineation of individual characters, in spite of their seemingly inadequate stature, would eloquently speak of the sheer mastery of the painter in unfolding before the eyes of a visitor a story full of dramatic elements. Equally impressive is the story of Siṁhala's conquest of Śrilaṅkā. The scene portraying Siṁhala as setting forth in a regal splendour on a white elephant along with his mounted vassals is remarkable for its surging movement and lively composition.

No less maturity is displayed in the delineation of the events of the Buddha's life. The entire panorama of Nālagiri's subjugation by the Master is an instance of it. In a simple composition showing vertical and horizontal forms the painter narrates this significant miracle of the Master's life in a language which appears to be visually perfect. The tension of the story accentuates along the repeated representations of the infuriated elephant that surges forward in the street of Rājagṛha causing a great havoc among the citizens. But the mountain-like elephant, let loose by the conspiring Devadatta to take the life of the Buddha, kneels before the latter as he touches the head of the animal. The eyes of a spectator move laterally along two representations of Nālagiri and then suddenly become arrested before the unperturbed standing figure of Buddha. In the background the citizens of the street are shown as witnessing the Miracle

with awe and adoration, while in a palace window, overlooking the street, it seems that the conspirators Devadatta and Ajātaśatru are engaged in a bewildered conversation. But still more significant is the scene that shows Buddha's return to his birth-place Kapilāvastu after his Enlightenment. In an emotionally charged panel the great Being stands at the palace-gate before his wife Yaśodharā and son Rāhula. But the separation caused by his desertion of the material world and attainment of spiritual sublimity, reflected in his halo and colossal size, appears to have created a psyco-physical gap between him and his nearest ones. Hence, Yaśodharā in her diffidence puts forward Rāhula, the common bondage, as if, to bridge that unpassable separation. The motive force that brought the Master to beg at his own door also appears to be "entirely human, and this human feeling, in a more likely manner, is conveyed to us by the love-light in the eyes of Yaśodharā, his wife, and by the astonished looks of Rāhula, his son. On his part Buddha, in spite of his towering stature in mendicant's robe, melts in compassion as he offers his begging bowl to Rāhula. And to grace the occasion the celestials, depicted at the top of the panel, fail not to drop flowers from the heaven. Envisaged in a simple composition, consisting of vertical forms with one of the noblest expressions so far recorded in the art of painting.

From the pictorial viewpoint the scene depicting god Indra, gracefully gliding down through the clouds with his retinue of musicians least variations in surface treatment, the scene, no doubt, represents to worship Buddha, is also significant for the swaying movement of the figures shown in various postures and the diagonally receding clouds in the background. In another scene a nymph has been represented along with other celestials as coming down to worship the Master with an effortless ease through the air, the strong wind causing a swing of her ornaments and tussels. In the delineation of the nymph, which no doubt represents one of the finest female beauties painted at Ajaṇṭā, remarkable is the quality of modelling attained by the mastery of shading and touches of highlights. A *Yakṣa* of an unidentified story, depicted in this cave, also demands equal attention of the spectator. Charming is his calm mien, but still more captivating is the humane qualities that add to the grace of the *Yakṣa*. The soft and compassionate expression of the countenance has been articulated with the help of several lines that are definitive as well as suggestive, and capable of creating a plastic lucidity which is not frequently met with even in the paintings of Ajaṇṭā.

Cave XIX: Cave XIX contains a number of Buddha-figures painted on the walls. The left wall shows Buddha as handing over his

begging bowl to Rāhula, the latter being put forward by his mother Yaśodharā—a theme also covered in Cave XVII. The other Buddha images painted in the cave closely resemble, physiognomically as well as compositionally, the Master's representations in relief on the facade of the cave. These Buddha-figures are significant, for they appear to be the precursors of the Bodhisattva-type represented in Cave I. In Cave XIX, on the roofs of the central and side-aisles, are found decorative designs consisting of floral motifs cleverly interwoven with animal, bird and human figures.

Cave I: Cave I is specially noted for its pictorial wealth. Once every inch of the cave appears to have been covered with painting. But, unfortunately, much of its painted surfaces has been peeled away. The existing paintings, however, include elaborate representations of the *Jātaka* stories, viz., *Mahājanaka, Saṁkhapāla, Chāmpeya,* possibly *Mahā-ummagga* and *Śibi;* the last story being the version of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra* instead of the *Pāli Jātakas.* Moreover, there are the colossus paintings of the Bodhisattvas, which alone could have been sufficient to mark the cave as an outstanding place of visual interest.

Of the *Jātaka* stories the *Mahājanaka,* which occupies almost the entire left wall of the monastery, seems to have received special attention from the painter. The king of Mithilā, the father of Mahājanaka, was killed in a battle by his brother. His queen fled with Mahājanaka to Champā, where the latter was secretly brought up. Mahājanaka, attaining his youth, sailed for Svarṇabhumī with his merchandise but was ship-wrecked and carried by a goddess to Mithilā. There he married Sivali, the daughter of the usurper who recently died. In course of time Mahājanaka, however, renounced the world. Sivali, when she failed in dissuading him from his resolve, also took herself to ascetic life. Although the depiction of incidents shows no chronological order, there is hardly any difficulty in following the main thread of the story and identifying its major events. The story has been narrated in a visual language which is at once vivid and vibrant. The painter not only succeeded in infusing life and dynamism to different scenes, but also in creating individual characters which exist psycho-physically to play their respective roles in the episode. And, in spite of their individual existence, all of them appear to be emotionally integrated to impart an artistic unity to the entire panel. For example, in the scene of Sivali's endeavour to lure Mahājanaka to the worldly pleasures by arranging music and dance, the distant look and total detachment of the latter from his surroundings bespeak of the artist's mastery in delineating characters. Even in the rhythmic movement of the

exquisitely poised dancer and in the pipe-playing of her two lady companions, the spectator may note a permeating gloom and an absence of real mirth; and this seems to have been caused by the fateful news of Mahājanaka's renouncement of the world. This pensive atmosphere deepens in the scenes where he announces his decision to retire as a recluse or he departs from the palace on an elephant to attend a saintly discourse. The *Mahājanaka* story of Cave I reminds the visitor the story of *Vessantara-Jātaka* depicted in Cave XVII; and this is not merely for their sentimental affinity, but also for the quality noted in their effective representation. Same clarity of vision and technical efficacy may be marked in the laying out of compositions and delineation of figures in various moods and actions in these two major examples of narrative paintings worked out at Ajaṇṭā. Same feeling for plastic modelling, achieved by the variations of shades and highlights as well as by the manipulation of colours and lines, is present in both the paintings. But while the lines of the *Vessantara* in Cave XVII thrive in their strength and sharpness and are significant for their delimiting character, the lines of the *Mahājanaka* may be especially noted for their rhythmic movements with an inclination towards smooth curves to effect lucid plasticity of the forms. Indeed, the soft gliding lines, apart from their roles in shaping forms, create a pleasing visual effect on the viewer by their sheer rhythmic existence.

But to speak the truth it should be admitted that all the paintings of Cave I were not executed in same idioms, nor do they belong to the same technical height attained by their best examples. The *Mahājanaka* and the *Chāmpeya Jātakas*, and the scenes attributed to the episode of Nanda's conversion and to the *Ummagga-Jātaka* invariably represent a single category of style to which also contribute the decorative motifs of the ceiling representing swans, bulls. elephants, etc. But the panel depicting the well-known lustration episode shows altogether a different idiom betraying lesser technical assurance. The dancing girls of the *Māradharṣaṇa* scene appear to stand stylistically in between these two categories, while in the delineation of Śibi *Jātaka* preferences to a certain angularity and a coarser treatment of the figures may be traced.

Although much of the inner surfaces of Cave I is covered by the illustrations of *Jātaka* tales representing the virtuous acts and martyrdoms of the Buddha in previous births, it is dominated by the painted images of the Bodhisattvas, especially by two of their towering figures depicted on the back wall of the inner aisle, immediately to the left and right of the antechamber fronting the enshrined Buddha. According to the Mahāyāna doctrine, under the spell of which

Ajaṇṭā as a Buddhist centre flourished anew in the fifth-sixth century, the great Bodhisattvas, as emanations of the cosmic Buddha, are the deliverers of all the creations from their misery of the worldly life and are dedicated to lead them back to the universal and divine Buddha. They are conceived as epitomes of compassion and, therefore, from a central position allotted to them they look after the teeming crowd of shapely figures represented in a strangely fluctuating, moving arrangement around them. "Of large dimensions they are yet weightless; fully bodied forth in solid rounded plasticity, they are yet melting in *karuṇā,* and seemingly in motion in the midst of a radiantly moving and rejoicing world, they seem to have become stilled into silence before a great realization. With eyelids lowered, they withdraw themselves into their own depths."[1] It seems that the inner images of the Boddhisattvas have outgrown their outer frames, which are, in their turn, configurated by the master painters of Ajaṇṭā in terms of ideal forms crystallized through the continuous technical and aesthetic experimentations of their predecessors. Of the two Bodhisattvas, better known is Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi who, holding a fully blossomed lily in his right hand, towers above his paraphernalia including a dark female beauty, possibly his consort, a chauri-bearer wearing a long blue coat and a dark mace-bearer in a white coat. Standing in a slightly bent stance and looking downward, wearing some select ornaments chiefly of pearls and an imposing headgear, the Bodhisattva shows a physically unreal but ideally proportioned figure. The face, shaped through the exquisite linear precision of the drawing supplemented by the deft application of shading and highlights, melts in an inner tenderness. As for the draftsmanship, it is not too much to say that in this piece of art the Ajaṇṭā painter has shown his best. Indeed, peerless is the hand that drew the lines of the eyes and the brows, of the nostrils and the lips and of the shoulders and the arms at their curves. Equally remarkable is the image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, who dominates his rich surroundings by his personal splendour accentuated by an immense bejewelled head-dress with a Divine Buddha at the crest. In his steady gaze may be observed his awareness of the worldly phenomena around him, yet it seems that he is immune from the bustle of life and, thus, shown in a composed state of mind. In comparison, however, Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi appears to be more susceptible to the misery of the worldly creatures.

Cave II: Cave II is fortunate for still possessing almost intact its rich ceiling paintings. These paintings, executed on the ceilings of

1 R. C. Majumdar, (ed.), *Classical Age*, Bombay 1962, p. 549.

the hall, antechamber, shrine, chapels and verandah, take the shape of square and rectangular compartments filled with a variety of designs including floral patterns, birds, fruits, imaginary and flying figures, geometric and ornamental motifs, etc. Although in a different colour scheme, they remind the draftsmanship of the ceiling paintings of Cave I. But it may be safely stated that the ceiling painting of the shrine of Cave II represents one of the finest examples of decorative designs delineated at Ajaṇṭā. The square of the ceiling is covered by a large rounded composition of concentric circles in bands. Between the outer band and the next within there is a row of lotus forms with leaves; in the next circle is a conventionalized wavy design; and at the centre blossoms a lotus of hundred petals. At the four corners of the ceiling, around this huge circular design are depicted four sets of gandharva couples, apparently to fill up the left out spaces of the square. From pictorial point of view, remarkable also is the ceiling-painting of a chapel showing a series of twenty three masterly executed geese.

In the list of subjects treated in Cave II are several stories from the *Jātakas*, viz., *Vidhurapaṇḍita, Haṁsa* and *Ruru*, and the *Divyāvadāna*. There are also a number of scenes depicting elaborately the theme known as nativity of the Buddha. Moreover, three Bodhisattvas, including Avalokiteśvara, are shown as the saviours of mankind from the eight canonical fears, viz., lion, elephant, fire, snake, robber, water, fetters and demon. Of these narrative themes the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* and the nativity of the Buddha appear to have been painted as major subjects. The *Vidhurapaṇḍita* story covers a large part of the right wall of the hall. In this *Jātaka* Bodhisattva Vidhurapaṇḍita was a minister of the King of Indraprastha. He was won over in a game of dice by Punnaga, a *yakṣa* general aspiring the hands of the *nāga* princess Irandatī. Punnaga brought Vidhurapaṇḍita to the *nāga* palace to please queen Vimalā, mother of Irandatī, who was pining to hear a discourse from Bodhisattva Vidhurapaṇḍita. Although the composition and treatment of the story is not qualitatively at par with those of the *Vessantara* of Cave XVII and the *Mahājanaka* of Cave I, the painter has achieved here the desired result through a humble but intimate representation of various incidents. Irandatī in her swing in the palace-garden has been very intelligently composed and the overall effect of the scene is extremely pleasing. Absorbing also is the scene depicting the *nāga* king, queen Vimalā and Irandatī as devoted listners to the words of wisdom of Vidhurapaṇḍita. Equally effective is the delineation of the scenes related to the Buddha's nativity. The standing figure of Māyā, shown as resting on a pillar, may be specially marked as an idyllic

female type. This is, however, not the lone type depicted in the cave. While the female members of the story of *Vidhurapaṇḍita* belongs to this same category, the female votaries represented on the walls of the chapel show another type that reminds the spectator the Pallava female forms of the Mahābalīpuram relief sculptures. The limited use of line in the paintings of Cave II marks a frank departure from the practice of the earlier Cave XVII and I. In the absence of adequate linear treatment, colour, usually of a charged red character, plays here the vital role of creating plastic modelling, for the benefit of which the shades and highlights are also liberally used. Despite some of its exquisite examples, the paintings of Cave II in general betray charactertistics which doubtlessly represent decadence. Feebleness of lines marked lamentably, for example, in the scene depicting the Buddha's miracle of Śrāvastī, and the muddy application of colours as noted in a scene showing female votaries are no doubt indications of a technical exhaustion that apparently failed to create a joyous world of living beings for which the Ajaṇṭā painting is specially noted. It seems that with Cave II the long journey of the Ajaṇṭā painters reached a logical end, and as an art centre Ajaṇṭā accepted a natural death in preference to living on the memory of past glory.

Principles: The Ajaṇṭā wall-painting is essentially representational in character. In the portrayal of the *Jātaka* stories and the episodes from the life of the Buddha the painter shows an unprecedented awareness of the entire visual world and, likewise, the world of imagination. In fact, here there is no limit to the scope of painting and both inanimate and animate objects, such as rocks and roads, palaces and forests, men and gods, flora and fauna are depicted with equal enthusiasm. But, as expected, in this age of classical consciousness an overall Humanism emerged as a dominating factor and consequently anthropomorphic forms, representing human, divine and semi-divine beings alike, stole the limelight. It seems that the painter's satisfaction was deepest when he portrayed human forms in various moods and actions and in variegated characters, too. Thus, the kings and nobles, sages and beggars, dancers and musicians, hunters and soldiers, princesses and maids, dwarfs and denizens, *apsaras* and *kinnaras, nāgas* and *gandharvas* fill up the wall surfaces and mindfully play their assigned roles in the stories depicted. Seemingly the age of the early narrative art, as known from the reliefs of Bhārhut and Sāñchī, makes a reappearance at Ajaṇṭā during the fifth-sixth century A.D.; but this time, of course, in a higher plane. The simplicity and innocence of the early age have been replaced with pageantry and consciousness that resulted from the ma-

terial and cultural progress achieved during the intervening period. While in the reliefs of Bhārhut and Sāñchī the *Jātakas* are told as simple tales, at Ajaṇṭā being expressed in terms of colours and lines, the same stories appear to grow in epic grandeur, the mute physical actions noted in the early narrative art is now being supplemented by variegated psychological expressions usually associated with dramatic performances. Besides, action (*kriyā*), mood (*bhāva*) and sentiment (*rasa*) are now introduced to communicate ideas. Hence, joy and mirth, dejection and sorrow, greed and lust, love and compassion, and so many other mental states are fully expressed in the various scenes found on the walls of Ajaṇṭā caves. But still more astonishing is the fact that whether in sensuous pleasure or in extreme dejection, the characters are invariably shown in an unusual restraint, which possibly speaks of the aristocratic refinement and sophisticated bearing of the people concerned. But, perhaps, a better explanation to this all-pervading detached mood of the characters may be found in the intellectual background of the people for whom the caves were excavated and adorned with painting.

It appears from the depiction of the Jātakas, e.g. *Chaddanta, Vessantara, Mahājanaka, Vidhurapaṇḍita,* etc., that the Ajaṇṭā painters were all through unconcerned in maintaining a chronological sequence of the events along the development of an individual story. Instead, no order of direction, either from left to right, top to bottom or even otherwise, is found in the arrangement of the incidents. This is because to a Buddhist of the age the very concept of time (*kāla*) was purely subjective, an intellectual fiction. According to him, the human mind pieces together the series of events and the result is such notions as moment, day, month, etc. and the corresponding conventional language. It is said that 'a particular impression (*ābhoga -saṁskāraviśeṣa*) is created in the mind of the hearers when they are addressed with the suggestive words: this is prior and this is the posterior with reference to things and events emerging in a sequence'. But this impression of time (*kāla*), as well as space (*dik*). is totally rejected as a concept by a Buddhist of the Mahāyāna school It is, therefore, neither a lapse nor a freak on the part of the Ajaṇṭā painters, who worked to the tune of the requisition of their philosopher-patrons, that they followed no sequence of time and space in treating the stories.

The masterly execution of paintings on the walls and ceilings of Ajaṇṭā caves, however, rests on certain compositional principles. some of which are, without doubt, unique contributions of this grand school to the world of visual art. Of the devices displayed by the

Ajaṇṭā painters, the most significant seems to be 'the direction of forthcoming' of the objects from the very depth of painting to the borderland of its surface. The Ajaṇṭā type, says Kramrisch, "is not conceived in terms of depth. It comes forward. It is not visualized as starting from a plane near to the spectator and leading away from him, but it departs from a level at the bottom of its visual expanse and from there it opens up and shows its contents from within many compartments."[2] While the western painting in its great age creates an illusion of leading the spectator from the surface into the depth, the Ajaṇṭā painting does not lead away but makes him come forward. This feeling for 'the direction of forthcoming' appears to be the mainstay in the compositional lay out; and it similarly plays a significant role in the treatment of plastic modelling of individual forms. The well-developed and fully modelled rounded shapes are found to be 'bodied forth' from the depth of colour surface and no doubt conceived and delineated in the terms of forthcoming. In all likelihood this predilection for the forthcoming and modelled shapes is a by product of the visual aesthetics promoted by the contemporary sculptors responsible for the excavation of rock-cut sanctuaries and monasteries and the deeply chiselled relief sculptures that adorned them.

The layout of composition of the earlier Ajaṇṭā paintings, represented by Caves X and IX, appears to have been usually envisaged in terms of unrolled bands and rectangular compartments in which various incidents of the stories are depicted. This simple arrangement of narrative composition unmistakably connects them with the practices of scroll-paintings not infrequently referred to in the early Buddhist literature. But with the passage of time the Ajaṇṭā painters developed themselves conceptually as well as technically. In their narration of the *Vessantara* and *Mahājanaka-Jātakas* in Caves XVI and I, respectively, they introduced new dimensions in the sphere of composition. Discarding the earlier interruptions of bands and frames, a new comprehensive layout covering the entire wall-space emerged. The eyes of a spectator would no more falter on any non-essential barrier but move from one episode to another, and, following the steps of the painter, would even transgress from one wall to the other, notwithstanding the sharp right angle turn in between. It seems that after attaining a technical mastery over the medium, the painters throbbed in such an expansive mood that they became regardless of any barrier which stood in their overwhelming way of expression. But even so they had to introduce devices for separat-

2 Stella Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, London, 1937, p. 3.

ing individual events of a story so that the narration remained visually meaningful. Architectural members, such as, architraves, balustrades, gateways, windows, flat-walls, etc. are now found to play double roles. Apart from their relevance as backgrounds of scenes, they are now ingeniously arrayed as verticals and horizontals, as if, to provide separate compartments to distinct events. Sometimes trees and foliages are also found to play this role. But what is unique in Ajaṇṭā is the presence of certain rocks and rafter-like boulders of prismatic shape. These shapes, usually rectangular parallel epiped in form, not only provide receptacles and platforms to figures, but also impart an unmistakable stability to otherwise buoyant forms on the vast expanses of the walls. Moreover, the receding and bulging cubes tend to create in places niche-like voids from the depth of which figures come forth. Such cubes, usually treated in flat contrasting colours on their visible surfaces, also cause certain spatial illusion producing feelings for third dimension. Various directions of space-volumes effected by these rafter-like cubes, and also by such architectural objects as gate-way, pavilion, assembly hall, courtyard, city, street, etc., entail a kind of depth that has aptly been termed by Kramrisch as 'multiple-perspective.' And this is, no doubt, reminiscent of a visual concept that played a significant role in the early Buddhist narrative art of Bhārhut and Sāñchī, where, not infrequently, an object is shown simultaneously at the level of eye as well as from above. The sheer presence of these prismatic rocks here and there has provided an element of visual diversion to the wall-paintings of Ajaṇṭā that chiefly deal with animated world. But so far the scholars made no attempt in tracing the source of this element, albeit some of them failed not to appreciate its significance as a device by the manipulation of which much of the otherwise dull and dark areas of the paintings had become visually interesting. It would not, therefore, be out of place here to suggest that this cubic element has also been borrowed by the painters from the current art of sculpting. For in some reliefs of Amarāvatī as well as Ajaṇṭā itself it would not be difficult to trace instances in which roughly hewn rocks are found left out in the background and at the bottom, sometimes as platforms for seated and standing figures, in panels showing human representations. These rocky shapes, no doubt, inspired the painters who, however, succeeded in turning them further interesting by delineating in colours. Another interesting feature noted in Ajaṇṭā painting is the manner in which flowers are found to be strewn on various scenes. By their presence the flowers make the scenes unreal, i.e., not connected with mortal life, but with certain subjective phenomena of spiritual significance. These

flowers, as if scattered from the sky, also impart certain sublimity to the scenes.

The religious significance of the Ajaṇṭā painting is well admitted. Yet, conspicuously, the air they breathe is far removed from one that is usually expected in monastic cells. They are vibrant with life and unmistakably secular in spirit. This is perhaps for the reason that the painters, entrusted with the job of decorating the gloomy interior of the caves, came with a background which was essentially secular and developed in the cultural milieu of the age. Thus, the aesthetics they communicate appears to be a product of a common art movement in which poets, dancers, musicians and sculptors contributed alike. The simultaneous growth of various art forms side by side, no doubt, created an opportunity for the exchange of ideas and views, and even enriching one art form with elements borrowed from the other. Thus, cadence and gestures, known elements of dance and drama, play significant roles in the figure composition of Ajaṇṭā paintings. This interdependence of the different branches of fine arts seems to have induced the author of the *Viṣṇudharmottara* to recommend the knowledge of dance and music as prerequisites for the understanding of painting. In the figuration of human forms, too, the painters were apparently inspired and guided by the imaginative use of simile. Hence, instead of searching models of beauty in the world of human being, they relied on the similitudes (*sādṛśya*) perceived between the parts of the body of a human being and the shape of forms found in the animal and vegetable world. Thus, to delineate the eyes of a female beauty of restless nature their choice would be either the shape of a *saphari* fish or that of the *Khañjana,* a small bird with a lively dancing gait, or the eyes of the deer. But if he desires to depict a god or a great being he would paint the eyes following the shape of the water-lily or the lotus petal. It seems that this feeling for similitude worked behind the crystallisation of the canonical concept of magic marks, i.e. *lakṣaṇas*, of the *Mahāpuruṣas* or the great Beings. For instance, the eyes of the Buddha are lotus petal in shape; his brows show the arching curve of an Indian bow, and his face represents the perfect ovoid of the egg of a hen. His shoulders exhibit the shape of the massive domed head of an elephant, while his torso is likened to the body of a lion and his neck to a conch All this, no doubt, testifies to the high sophisticated level of visual language of the painters who, along with the poets, dancers and the sculptors of the age, were responsible for setting forth an artistic standard which is turned Indian and destined to be active in and outside the country for ages to come.

Technique: Scientific investigations and studies on the *Silpa* texts,

conducted in the last fifty years, throw floods of light on the technique of Ajaṇṭā painting as well as the material used in their execution. The carrier of painting is constituted of the inner surface of the walls of the caves cut into the hard and compact volcanic trap-rock or basalts. The surface of the carrier, with deep furrows resulted in the course of excavation of the caves by the process of hammer-and-chisel strokes, was rough and uneven and, as such, provided teeth for the plaster applied on it to prepare the ground for painting. The ground, in its turn, consisted of two coats of mud-plaster. The first coat was coarse in texture with a considerable amount of fibrous vegetable-material and rock-grit and sand, which were added to mud to accomplish strength and compactness of the plaster. Evidently, the unevenness of the chiselled rock-surface was corrected by the application of this coat. This was again made smooth and polished by another layer of mud and ferriginous earth, once more mixed with fine-powder and sand and fine vegetable-material, and by the thorough application of trowel. Thereafter, this second coat of plaster was, when still wet, laid over with a coat of fine white lime wash so that the plaster could soak the lime. This lime wash, which otherwise may be called white priming, was allowed to dry and become as polished as 'the middle part of a mirror'. As the painting was executed on this dry ground, the Ajaṇṭā murals should be taken as *fresco secco* and not as true fresco or *fresco buono*, usually painted on a wet ground. This is further confirmed by the fact that the Ajaṇṭā painter used the animal glue, i.e., *vajralepa* of the *Śilpa* texts, as the adhesive for binding the pigments to the ground.

The outlines of the figures were at first drawn on the lime washed, i.e., white primed surface of the ground with a crayon (*vartikā*). On the crayon lines were drawn saffron lines with a medium brush so that earlier lines became improved. The figures were then filled in with suitable colours applied by a broad brush. The colours were chosen from among a wide range of pigments including yellow, red. blue, white, black and green as also from the mixtures of these in various shades. Most of the pigments are mineral in origin: the red and yellow are red and yellow ochres and the green happens to be terreverte. For white was used Kaolin, lime and gypsum and lamp-black was used for black. Lapis lazuli, the mineral source of a brilliant blue, was imported. as it was not found in the region. while others are locally available.

The filling in colours on the figures was followed by the application of shading (*vartanā*) by hatching (*hairika*), dotting (*vindu*) and

leaf-like stippling (*patra*) to effect rounded three-dimensional modelling of the forms. In places, besides the shading, the application of highlights was also made to indicate portrutions and thereby enhance the effect of plastic modelling. Moreover, discreet use of the highlights sometimes even helps in capturing facial grace. The application of shading and highlights to create the illusion of different planes (*natonnanta*) was, then, followed by the wielding of brush-lines. Usually thick, wide and deep in character, and capable of imparting the quality of volume to the forms along with the charged colours, the lines at Ajaṇṭā varied in their thickness in accordance with the desire of the artist. Beside these vibrant lines, there are thin, sharp and precise lines, too, and they unmistakably betray a calligraphic character. While the thick lines are especially regarded for their unbroken and gliding flow, the thin lines are marked for their precision and underlying strength. Whatever may be their character, thick or thin, the brush strokes of Ajaṇṭā painters were always free and bold and invariably firm in outlines and they were chiefly responsible for the strength of the drawing for which the Ajaṇṭā is so well-known.

2. *Bādāmī* (6th century A.D.)

In the large Vaishṇava cave (known as Cave III), at Bādāmī the earliest Brahmanical wall-paintings have been noticed. Significantly, these are also the earliest among the Indian paintings that can be definitely dated. The Cave bears an inscription of the Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa recording its completion in A.D. 578. The painting form an indispensable part of the 'most wonderful workmanship' which, according to the inscription, had been lavished on this cave. An interesting aspect of these paintings is that they share a single visual conception along with the high reliefs of the cave. It is rightly pointed out by Kramrisch that, apart from Cave II at Ajaṇṭā, the interconnection between sculpture and painting is no where as clear as in this large Vaishṇava cave at Bādāmī. Wherever the wall space had been left out by the sculptor, that became immediately covered up in colours by the painter; and the sculptures were also painted with the same range of colours used in painting.

The remnants of painting show an extensive palace scene depicting a dancing performance accompanied with instrumental music and witnessed by a central figure along with his attendants. Some of the spectators, apparently the members of the royal household, are found to watch the performance from a balcony above.

To the left of the central figure performers of music and dances are shown. All the musicians, playing instruments including flute and drums, are women while the dancing pair consists of a male and a female. The palace appears to be an imposing mansion and the performance takes place in a pillared hall provided with a red curtain. The next panel depicts a figure in kingly posture (*mahārājalītā* pose), placing his right leg on a foot-tool and the left leg on the couch. He appears to be the king and several persons, possibly crown princes, are represented as seated to his right. To his left is the queen on a low couch with her attendants nearby, one of whom is noted as decorating her feet in red lac. Separated from the main scene by a sculpture of a Śārdūla, a flying couple of Vidyādharas is presented in the background of a feathery cloud. Besides, there are traces of other paintings in this cave as also in the smaller Vaishṇava cave (Cave II) of the site.

The paintings are, however, mostly peeled away and existing patches of colours and several indistinct outlines are all that remains to testify to what once was the invaluable evidence of the stylistic development of classical Indian painting immediately after the last phase of Ajaṇṭā. Nevertheless, a close scrutiny of the better preserved panels indicates that the Bādāmī paintings are technically of the type represented by the later paintings of Ajaṇṭā (Caves I and II). But in style they do not conform to any of the variants of the grand style of the Buddhist centre. It appears that although Bādāmī belongs to the common denominator of the classical Indian painting, it interprets its visual potentialities in its own way. Here, too, the same feeling for plastic volume is noted, and the rounded forms are found to be 'bodied forth' from the depth of the wall. Modelling qualities of colour and line are also comparable with those of the later. Ajaṇṭā types and highlights are no less pronounced. But here the outline does not clasp the contour tightly, as noted so frequently in Caves I and II at Ajaṇṭā. Nowhere calligraphic, the lines of Bādāmī painting are found to be varying in thickness and extremely elastic. They move slowly and impart a rare lucidity to the plastic treatment of the forms. With a slackening of the contour the figures breathe an intimate warmth and delicacy of feel which undoubtedly bring them nearer to common people. Feelings for movement are not limited to the gestures of the musicians and the dancers alone A movement hinges in suspense on the brows and lower lids and also in the large metal earrings of the woman bearing a fly whisks, while her cheeks, as also of the corresponding male figure, appear to be sensitive to the extreme. The countenances of the figures show certain softness and grace that are not usually met with at Ajaṇṭā.

3. *Ellorā* (c. A.D. 750-950)

Ellorā as a centre of painting is to some extent comparable with Ajaṇṭā. For here, too, we find paintings of various dates, executed in different rock-cut caves, covering a period of about five hundred years. Moreover, following the association of three distinct groups of caves at the place, the paintings of Ellorā represent three distinct religious themes, viz. Buddhist, Brahmanical and Jaina. Traces of earliest paintings have been marked in some of the caves belonging to the Buddhist group, excavated between the fifth and eighth century A.D. But these paintings, as noted on the ceilings of *Do Thal* and *Tin Thal,* are so much peeled off that no proper appraisal of them would be possible in their present state. Chronologically next comes the paintings of the Brahmanical group of caves, which covers a period of three centuries or more from the seventh century A.D. Most of the murals of this phase have been discovered in the Kailāsa, the famed rock-hewn temple executed in the eighth century A.D. The minor group of unnumbered caves known as Gaṇeśa *Leṇā* also contains traces of painting belonging to the eighth to eleventh centuries A.D. The Jain group styled Indrasabhā, also preserves several interesting painted panels ranging in date from the eighth to the tenth cenuries A.D.

The best specimens of Ellorā paintings, however, occur in the Kailāsa, especially in the western and southern porches of the main hall, and also on the ceiling of the latter. But these paintings of the Kailāsa neither belong to a single period nor represent a single school. For existence of several layers of painting in places, as in the ceiling of the western porch, has been revealed by the flaking of surface pigments caused by climatic erosion. The innermost layer appears to be contemporaneous with the excavation of the temple and in style its paintings show affinity with the later works of Ajaṇṭā. Significant panels of the layer include a scene depicting flying gods and their consorts amidst the clouds as making adoration with their joined hands to Śiva, the presiding deity of the shrine. The most prominent among the adoring gods has been shown as riding on a *Yāli,* a fabulous animal with the beak of an eagle, the horns of a ram and the body of a lion. The god has been represented in three-quarter posture, somewhat reminding the stance of Mahājanaka in the scene of his 'renouncement of the throne' painted in Cave I at Ajaṇṭā. But the Ellorā god does not show sufficient modelling and appears to be chiefly delineated in lines which, in their turn, are found to be thinned down in comparison with those of Ajaṇṭā. Distribution of the gods and goddesses, painted in red ochre and ap-

pearing in between white bulging clouds, is no doubt interesting. They show various postures and their flying moods create an atmosphere which is essentially celestial. The most interesting aspect of the ceiling of the western porch seems to be the panel in which two elephant cubs are shown playing in a lotus pond. Their trunks are depicted in realistic way; and one of them is shown to have caught a fish by his trunk. The other elephant shows a twinkle in the eye that makes the animal lively as well as humanised. There are also two anthropomorphic forms which, from the treatment of their fan-like palms, not unlike the webbed feet of a duck, appear to be water sprites. Equally interesting are the lotus leaves for their treatment in smooth and curving lines capable of imparting necessary plastic modelling.

The second, i.e. middle layer, represents a four-armed Viṣṇu on his mount Garuḍa in the air. The figure of the god is elegantly slim and crowned with a head-gear that immediately reminds that of the Bodhisattvas of Cave I at Ajaṇṭā. Here Garuḍa has been shown as winged and flying in the sky and he, too, is crowned, presumably to indicate that he is the king of his class. The extraordinary long nose of the bird-king and the treatment of his eyes may be noted as the earliest indication of angularity that is to be further developed in the medieval Jain miniatures of Western India. The flying female figure, fair in colour and exquisitely delineated to the left of Viṣṇu in an adoring pose, also betrays similar characteristic. Otherwise, however, the paintings of the second or middle layer also retains classic norms which are noted in the first layer. This is apparent in the execution of the Viṣṇu figure in sharp but flowing lines sufficiently rich in modelling qualities. Besides, the stately pose of the god is also a clear reminiscent of the classic dignity known in Ajaṇṭā and Bādāmī. The uppermost layer represents among other an opulent figure of Gaṇeśa on a rat which, in spite of its heavy load, is shown galloping. Another scene of the layer depicts Śiva riding on a bull with Pārvatī, while the members of his retinue are found to be accompanying him in the march. An interesting feature of the panel is the movement of the figures, which is undoubtedly a new element that may not be noted in Ajaṇṭā at least in this manner. Certain folk elements appears to have been working in these paintings and psychologically, too, the figures are much more worldly in comparison with those of Ajaṇṭā. This feeling for movement seems to have received fuller treatment in the battle scenes depicted in the inner side of the architrave of the western porch. From some inscriptions mentioning certain names including a *Paramārarāja* in *Nāgarī* characters of the twelfth century, it is possible to assume

that these scenes represent the last phase of Ellorā paintings. The treatment of figures, human as well as animal, and the composition of the panels show a clear conceptual difference that existed between the painters of these scenes and those worked at Ajaṇṭā. Both in spirit and style the battle scenes appear to be connected with the early Rajput painting of the North. Hence the Ellorā painting represent a phase of transition from the classical to early medieval in Indian painting. While the first and second layers of paintings of the western porch continued to conserve the Ajantaesque qualities the final layer betrays a new trend indicating the advent of medievalism in Indian art.

Several painted panels of Classical import, belonging to the Kailāsa, however, demand special attention from the beholder. Of these paintings, the most significant seems to be the Naṭarāja delineated on the ceiling of the maṇḍapa. The figure is multi-armed and dances in a pose distinct from the god's four-armed form prevalent in the south. In this painting the contemporary sculptural tradition seems to have closely followed. The dancing posture, physiognomical features, details of ornamention, etc. co-incide with the Naṭarāja reliefs of the Chālukya period. The salient feature of the painting is no doubt the dexterous handling of the sweeping lines that not only portrayed the figure distinctly with its forest of arms; but succeeded in creating a sense of high tension associated with the idea of *bhujangatrāsa*, i.e. scared by snake, dance of the god. Fortunately, this is one of the most beautifully preserved panels at Ellorā. Another interesting panel is that of *Liṅgodbhava* showing Śiva appearing out of the *Liṅga* with Brahmā and Viṣṇu on either side. Though partially lost, this depiction of the *Liṅgodbhava* is not only artistically interesting, but also iconographically significant. Far behind the main hall, there in the centre of the cloistered wall at the back is a huge figure of *Liṅgodbhava*, with the images of Brahmā and Viṣṇu carved in similar huge scale on either side in separate cells, to indicate special significance of this particular form of Śiva in relation to the Kailāsa shrine. A special theme of interest for the Ellorā painter appears to be the *vidyādharas* flying in clouded sky along with celestial musicians. A *vidyādhara* scene, depicted in the *maṇḍapa* of the Kailāsa, is specially noted for its imaginative layout and elegant execution. Here the *Vidyādharas* are shown with their consorts against a background of trailing clouds following the compositional scheme of the sculptured panels of the Chālukyan age. Colour patterns created by the arrangement of dark against the fair, the lovely contours of the slim figures and, above all, the conglomeration of globular clouds in the back-ground

make the panel aesthetically one of the finest pieces at Ellorā. Similar *vidyādhara* themes are found depicted in Bādāmī as well as in Virūpākṣa temple at Paṭṭadakal, the latter example showing an arrangement of cloud that immediately recalls that of the Ellorā painting.

Indrasabhā, the Jaina cave, situated at the farthest end of the groups of caves at Ellorā, is still rich in painting. The surface of the ceiling and the wall is covered with painted scenes illustrating stories from the Jaina texts and delineating designs some of which are symbolically connected with the rituals and beliefs of the faith. The portraiture of Gomateśvara shown in frontal stance is found to be well-preserved and noteworthy for its sculpturesque massiveness. But much more interesting is the band on the ceiling which depicts Yama, one of the *Dikpālas,* with his consort on a buffalo, preceded and followed by the members of his retinue. The decorative treatment of clouds and the wide open eyes of the figures are especially significant as the beginning of a stylization that ultimately radically changed the visual outlook of the Indian painters in the subsequent ages.

Technically the Ellorā painters followed the example of his counterpart at Ajaṇṭā. The preparation of the ground is the same as that of Ajaṇṭā and same also the palette of the painter consisting of black, white, yellow, earth red and buff. But here the application of the colours appears to be somewhat thin and usually devoid of modelling effect. In the first layer of paintings, however, the colours are darker than those in the second, while in both the layers outlines are drawn sharply in black or deep red.

From the stylistic consideration, however, the Ellorā painting steadily moved away from its Ajantaesque beginning to a newly emerging trend that has been marked by some of the art historians as 'medieval' to distinguish it from the classical expression as known from the paintings of Ajaṇṭā, Bagh and Bādāmī. Thinning down of the plastic quality of colours and lines, a clear tendency to replace the smooth curves of the limbs by somewhat acute angles, and the wide open eyes and curved lower lips are among the features marked at Ellorā, especially in its later phase, that have been characterised as 'medieval' elements. But these are not all that the creative genius of the Ellorā painter introduced to the visual aesthetics of Indian painting. As they moved away from the pictorial principles of Ajaṇṭā, they created in the way new ones to suite their own aesthetic ideals. Hence, here at Ellorā the laws of 'forthcoming, which implies the emergence of forms from the very depth of the

ground to the surface, and so frequently met with in the Ajaṇṭā murals, are no more found to be effective. Instead, the painter's efforts concentrated in arranging the forms laterally and thereby creating visual patterns, both in line and colour, on the surface. It seems while the direction of the forms in Ajaṇṭā is from depth to surface, here in Ellorā that is from one side to another; and this is particularly manifested in the treatment of the clouds. Almost all the painted panels of the ceilings of the Kailāsa, Laṅkeśvara, Gaṇesa Leṇā and Indrasabhā are replete with clouds. Variedly conglobated these clouds appear to support the flying figures as well as provide them a cloudsphere. As the clouds are found to be adjusted to the straight lines of the frames, much of the compositional arrangements of panels depended on them. In fact, the placing of the freely mobile figures between the cusped shapes of the clouds creates innumerable variations in the composition of panels. However, basically the panels are conceived two dimensionally and the figures and the clouds though shown as interwoven, belong to the same level, that is, the level of the surface. Pictorially speaking, at Ellorā the clouds play the role of the prism-like rocks and boulders and also of the various architectural members of the Ajaṇṭā paintings in separating as well as providing regions for individual and groups of figures. The Ellorā figures, in their turn, are mostly delineated as flying amidst the clouds and, therefore, appear to be weightless and their postures reminds the flying ones of the Great *Kirātārjuniyām* panel at Mahābalīpuram. Apparently they are meant for flying and as such their legs are slender and weak; but in contrast shoulders are well-expanded and strong, reminding the mighty Pallava figures of the said panel. Conical head-gears and select ornaments, as also their physiognomical slenderness, clearly indicate that the painters of Ellorā were quite acquainted with the ideals of figure representation of the Pallava South.

II. TAMIL LAND

Panamalai, Kāñchīpuram, Malayadipatti, Tirumalai, Sittaṇavāsal (A.D. 7th-9th century)

The earliest reference to painting in South India are found in the oldest Tamil literature, i.e., the Śangama literature, of the early centuries of the Christian era. Frequent description of mural painting, painting on silk, screen painting for the staging of plays and painted canopies are mentioned in the Tamil Classics. Moreover, they contain references to *Citraśālās*, *Citramaṇḍapas*, and *Obianilayams*,

both in the temples and palaces, to indicate popularity of painting among the people. *Paṭṭinappālai,* a poem, describes white temples painted over with pictures showing various actions. The *Paripāḍal*, an anthology of devotional songs, contains a vivid description of a hall bearing wall-paintings. Among the painted figures a group representing the mythological story of Ahalyā has been especially noted. These literary references show that the practice of decorating homes and temples with painting was widely prevalent in the Tamil country from a very early date.

The earliest extant paintings of the Tamil south may be traced from the beginning of the seventh century A.D. It appears from close examinations that many of the cave-temples excavated in the days of the Pallava king Mahendravarman I. Some traces of line and colour are still noticed, as at Māmaṇḍur, to indicate the glorious heritage of this lost period of painting. Fortunately, however, some paintings of importance have been discovered in the structural temples at Panamalai and Kāñchīpuram, constructed during the days of the Pallava king Rājasiṁha who ruled towards the end of the seventh century. The painting of the Panamalai temple shows Pārvatī as watching the dance of her lord, Śiva. She stands gracefully in flexions with one leg bent—a posture in which Māyā has been depicted in Cave I at Ajaṇṭā. She wears an elaborate crown and a huge umbrella is held over her. The dancing Śiva is shown in the *lalāṭatilaka* (foot touching forhead) pose, as multi-armed, and not unlike the relief version of the deity noted to the right of the entrance of the main cell of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchī. While the goddess may be marked for her grace, and the translucent application of colour as well, the painting of the dancing god has almost faded out, leaving no scope for its appreciation.

From the traces of painted stuccos in the cloistered cells of the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram it is not altogether impossible to assess the achievements of the painters of the age. Fragments of forms representing Śaivite mythology are discernible in a number of cells, but what interests us the most is a surviving piece of painting on the back wall of Cell No. 41. It depicts *Somaskanda*, i.e. Śiva with Umā and his son Skanda, a theme that always received a special attention from the sculptors of the region. Though fragmentary, the panel shows Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a couch with baby Skanda in between and the *gaṇa*, the follower of Śiva, on one side at his feet and a female attendant of Pārvatī at the edge of her seat. It is a lovely theme of fond parents and a playful child, of the ideal mates and the object of their love; and the painter failed not to capture the significance of the philosophy of affection underlying

this intimate aspect of the god's manifestation. Though the paint has mostly been peeled off and little is left of their countenances, both Śiva and Pārvatī envisaged here in a sitting posture well-known from the sculptural representations of the theme. The lines that delineate the figures testify to the emaculate draftsmanship of the painter. Thin but precise, they shape plastic volumes of the limbs of the figures with a rare definition. Sometimes they are found to be flowing, as in the cases of depicting the loose end of Śiva's cloth and drooping pendant of Pārvatī's necklace; and sometimes pleasing, too, as in delineating textile patterns of the lower garment of the latter. The vermilion aureole around the head of baby Skanda indicates the feeling of the painter for colour. Of the other faint traces of painting in the cells, a half varnished head should also be noted. It shows a fine oval face in yellow ochre with a long half-closed dreamy eye, a straight nose and proudly curved mouth. Its outlines are in a light red shade, while the background is painted in a dull green. Plastic modelling of the figure is, however, somewhat thinned down. A fragment of painting depicting a *kinnara* and *kinnarī* (half-man half-bird) is also significant for its Ajantaesque characteristics.

Some traces of painting have also been recovered on the ceiling of the rock-cut Vaishṇava temple at Malayadipatti, assignable to the beginning of the ninth century, and they appear to represent stories from the Vaishṇava mythology.

The Saivite cave temple at Tirumalaipuram also contains some remnants of wall-paintings. It appears that once the interior of the temple was profusely decorated. Lotuses, lilies, scrolls, ducks and some geometrical designs still testify to the decorative interest of the painter. A dancing figure, probably of a *gaṇa,* along with a drummer on his left is all that survives on the ceiling of what was once an elaborate dancing scene. Apparently the classical tradition is still active here, but to speak more precisely, only in structure and in a summarised form. The Tirumalai painting has been assigned to the eighth century, and its patronage is attributed to the Pāṇḍyas who carried on the Pallava tradition in the further south both in architecture and representational art.

Some of the finest paintings of the South are found in a rock-cut Jaina shrine at Sittaṇavāsal, an age-old centre of the Jainas. The architectural style of the shrine indicates that it was excavated in the early years of Mahendravarman I's reign, when he was an adherent to the faith.

The shrine was at one time fully decorated, but now only the

upper parts of the sanctum and the *maṇḍapa* contain paintings. The ceiling of the pillared *maṇḍapa* is divided into three lotus panels of which the middle one, the largest of the three, depicts a lotus pond. The pond is shown as covered with lotus stalks, blooms and leaves with *haṁsas, sārasas, mīnas* and *makaras* swimming and feeding in the water. The composition of the panel becomes enriched with the playful presence of bulls and elephants, while three human forms are also there holding lotuses in their hands. This panel is, indeed, a positive addition to the realm of classical Indian painting. For, although the Ajantaesque plastic modelling has become thinned down here and the lines do not retain the similar verve, the compactness of composition and pleasing distribution of colours, e.g., the pink lotuses, white buds, green leaves, dark elephants, deep red and bright yellow men, etc. create a kind of colour harmony that is not usually noted even in the Ajaṇṭā painting. Classical norms of the latter seem to have been closely followed in the panel showing decorative lotus buds and blooms which are found to be carefully modelled with white sculloped lines and black outlines shaded towards the edges. But another pictorial vision appears to be also active at Sittaṇavāsal; and it is noted on the ceilings of the sanctum and the *maṇḍapa* in the depiction of painted canopies with geometrical patterns formed of cross, squares and *triśūla* and the figures of gods and demi-gods. The general impact of these painted versions of textile fabrics appears to be flat and dominated by a geometrical abstraction, and as such offers a striking contrast to the vision and treatment of forms in the lotus pond. It is, however, difficult to assert how far the paintings of cloth canopies are determined by the nature of the subject, i.e., the textile fabric containing geometrical patterns woven by the manipulation of counts of horizontal and vertical threads, and how far by the advent of a new visual concept that is usually termed medieval.

The decoration of the capitals of two pillars of the *maṇḍapa* is well-preserved and shows elegantly intertwined stems of blooming lotuses. The pillars themselves are also adorned with painted panels and at least three of them are still discernible. One of the panels shows a king and his wife with an attendant, while two others represent dancing *apasarases*. Of the *apasarases* the better preserved one, portrayed on the left pillar, appears to be one of the finest dancing female forms ever executed by an Indian painter. Although it is now found only in red and black outlines, the dancing figure puts forth a rhythmic plastic form in an extreme grace. The pliable limbs of the dancer, her facial expression, select ornaments and,

above all, her dancing cadence, mould her into a true representative of the heavenly dancers.

Earlier it was believed that the Sittaṇavāsal paintings were executed in the beginning of the seventh century, when the temple was excavated. But a recently discerned inscription in the temple, which refers to its renovation under the patronage of a Pāṇḍya ruler, and the fact that the *maṇḍapa* was second time painted on a lime-wash covering the original paintings, assign the extant Sittaṇavāsal paintings, possibly except the ceiling painting of the shrine, to the ninth century. The advent of certain angularities and simplicity in the depiction of figures, especially noted in the treatment of flower gatherers, stylistically corroborate to this late date

The other significant paintings, datable to the ninth century, come from a centre situated in farther south. The rock-cut temple of Tirunandikkara in Kerala once contained in its inside hall extensive wall-paintings. Among the few remnants of them still visible are outlines of the figures of Śiva and Pārvatī. Even the absence of colours, the lines, adequately rich in plastic qualities, retain the fully modelled shape of the figures. Graceful and benign, the god and goddess are found to be delineated in a style that is unmistakably classical and lineally connected with the rich tradition of Ajaṇṭā and Bādāmī.

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CHAPTER THIRTY-TWO

COLONIAL AND CULTURAL EXPANSION IN THE EAST[1]

I. BEGINNING OF COLONIALISM

IT HAS ALREADY been shown in the preceding volumes that since very early times—long before the Christian era, India had come into contact with the countries lying to the west, north and north-east. Her intercourse with the countries lying to the east and south-east also dates from very early times, but it was not till the period dealt with in this volume, that a very close and intimate association was established between India on the one hand and Burma, Siam (Thailand), Malay Peninsula, Cambodia (including Laos), Annam and the East Indies (Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and other islands) on the other. Indians not only carried on trade and settled in large numbers in these countries, but also set up kingdoms some of which developed into big empires.

These regions were vaguely referred to as Suvarṇabhūmi (gold-land) and Suvarṇadvīpa (gold-island) in ancient Indian literature which contains a number of stories relating to the voyage of Indians to these distant lands. Although these stories cannot be regarded as historical, yet to have preserved the reminiscence of actual intercourse between India and these countries, and throw interesting light on its early phases of which there is no other record. As such, these stories are of great historical interest and some of them may be referred to here.

1. *Indian Literary Traditions*

The *Jātaka* stories refer to Indian merchants sailing in ships bound for Suvarṇabhūmi in order to get riches there. These ships

1 Detailed reference to the facts and statements made in this chapter will be found in the following works by the writer of this chapter:-

I *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*
Volume I, *Champā*
Volume II, *Suvarṇadvīpa.*

II *Kāmbujadeśa.*

III *Hindu Colonies in the Far East.*

sailed from Tāmralipti, now represented by the inland city of Tamluk (Midnapore district, West Bengal), where inland vessels carried persons and goods from the interior along the Ganga river. Sometimes the voyage was made from Bhārukachchha (Broach) on the western coast. The long lost *Bṛthatkathā* also contained many such stories, some of which have been preserved in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī*, and *Bṛhatkathā-śloka-saṁgraha*. The last work gives us the remarkable story of Sānudāsa who crossed the sea, and then, after many perilous adventures in a journey by land, reached the promised land of gold. This story vividly describes the dangers and difficulties that confronted the pioneers in this field. The *Kathāsarit-sāgara* has several stories of merchants going to Suvarṇadvīpa for trade, some of them, including a princess of Kaṭāha, being ship-wrecked on their way back to India. The *Kathākośa* relates the story of Nāgadatta who made the voyage to Suvarṇadvīpa with five hundred ships. The *Samarāichcha-Kahā*, a Jaina Prākṛit work by Haribhadra (c. A.D. 750), refers to the journeys of merchants, who purchased goods for overseas trade, took to ship at Tāmralipti, landed at Kaṭāha-dvīpa, Mahā-Kaṭāha or Suvarṇadvīpa, sold their goods and bought new ones, and came back or were ship-wrecked. We have references to various localities in Suvarṇadvīpa, and also to a signal to a sailing vessel by a ship-wrecked man.

In addition to such stories we have incidental references to trade with Suvarnabhūmi in various ancient texts. Thus *Milindapañha* refers, by way of comparison, to a ship-owner who has become wealthy by traversing high seas and visiting seaport towns in various countries including Takkola, Chīna and Suvarṇabhūmi. Other Buddhist texts also refer to merchants and missionaries who visited Suvarṇabhūmi. Among the latter are included such well-known names as Uttara and Soṇa, the missionaries of Aśoka, Gavāṁpati, Dharmapāla (seventh century A.D.) and Atīśa Dīpaṅkara (eleventh century A.D.). Among Brahmanical works, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* refers to a *guru* of Suvarṇabhūmi, the *Rāmāyaṇa* refers to Yavadvīpa, and the Purāṇas refer to a number of islands in the east.

2. *Local Traditions and Foreign Accounts*

The testimony of Indian literature is confirmed by traditions current in various parts of Suvarṇadvīpa that these were colonised by the Indians. Reference will be made later to some of them concerning the history by important countries. Here we may relate a number of such legends concerning their less important neighbour. The city of Ligor (Malay Peninsula) is said to have been founded by a descendant of Aśoka, who was driven by pestilence from Magadha.

set sail with a number of followers and was wrecked on the 'Diamond Sands' (near Ligor). Gerini, who records this tradition, says that a large body of brahmanas still live in the city remaining distinct from the Siamese, and they are commonly regarded as the descendants of those that came with the founder of the city.

Yunnan, in Southern China, was called Gandhāra, even so late as the thirteenth century A.D., by Rashid-ud-din who remarks that the local population originated from the Indian and the Chinese. According to a local tradition it was colonised by a great-grandson of Aśoka. There are numerous vestiges of Hindu influences in this locality, and we get reference to two other Hindu kingdoms between it and the Indian border. Gerini, who has collected local traditions of many places in this region, holds that there was a continuous string of petty Hindu states from the Brahmaputra and Manipur to the Tonkin Gulf.

These traditions, supported by the more sober evidence of the Chinese and Greek writers, leave no doubt that the Indians proceeded to these eastern countries both by land and sea. Overland routes from Assam, through Upper Burma, to China and Tonkin to the east and to Siam and Laos in the south, are referred to by the Chinese. The sea route is referred to by the Greeks, the Chinese, and the Arabs. Tāmralipti in Bengal, Paloura (or Dantapur) on the Ganjam coast, three ports near Masulipatam (in Madras), and Broach seem to have been the starting places for ships which in very early times kept close to the coast, but later, made direct voyage across the Bay of Bengal. The stories scattered in Indian books leave no doubt that trade was the first incentive to these voyages, though in course of time, adventurous kshatriyas, eager to make money or set up kingdoms, as well as missionaries of different religious sects, visited these lands and permanently settled there. A vivid and circumstantial account of the voyage of Indian mercantile marine across the sea is preseved by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien who visited this country in the early fifth century A.D. At Tāmralipti 'he embarked in a large merchant-vessel'; 'the wind was favourable, and, after fourteen days, sailing day and night, they came to the country of Siṅghala (Ceylon), a distance of 700 *yojanas*.' His further journey from Ceylon to Java (and from Java to China) is described in minute detail, as the following extract will show:

'Fa Hien... took passage in a large merchantman, on board of which there were more than 200 men, and to which was attached by a rope a smaller vessel, as a provision against damage or injury to the large one from the perils of the navigation. With a favourable wind, they proceeded eastward for three days, and then they encountered a

great wind. The vessel sprang a leak and the water came in. The merchants wished to go to the smaller vessel; but the men on board it, fearing that too many would come, cut the connecting rope. The merchants were greatly alarmed, feeling their risk of instant death. Afraid that the vessel would fill, they took their bulky goods and threw them into the water.

'In this way the tempest continued day and night, till on the thirteenth day the ship was carried to the side of an island, where on the ebbing of the tide, the place of the leak was discovered, and it was stopped, on which the voyage was resumed. On the sea (hereabouts) there are many pirates, to meet with whom is speedy death. The great ocean spreads out, a boundless expanse. There is no knowing east or west; only by observing the sun, moon, and stars was it possible to go forward. If the weather were dark and rainy, (the ship) went as she was carried by the wind, without any definite course. In the darkness of the night, only the great waves were to be seen, breaking on one another, and emitting a brightness like that of fire, with huge turtles and other monsters of the deep (all about). The merchants were full of terror, not knowing where they were going. The sea was deep and bottomless, and there was no place where they could drop anchor and stop. But when the sky became clear, they could tell east and west, and (the ship) again went forward in the right direction. If she had come on any hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape. After proceeding in this way for rather more than ninety days they arrived at a country called Java-dvīpa (Java).'[2]

Another Chinese chronicle, *the History of the Leang Dynasty* (A.D. 502-556), throws very interesting light on the beginning of Indian colonisation in the Far East in connection with the kingdom called Tuen-suen, situated in the Malay Peninsula. We are told that as 'Tuen-suen forms a curve projecting into the sea for more than a thousand *li* (about 150 miles), the merchants from India and Parthia came in large numbers to carry on trade and commerce. Hence the market of Tuen-suen forms a meeting ground between the east and the west, frequented every day by more than ten thousand men.' The Chinese chronicle then reproduces the account given by an Indian who visited these parts in the fifth century A.D.

'Tuen-suen contains five hundred Hu (probably of mercantile caste families of India), two hundred Fo tu (probably Buddhists), and more than a thousand brahmanas of India. The people of Tuen-suen follow their religion and give their daughters in marriage, as most of these brahmanas settle in the country and do not go away,

2 Fa-hien. Tr. by Legge, pp. 111-13.

Day and night they read sacred scriptures and make offerings of white vases, perfumes and flowers to the gods.'

'The account of Tuen-suen is very illuminating as it gives a vivid image of an Indian colony in a foreign land, and shows the process by which colonies grew and exerted their influence over the indigenous population. It is the usual story of trade followed by a missionary propaganda, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, of gradual settlement of Indians in the country, and ultimate fusion with the people by intermarriage with the native population.'[3]

Having thus described the process which led to the growth of Indian settlements in the Far East, we shall now briefly describe the history of a few important localities, beginning with Suvarṇadvīpa. As Alberuni tells us, it comprised the islands now known as East Indies, together with the Malay Peninsula, which the Arabs regarded as a series of islands.[4]

II. SUVARṆADVĪPA

1. *Malay Peninsula*

The geographical position of the Malay Peninsula made it the centre for carrying trade between India and the Far East. No wonder, therefore, that it played an important role in the maritime and colonising activity of the Indians. The Chinese chronicles and actual archaeological remains testify to the existence of several Hindu States in this region. One of these, called by the Chinese Lang-Kia-shu, was probably founded as early as the second century A.D. Its king Bhagadato (Bhagadatta) sent an envoy named Aditya with a letter to the Chinese emperor in A.D. 515. His father, we are told, was expelled by the king, but fled to India and married a princess there. When the king died he was called back by the officers of state and elected king.

We know the names of several other states ruled by the Hindus, such as Karmaraṅga, Kalaśapura, Kala (Kedah) and Pahang, but no details are available. It has been suggested that the fruit called in Bengali Kāmrāṅgā (*Carambola*) derived its name from Karmaraṅga.

Remains of Brahmanical and Buddhist temples and images of gods have been found in different parts of the country testifying to numerous Hindu settlements, particularly in Takua Pa (identified with the famous port of Takkola mentioned by Ptolemy), on the correspond-

3 *Kambujadeśa*, p. 22.

4 For a full discussion of the location of Suvarṇadvīpa, cf. *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, pp. 42 ff.

ing eastern coast round the Bay of Bandon, Kedah and Province Wellesley. Special reference may be made to a cornelian seal with the Hindu name of Śrī Viṣṇuvarman engraved in Indian alphabet of the fifth century A.D.

But by far the most important finds are the large number of inscriptions written in Sanskrit and in Indian alphabets of about the fourth or fifth century A.D. They clearly prove that the Indians, hailing both from Northern and Southern India, had set up colonies in the northern, eastern and western sides of the Malay Peninsula by at least fourth and fifth centuries A.D. One of these inscriptions mentions *Mahānāvika* (great sailor Buddhanagar), in inhabitant of Raktamṛittikā, and seems to record a gift by him and a prayer for his successful voyage. Here we come upon one of those numerous captains of the sea whose daring voyages and nautical skill laid the foundations of Indian colonies but whose names have passed into the limbo of oblivion. Raktamṛittikā (Red clay) has been identified with a place, still called Rāṅgāmāṭi (Red clay), 12 miles south of Murshidabad, in Bengal. But there are other places bearing this name in Chittagong.

The archaeological remains in the Malay Peninsula confirm what might have been deduced on general grounds from literary evidence. Takkola, modern Takua Pa, was the first landing stage of the Indian traders and colonists. From this some crossed the mountain range over to the rich wide plain on the opposite coast round the Bay of Bandon. From this centre they could proceed by land or sea to Siam, Cambodia, Annam, and even further east. This trans-peninsular route, marked by remains of Indian settlements, was followed by many who wanted to avoid the long and risky voyage through the Straits of Malacca. That this second route was also very popular and largely used is indicated by the archaeological remains in the Province Wellesley. This all-sea route was naturally preferred by many traders who wanted to avoid transhipment, and offered a shorter passage to Java and southern Sumatra. On the whole the Malay Peninsula may be regarded as the main gate of the Indian colonial empire in the Far East.

The report of the Archaeological Mission in Malay Peninsula contains interesting observations regarding Hindu colonisation in this land which may be summed up as follows:

'The colonies were large in number and situated in widely remote centres, such as Chumphon, Caiya, the valley of the river Bandon, Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor), Yala (near Patani), and Selensing (in Pahang) on the eastern coast; and Malacca, Province Wellesley,

Takua Pa and the common delta of the rivers Lanya and Tenasserim, on the western.

'The most important of these was unquestionably that of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat (Ligor). It was an essentially Buddhist colony which probably built the great *stūpa* of Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and part of the fifty temples which surrounded it. A little to the north was the colony of Caiya, which appears to have been at first Brahmanical, and then Buddhist. These two groups of colonies were mainly agriculturists. The others which occupied Selensing, Panga, Puket, and Takua Pa, prospered by the exploitation of tin and gold-mines.

'The available evidence justifies the assumption that the region around the Bay of Bandon was a cradle of Further Eastern culture, inspired by waves of Indian influence spreading across the route from Takua Pa. There is a strong persistent local tradition in favour of an early migration of Indians across the route from the west. At the same time person of an Indian cast of features are common on the west coast near Takua Pa, while colonies of brāhmaṇas of Indian descent survive at Nakhon Sri Dhammarat and Patalung, and trace the arrival of their ancestors from India by an overland route across the Malay Peninsula.'[5]

2. *Sumatra*

The big island of Sumatra, separated by a narrow strait from the Malay Peninsula, also occupied an important strategic position in the sea-route between India and the Far East. Although we have no archaeological remains belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era, possibly the Hindus settled here in very early times, and some of the place-mames mentioned by Ptolemy may be located on its coast. But the most important Hindu kingdom in this island was Śrīvijaya. A reference to this name has been traced in a Chinese translation of a Buddhist Sūtra, made in A.D. 392, but this is somewhat doubtful. There is, however, no doubt that Śrīvijaya rose to be a very powerful kingdom in the seventh century A.D. This is proved by four inscriptions, written in old Malay language, of which three were found in Sumatra, and one in the neighbouring island of Baṅka. One of these, dated Śaka 606 (A.D. 684), refers to a king named Śrī Jayanāśa probably a mistake for Jayanāga. Two others, which are nearly identical, hold out threat of severe punishment to the inhabitants of countries, subordinate to Śrīvijaya if they revolt or even aid, abet, or meditate revolt. One of these two, found in

5 Ibid, pp 83 ff.

Baṅka, contains a post-script adding that in Śaka 608 (A.D. 686) the army of Śrīvijaya was starting on an expedition against Java which had not yet submitted to Śrīvijaya.

These inscriptions prove that Śrīvijaya was a powerful kingdom in the last quarter of the seventh century A.D. It had established its authority not only in Palembang and Malayu or Jambi in Sumatra and the island of Baṅka but had sent an expedition to conquer Java as well. The result of this expedition is not known, but we have positive evidence that in course of the next century Śrīvijaya had established its political supremacy over a large part of the Malay Peninsula. A Sanskrit inscription found at Ligor in the northern part of the Peninsula, and dated Śaka 697 (A.D. 775), records the construction of three Buddhist *chaityas* by the king of Śrīvijaya, who is described as the overlord of all neighbouring states whose kings make obeisance to him.

We can thus trace the rise and growth of the powerful kingdom of Śrīvijaya in Sumatra during the century A.D. 675-775. Its capital, Śrīvijaya, which has been located in modern Palembang, was a great centre of trade and culture. I-tsing, the famous Chinese pilgrim. visited it twice and stayed there for seven years from A.D. 688 to 695 in order to study the original Buddhist texts in Sanskrit and Pāli. He says that the state of Malāyu formed a part of Śrīvijaya. The capital city, situated on a river, was the chief trading port with China and there was a regular navigation between the two. The king of Śrīvijaya possessed ships, probably for commerce, which sailed to India. I-tsing sailed in a king's ship to Tāmralipti. Another Chinese pilgrim Wu-hing also made his journey from Śrīvijaya to the port of Nāgapattana (Negapatam) in India on board the king's ship. Śrīvijaya was also a great centre of Buddhist culture, as will be appaernt from the following statement of I-tsing:

"Many kings and chieftains in the islands of the Southern Ocean admire and believe (Buddhism), and their hearts are set on accumulating good actions. In the fortified city of Bhoja (*sic.* Śrīvijaya) Buddhist priests number more than 1,000 whose minds are bent on learning and good practices. They investigate and study all the subjects that exist just as in the Middle Kingdom (Madhya-deśa, India); the rules and ceremonies are not at all different. If a Chinese priest wishes to go to the West in order to hear (lectures) and read (the original), he had better stay here one or two years and practice the proper rules and then proceed to Central India."[6]

Śrīvijaya was recognised by China as the leading state in Sumatra

6 I-tsing. Tr. by Takakusu, p. xxxiv.

and sent several embassies to the imperial court. The earliest on record was sent some time before A.D. 695. Four more embassies were sent between 702 and 728 The king who sent an embassy in A.D. 724 is called by the Chinese Che-li-to-lo-pa-mo, which may stand for Śrīndravarman. The ambassador is called Kumāra, which may be either a personal name or denote the crown prince.

3. *Sailendra Empire*[7]

The political greatness of Śrīvijaya soon passed into the hands of a new dynasty called the Śailendras. Two Sanskrit inscriptions in Java, dated A.D. 778 and 782, prove their supremacy over that island, and a short record engraved on the back of the stone bearing the Ligor inscription of the king of Śrīvijaya dated A.D. 775, shows that shortly after that year the Śailendras had also established their authority in the Malay Peninsula. As we shall see later, Cambodia came to be a vassal state of the Śailendras and remained as such till A.D. 802, and even the distant kingdom of Champā (Annam) was repeatedly raided by their navy. Curiously enough, we do not know how this new dynasty came into power, not even where their original seat of authority lay. The great French scholar G. Coedes holds the view that the Śailendras were originally kings of Śrīvijaya, and gradually conquered Malay Peninsula, Java and the other islands of the archipelago. Śailendra dynasty belonged to Java and, later, conquered Śrīvijaya. There is also a third view that the Śailendras first established their political authority in Malay Peninsula and gradually conquered Java, Śrīvijaya and other kingdoms in the southern seas.[8]

But whatever view we may take, there can be hardly any doubt that the grand empire of the Mahārāja of Zābag, consisting of the islands of Indonesia and Malay Peninsula, to which frequent reference is made by the Arab writers from the middle of the ninth century onwards, represents the Śailendra empire. The following extracts would give a fair view of what the Arab merchants travelling in the East thought of this empire.

1. Ibn Khordadzbeh (A.D. 844-848)

   'The king of Zābag is called *Mahārāja*. His daily revenue amounts to two hundred *mans* of gold. He prepares a solid brick of this gold and throws it into water, saying 'there is my treasure.'

7 Cf. *Suvarṇadvīpa*, Part I, Book ii.
8 Cf. *Śrīviaya* by Prof. K. A. N. Sastri.

2. Abu Zayd Hasan (A.D. 916)

'The king of this town has got the title *Mahārāja*. The area of the kingdom is about 900 (square) *parsangs*. The king is also overlord of a large number of islands extending over a length of 1000 *parsangs* or more. Among the kingdoms over which he rules are the island called Sribuza (Śrīvijaya) with an area of about 400 (square) *parsangs*, and the island called Rami with an area of about 800 (square) *parsangs*. The maritime country of Kalah, midway between Arabia and China, is also included among the territories of *Mahārāja*. The area of Kalah is about 80 (square) *parsangs*. The town of Kalah is the most important commercial centre for trade in aloe, camphor, sandalwood, ivory, tin, ebony, spices, and various other articles. There was a regular maritime inter-course between this port and Oman.

'The *Mahārāja* exercises sovereignty over all these islands. The island in which he lives is very thickly populated from one end to the other.

'There is one very extraordinary custom in Zābag. The palace of the king is connected with the sea by a shallow lake. Into this the king throws every morning a brick made of solid gold. These bricks are covered by water during tide, but are visible during ebb. When the king dies, all these bricks are collected, counted, and weighed, and these are entered in official records The gold is then distributed among the members of the royal family, generals, and royal slaves according to their rank and the remnant is distributed among the poor.'

3. Mas'udī (A.D. 943) remarks

'In the bay of Champā, is the empire of the *Mahārāja*, the king of the islands, who rules over an empire without limit and has innumerable troops. Even the most rapid vessels could not complete in two years a tour round the isles which are under his possession. The territories of this king produce all sorts of spices and aromatics, and no other sovereign of the world has as much wealth from the soil.'

4. Al-beruni (*c.* A.D. 1030) says

'The eastern islands in this ocean which are nearer to China than to India, are the islands of the Zābaj, called by the Hindus Suvarṇadvīpa, i.e. the gold islands... The islands of the Zābaj are called the Gold Country because you obtain much gold as deposit if you wash only a little of the earth of that country.'

The accounts of the Arab writers quoted above leave no doubt that a mighty empire, comprising a large part of the Malay Archipelago

and Malay Peninsula, called Suvarṇadvīpa by the Hindus, flourished from the middle of the ninth to at least the end of the tenth century A.D. Thus, we must hold that even after the loss of Java and Cambodia, the Śailendra empire continued to flourish for more than a century, and Sribuza or Śrīvijaya formed an important and integral part of it.

The Chinese annals contain references to a kingdom called San-fo-tsi which undoubtedly stands for the Śailendra empire. We learn from them that several embassies of the Śailendras visited China during the tenth century A.D.

The detailed Chinese accounts testify to the political and commercial greatness of the Śailendra empire throughout the tenth century A.D.

An Arab writer has told a story how the king of Zābag, offended by a remark of the king of Khmer, invaded his country and cut off his head. Khmer undoubtedly denotes the Kaṁbuja country (Cambodia). Its king Jayavarman II. who ascended the throne in A.D. 802 after his return from Java, performed a religious ceremony 'in order that Kaṁbuja might not again be dependent on Java'. As Java was a part of the Śailendra empire, Kaṁbuja must have been a vassal state under the Śailendras till at least the beginning of the ninth century A.D. Java also freed herself from the yoke of the Śailendras about the middle of that century. But in spite of the loss of Java and Kaṁbuja, the Śailendra empire was a powerful one throughout the ninth and tenth centuries A.D as testified to by the Arab writers.

We have evidence of a close and intimate association between the Śailendra emperors and Bengal, then under the Pāla dynasty. A Sanskrit inscription in Java, dated A.D. 782, refers to the Buddhist king Indra, an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty, and of his *guru* (spiritual preceptor) Kumāraghoṣa, an inhabitant of Gauḍa (Bengal.) This preceptor, who set up an image of Mañjuśrī, is also said to have obtained the reverent hospitality (*satkāra*) of king Śrī-Saṅgrāma-Dhanañjaya. As the next portion of the record is lost, we cannot trace the relationship between these two kings, but presumably Kumāraghoṣa of Gauḍa was acknowledged as *guru* by more than one Śailendra king and deeply influenced the Buddhism of this locality. This is further proved by the Nālandā copper-plate dated in the year 35 (or 39) of the Pāla emperor Devapāla (*c.* A.D. 845). This inscription records the grant of five villages by Devapāla at the request of the illustrious Bālaputradeva, king of Suvarṇadvīpa. It concludes with a short account of Bālaputradeva which may be summed up as follows:

'There was a great king of Yavabhūmi (*Yavabhūmi-pāla*), whose name signified "tormentor of brave foes" (*Vīra-vairimathan-ānugat-ābhidhāna*) and who was an ornament of the Śailendra dynasty (*Śailendra-vaṁśa-tilaka*). He had a valiant son (called) Samarāgravīra (or who was the foremost warrior in battle). His wife Tārā, daughter of king Śrī-Varmasetu of the lunar race, resembled the goddess Tārā. By this wife he had a son Śrī-Bālaputra, who built a monastery at Nālandā.'

The Śailendras also maintained diplomatic relations with China. Their kingdom is referred to in the Chinese of chronicler as San-fo-tsi, which, according to some scholars, stands for Śrīvijaya, though this is somewhat doubtful. The Chinese Annals refer to embassies sent by San-fo-tsi in A.D. 904, 960, 961, 962, 971, 972, 974, 975, 980 and 982. They also refer to merchants from San-fo-tsi visiting Chinese ports in the tenth century A.D.

Although we do not possess any detailed history of the Śailendras, their reign constitutes an important landmark in the history of south-east Asia. For the first time we find Malaysia or at least the greater part of it, united under one political authority. This empire was at the height of its power in the last quarter of the eighth century A.D. It would appear from the Arab accounts that the emergence of the Śailendras as the greatest naval and trading power in Indonesia constituted an international event of outstanding importance. But in reality the Śailendras were more than a great military or political power. They introduced a new type of culture which manifested itself in the new vigour of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and the highly developed art which produced such splendid monument as Chaṇḍi Kalasan, Chaṇḍi Mendut and the famous Barabudur in Java. They also introduced a new kind of Indian alphabet into Java, and the adoption of a new name Kaliṅga for that island, if not the whole of Malaysia, at least by the foreigners, is also probably to be traced to their influence. This has given rise to the theory that the Śailendras probably originally came from the Kaliṅga country. But although this view finds some support in the analogous names of Śailodbhavas and Śailas, two ruling races in Kaliṅga coast and its hinterland, we cannot say anything definite about it.

4. *Java*

The island of Java is one of the most fertile countries in the world. It has a rich flora, produces excellent timber, and is even now the most thickly populated country in the whole world. Presumably for

the same reasons, it was the most flourishing of the ancient Hindu colonies in the Malay Archipelago.

The primitive people of Java possessed some rudiments of civilisation, the precise nature of which it is now difficult to determine. But the Hindu colonisation was by far the most outstanding event in the history of the island, and profoundly modified the culture and civilisation of the people. Although we have no definite record of the early stages of this colonisation, popular legends, current in Java for more than a thousand years, have preserved its memory. According to many of these stories Aji Saka, the leader of the first colonists was associated with the heroes of the *Mahābhārata,* and landed in Java in the year 1 of the Śaka era which thus became the national era of Java. He gave the name Yava (barley) to the island, which was then called Nusa Kendang, and introduced the arts and religion of India among the primitive people, who are called Rasaksa (i.e. Rākṣasa or demons).

Another cycle of legends gives the credit for the colonisation of Java to the people of Kaliṅga. The prince of Kling (Kaliṅga) is said to have sent to Java twenty thousand families who prospered and multiplied. A prince named Kāno, who flourished in the year 289 of the Javanese era, i.e. Śaka era introduced higher elements of civilisation among them. Four hundred years later sprang up another principality, named Astina, ruled successively by Pula Sara, his son Abiāsa, and the latter's son Pāṇḍu Deva Nātha.

In these last names we can easily recognise, Hastināpura, Parāśara, Vyāsa, and Pāṇḍu. Thus the two cycles of legends are combined, and we find a further modification when Aji Saka and his associates of Hastinā are first taken to Gujarat whence a further wave of migration to Java took place at a later date.

These legends seem to preserve some elements of historical truth. In the first place, the migration of the colonists from Kaliṅga and Gujarat is supported by the evidence of the Jātakas and the Greek writers, as noted above. Secondly, the beginnings of the Indian colonisation in Java in the early years of the Śaka era, as reported in these stories, cannot be very far from truth. For the Greek geographer Ptolemy mentions the name of Iabadiu or Sabadiou, which is explained as the 'Island of Barley.' There can be hardly any doubt that the Greek form of the name is a transcription of Sanskrit Yavadvīpa. Ptolemy also tells us that the island was of extraordinary fertility and produced very much gold.

The Sanskrit name Yavadvīpa used by Ptolemy seems to indicate the existence of an Indian colony in this island in the second century A.D., and possibly some time before that. The name Yavadvīpa also

occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa* in a famous passage which gives a list of countries which Hanumān was to visit in search of Sītā. Although the date of the extant text of the *Rāmāyaṇa* cannot be definitely determined, the passage probably shows that the Indians settled in the island and gave a new name to it before the Christian era.

The Chinese chronicles also fully support the early date of Indian colonisation of Java. The *Heu-Han-shu* mentions an embassy sent to China in A.D. 132 by Tiao-Pien, king of Ye-tiao. Pelliot recognised the identity of Ye-tiao with Yavadvīpa, and Ferrand explained the name of the king as a Chinese rendering of Deva-varman. If we accept these identifications we must hold that by the year A.D. 132 the Indians had not only colonised the island of Java but also established their political authority here on a firm footing.

There are possibly other references of Java in the Chinese annals, but the question is rendered difficult by the uncertainty in respect of the identification of Chinese names. We have, thus, references to Chu-po or Cho-po, which has been identified with Java by some scholars. In A.D. 430 the king of Ho-lo-tan, who ruled over the island of Cho-po, sent ambassadors to China with presents which included white Indian rugs and cottons. In addition to this, four or five embassies were sent from Ho-lo-tan between A.D. 434 and 452, and two from Cho-po in A.D. 433 and 435. The names of the various kings were Indian ending in Varman.

The Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who visited Java in A.D. 414-15 and stayed there for five months, observes that 'various forms of error and Brahmanism are flourishing while Buddhism is not worth mentioning.' It seems, therefore, that Brahmanism was the prevailing religion in the island up to the fifth century A.D. But that Buddhism soon made is influence felt is proved by the story of Guṇavarman preserved in a Chinese work, *Kao-seng-chuan* (Biography of famous monks) compiled in A.D. 519. Guṇavarman belonged to the royal family of Ki-pin., which has been identified both with Kashmir and Kapiśa (in modern Afghanistan). He took to monastic life and came to Java some time before A.D. 424, i.e. shortly after Fa-hien left. He converted the king and his mother, and gradually the Buddhist religion was spread throughout the kingdom. Guṇavarman, invited by the Chinese Emperor, sailed in a vessel owned by a Hindu merchant Nandin (Nan-ti) and reached Nankin in A.D. 431.

We may thus hold that by the fifth century A.D. Indian culture and religion had a strong hold on the island of Java. This is fully corroborated by four inscriptions, found near Batavia, written in Sanskrit language and the current Indian script. They all refer to a king

named Pūrṇavarman. One of the inscriptions, dated in the 22nd year of his reign, refers to his grandfather as *rājarṣi* (royal ascetic); and records the digging of two canals (or rivers) called Gomatī and Chandrabhāgā by the king and a *rājādhirāja*, probably his father. The king paid a thousand cows to brāhmaṇas as *dakṣiṇā* or fee. The script, language and contents of the inscriptions testify to the thoroughgoing character of the Indian culture and civilisation in Java, even to the extent of transferring familiar geographical names to the new home by the colonists. On palaeographical evidence the inscriptions may be referred to the fifth or sixth century A.D., more probably the latter.

Pūrṇavarman, thus, probably ruled in the sixth century A.D. over Western Java. It appears from two Chinese chronicles of the Sui Period (A.D. 589-618) that in Tou-po, which has been identified with Java by Pelliot, there were more than ten kingdoms. In the history of the T'ang Period also reference is made to twenty-eight feudatory kings acknowledging the supremacy of Java. It may thus be held that normally the island was divided into a number of small kingdoms which were at times brought under the political authority of a supreme ruler.

One such ruler was Sañjaya who is known from a Sanskrit inscription, engraved on a stone slab which originally belonged to a Śaiva temple at Chaṅgal in Kedu (Central Java). It contains an invocation to the gods Śiva, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, praises the island of Java, and refers to its king Sanna or Sannāha who ruled righteously like Manu for a long time. He was succeeded by Sañjaya, who set up a Śivaliṅga in the Śaka year 654 (A.D. 732). Sañjaya was probably the son of Sannāha, but some lacunae in the record make this point somewhat uncertain. It has been inferred from certain passages in this record that the royal family had recently emigrated to Java from a locality named Kuñjara-Kuñja in South India.

King Sañjaya is referred to in this record as a 'conqueror of the countries of neighbouring kings.' This vague statement is, however, corroborated by literary evidence. A Javanese chronicle gives a long list of countries conquered by the king Sañjaya, son of Sena (presumably the same as Sanna). The conquered kingdoms cannot all be definitely identified but include Java, Bali, Malāyu (Jambi in Sumatra), Khmer (Cambodia) and China.

The Javanese chronicle concludes the account by saying that 'Sañjaya returned from his over-sea expedition to Galun'. It is difficult to decide how far we can accept its detailed statement of conquests as historical. We may accept Krom's view that Sañjaya ruled over

Java and possibly led some expeditions across the sea. But Stutterheim not only takes the passage in the chronicle at its face value but builds up an ingenious hypothesis according to which Sañjaya was the founder of the Śailendra dynasty. This theory has not, however, met with general acceptance.

Sañjaya was the founder of what came to be known as the kingdom of Matarām, at least as early as the tenth century A.D. It is probable that it was located in the region covered by the famous kingdom of Matarām ruled over by the Muhammadan Sultans since the last years of the sixteenth century A.D. Its capital was probably Prambanan, or a place near it, in Central Java.

As has been noted above, the Śailendras conquered Java in the reign of Sañjaya or his immediate successor. There is no doubt that they ruled over Central Java, as some of their biggest monuments are in this region. There is equally little doubt that the Śailendra supremacy was over and the kingdom of Matarām was revived in the middle of the ninth century A.D. or towards its close. It would appear from some statements in the Chinese chronicles that when the dynasty of Sañjaya was ousted from Central Java, about the middle of the eighth century A.D., it shifted its capital about 100 to 150 miles to the east; but it recovered its old capital before the end of the ninth century A.D.

One of the kings of this period, Sajjanotsavatuṅga, is known from his inscription dated A.D. 500. Towards the close of the ninth century ruled Dharmodaya Mahāśaṁbhu, who has left no less than twelve inscriptions. One of these gives a list of eight kings of Matarām who preceded him. The list is headed by Sañjaya, and the second name has been identified with a Śailendra king. Some of the remaining kings in this list are also known from their own records. It is to be noted, however, that other kings are also known to have ruled in this region during the same period. Thus, we have a copperplate charter, dated A.D. 892, of a king named *rake* Limus Śrī Devendra. With one or two exceptions all these inscriptions were found in Central Java.

The Twelve inscriptions of Dharmodaya Mahāśaṁbha with dates ranging between A.D. 898 and 910, show that he ruled over both Central and Eastern Java. The various royal names and titles given in these records are also very interesting. The full form of the royal name usually consisted of a special *raka* title, an Indonesian proper name, and the Sanskrit coronation name. Thus, this king is called in one record 'Mahārāja rake Watukura dyah Balitung Śrī Īśvarakeśavotsavatuṅga.' But he had, in addition to Balitung, another personal

name, Garuḍamuka, and also another *rake* title, viz. 'rake Halu or Galu'. But the most interesting thing is the variety of coronation names assumed by him, such as Uttuṅgadeva, Īśvara-Keśavotsavatuṅga, Īśvarakeśava-samarottuṅga, and Dharmodaya Mahāśambhu.

Dharmodaya was succeeded by Śrī Dakshottama Bajrabāhu Pratipakshakshaya, in or before A.D. 915, and the latter by Tuloḍong Śrī Sajjanasanmatānurāga-(ut) tuṅggadeva. Both of these ruled in Central and East Java. But all the four records of the next king Wawa Śrī Vijayalokanāmottuṅga come from East Java and there is nothing to connect him with Central Java. But he was probably also a king of Matarām. For the benedictory formula used in the official records up to his time is 'May gods protect the Kraton (palace) of His Majesty at Meḍang in Matarām. In the time of his successor, Siṇḍdok, the formula is changed into 'May Gods protect the Kraton of the divine spirits of Meḍang.' These divine spirits obviously refer to the past kings who were dead. A comparison of the two formulae leaves no doubt that after Wawa's reign, Matarām ceased to be the land of living kings who henceforth fixed their capital in East Java. As the old formula was used in A.D. 927, and the new one in A.D. 929, we may regard the year A.D. 928 as the date of the great change to the east which meant an end of Matarām as the seat of the royal power.

Although Matarām was the most important kingdom in Java during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., some other states also flourished in the island during the same period. A stone inscription, in Sanskrit, discovered at Dinaya to the north of Malang records that a stone image of Agastya was consecrated in A.D. 760 with elaborate rituals performed by priests versed in Vedic lore. The king, who set up this fine stone image in order to replace an old and decayed one made of sandalwood by one of his predecessors, also built a temple of Agastya. The name of this king is not legible. But his mother Uttejanā was the daughter of Gajavāna, son of king Devasiṁha. Whether this royal family was connected in any way with that of Sañjaya, or was an altogether independent line ruling over a small principality in E. Java, it is difficult to determine. The latter view seems more probable, for the Chinese chronicles refer to several states in Java, with separate names such as Ho-ling (Kaliṅga) and Cho-po (Java). At least six embassies were sent from Ho-ling and three or four from Cho-po to China during the T'ang period. It is evidently from these envoys that the Chinese chroniclers got reliable information about Java. As such the following statement in the *New History of the T'ang Dynasty* is very important: 'The king

lives in the town of Java. On different sides there are twenty-eight small countries, all acknowledging the supremacy of Java. There are thirty-two high ministers and the Daso-Kan-hiung is the first of them.'

As the *New History* refers to embassy from Java during A.D. 860 and 873, the political condition is probably true of the third quarter of the ninth century A.D. We may, therefore, hold that Java was about this time a powerful state with 28 small states under its suzerainty. This is in fair agreement with the sketch of political history given above.

After the accession of Siṇḍok about A.D. 928, not only was the centre of political authority changed to the eastern part of Java, but there was almost a complete collapse of culture and civilisation in Central Java. Various theories have been put forward to account for this great change. It has been suggested that a civil war, accompained by ravage and massacre on a huge scale, brought about the downfall of Central Java. But it may be pointed out that the famous monuments of Central Java show no marks of wilful damage or destruction. Another theory attributes the wholesale desertion of Central Java either to an epidemic or popular panic caused by the eruption of a volcano. According to a third view, the fear of the Śailendras forced the Javanese kings to shift to the east and deliberately reduce Central Java to a no-man's land as a policy to prevent any further invasion from the west. None of these explanations seems to be quite satisfactory. The removal of the capital to the east was undoubtedly due to the fear of the Śailendras, and the rest possibly followed as a matter of course. Slowly but steadily the flow of Javanese life and culture followed the political change and gradually Central Java lost cultural pre-eminence along with political importance. Some extraneous causes, like epidemic, volcanic eruption, or foreign aggressions might have hastened the decay, but it was the inevitable consequence of the transfer of political authority towards the east.

Siṇḍok, the first king of Eastern Java, assumed the name of Śrī Īśāna-Vikrama Dharmottuṅgadeva at the time of his coronation and ruled for nearly twenty years (c. A.D. 929-949). Nearly twenty inscriptions of his reign have so far come to light, but they mostly refer to pious and religious foundations and supply very little historical informations. They have all been found within a very narrow area, viz. the valley of the Brantas river. But considering the great respect with which his memory was cherished in Javanese tradition for several centuries, we must hold that his authority was not limited to this region.

Sindok was succeeded by his daughter who ruled as queen Śrī Iśānatuṅgavijayā. She was married to king Śrī Lokapāla and the issue of this marriage was king Śrī Makutavarśavardhana. He had a daughter named Mahendradattā, also known as Guṇapriyadharmapatnī, who was married to Udayana. Although Udayana is said to have belonged to a royal family, neither he nor his wife seems to have ever exercised royal authority. Their son Airlangga was married to the daughter of Dharmavaṁśa, who is described as *pūrva-yavādhipati,* which may mean either an old ruler of Java, or a king of Eastern Java. In any case Dharmavaṁśa ruled towards the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D.

5. *Bali*

The island of Bali to the east of Java, is separated from it by a narrow channel about a mile and a half wide. Although very small in area—its extreme length and breadth being respectively 93 and 50 miles—it possesses a great importance in the history of Indian colonisation in Suvarṇadvīpa for two reasons. In the first place, it has still retained its Hindu religion and culture; and secondly, it has preserved the vast Indo-Javanese literature and cultural traditions.

Unfortunately, unlike other islands, Bali does not contain any archaeological remains of a very early date, and all that we know of it before the tenth cetury A.D. is derived from the writings of the Chinese. They contain many references to an island called P'o-li, which has been identified with Bali by Paul Pelliot, though some previous scholars located it in the northern coast of Sumatra.

The earliest reference to Bali is contained in the *History of the Leang Dynasty* which covers the period A.D. 502-556. It tells us that the name of the king (or of his family) is Kauṇḍinya, who claimed that the wife of Śuddhodana was a daughter of his country. The pomp and luxury of the king and his retinue, as described by the Chinese, leaves no doubt that already by the sixth century A.D. Bali had developed into a rich and civilised kingdom ruled by Indian colonists

The king of Bali sent an envoy to China in A.D. 518, and this was repeated at least twice in the next century, in 616 and 630. The Chinese pilgrim I-tsing records, towards the close of the seventh century A.D., that Bali was a stronghold of Buddhism.

For nearly two centuries after this we do not know anything of Bali. But a series of copper-plate grants throw some light on its history from the beginning of the tenth century A.D. We know of several kings whose names and known dates are given below.

1. Ugrasena — A.D. 915, 933.

2. Tabanendra-varmadeva — A.D. 955.
3. Chandrabhayasingha-varmadeva — A.D. 962.
4. Janasādhu-varmadeva — A.D. 975.
5. Queen Śrī-Vijayamahādevī — A.D. 983.

No particulars are known of any of these. But shortly after the reign of the last-named queen the island was conquered by Java. For a few inscriptions, discovered at Bali, were issued in the name of Guṇapriyadharmapatnī, followed by that of her husband Dharmodayana-varmadeva. There can be no doubt that these two are to be identified with the Javanese princess Mahendradattā, *alias* Guṇapriyadharmapatnī and her husband Udayana mentioned above in connection with Java. As the name of the wife precedes that of her husband in the inscriptions of Bali, we must presume that she was ruling over the island in her own right. Her husband Dharmodayana-varmadeva (shorter form Udayana) was probably a native of the island of Bali, and the two together were governing Bali on behalf of the Javanese king, either Makuṭavaṁśvardhana or Dharmava or perhaps both.

6. *Borneo*

Even the island of Borneo, which today enjoys the unenviable notoriety of being the land of head-hunters, was at least partially colonised by the Indians. The earliest evidence of the Hindu colonisation is furnished by four inscriptions engraved on stone pillars, found in the district of Koti (Kutei), at Muara Kaman on the Mahakam river in East Borneo. These inscriptions are written in Sanskrit language and Indian script and have been referred on palaeographic grounds to about A.D. 400. We learn from these records that king Kuṇḍuṅga had a famous son Aśvavarman who was the originator of a royal family. His eldest son king Śrī-Mūlavarman, performed the Bahu-suvarṇaka sacrifice and on that occasion the pillars (*yūpa*) were set up by the Brāhmaṇas who received from the king the gift of 20,000 cows in the holy field of Vaprakeśvara.

These inscriptions and a number of Buddhist and Brahmanical images found in a cave at Kombeng, considerably to the north of Muara Kaman and to the east of the upper course of the Telen river, prove that by the fourth century A.D. the Indians had established their political authority over a considerable part of East Borneo and introduced a large element of Hindu culture.

The Indians had also many settlements in West Borneo along the Kapuas river. For at various places on or near the bank of this river a number of inscriptions engraved on rock stones and golden plates have come to light. Although they do not supply his-

torical information they show the influence of Indian culture and religion, presumably introduced by Indian settlers.

III. CHAMPĀ

The eastern coastal region of Indo-China, now known as Annam, was the seat of a great Hindu colonial kingdom, called Champā. The Annamites, after whom the region is now named, lived in Tonkin and the region immediately to its south, while the rest of the province gradually passed under the sway of the Hindu colonists. A long range of hills, running north and south across the whole length of the country, separated it from the valley of the Mekong river in the west, where flourished another Hindu kingdom called Kaṁbuja, from which has been derived the modern name of Cambodia.

By 215 B.C. the Chinese had established undisputed supremacy over the greater part of the province, as far south at least as Cape Varella (13° N. Lat.). The indigenous population, the Chams, who at first lived to the south of this area, gradually advanced towards the north and by the first century A.D. we find them firmly established in large numbers as far as Quang-nam (16° N. Lat.) considerably to the north of Cape Varella. The Chinese historians describe these Chams as savages who had no knowledge of cultivation and lived on hunting alone. But in the early centuries of the Christian era the independent Chams to the south of Cape Varella were sufficiently organised and advanced in military skill. In A.D. 137 they invaded the southernmost territories of the Chinese, destroyed some Chinese forts, ravaged the whole country and occupied some of the Chinese districts after defeating imperial army. Soon the Chams of the Chinese dominion also revolted and about A.D. 192 K'iu-lien, a native of Siang-lin, killed the Chinese officer in charge of the city and proclaimed himself king. This city came to be known as Champā from the capital city of that name which is now represented by Tia-kieu, a little to the south of Quang-nam.

There can be little doubt that the rise of the Cham power was due to the settlement of Indians in large numbers in the country. For it can be hardly a matter of coincidence that we find a Hindu family ruling immediately to the south of Cape Varella about the time when the kingdom of Champā was founded. The earliest account of this dynasty is given in a rock inscription found close to the village of Vo-canh in the province of Khanh-hoa. The inscription is unfortunately mutilated, but even the fragment that remains is of great interest. It is composed in Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse, and the script does not exhibit the peculiar characteristics of

the South Indian alphabet such as we find in later records. It refers to the royal family of Śrī Māra and records the donation made by a king of this family. The inscription is not dated, but has been referred on palaeographic grounds to the second or third century A.D.[9] As the donor is said to belong to the family of Śrī Māra, this king possibly lived at least three or four generations before him. Thus, we may refer the foundation of a kingdom in southern Champā by Śrī Māra to a date not later than the second century A.D.

The Vocanh inscription proves the introduction of Hindu language and culture and the establishment of political authority by the Hindu colonists in Champā by the second century A.D. How long before this the Indians first came into contact with this region, it is difficult to say. Later traditions, as usual, refer the first Hindu dynasty to hoary antiquity. Thus, an inscription dated A.D. 875 describes how Uroja, apparently the first king, was sent to the earth by God Śiva. Three other inscriptions, the earliest of which is dated A.D. 784 refer to king Vichitrasāgara who is said to have flourished in the year 5911 of the Dvāparayuga. These traditions prove that the Chams in later age associated the Hindu colonists with the beginnings of their history and culture.

The first historical Hindu king of Champā is, however, Śrī-Māra of the Vo-canh Rock Inscription. Maspeo has proposed to identify him with K'iu-lien who, according to Chinese history, founded the kingdom of Champā about A.D. 192.[10] This is quite a probable hypothesis though we have no definite evidence in support of it. In any case, the foundation of the kingdom of Champā was followed by further raids of the Chams on Chinese territory. They took full advantage of the internal disorders in China which led to its dismemberment in three parts during A.D. 220-265. In A.D. 248 the Chams sent a naval expedition which ravaged the provincial capital Kiaoche (Hanoi) with several other towns and even defeated the Chinese fleet sent against them. At last a treaty was concluded by which the Chinese ceded some territories, corresponding roughly to the modern district of Thua-thien, immediately to the north of the kingdom of Champā.

For nearly a century and a half after this we are solely dependent on the Chinese chronicles for the history of Champā. They have preserved the names of several kings who either fought with the Chinese or sent an embassy to the Imperial court. But unfortunately they give only the Chinese form of the names. Each of these

9. D. C. Sircar (*SI*, p. 471) refers it to the fourth century A.D.

10 For other views cf. *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 486-88.

begins with Fan, 'an equivalent of the termination of royal names with varman, interpreted by the Chinese as the name of family.'[11] It may be added that Varman forms the names ending of all the Cham kings in later times.

King Fan Hiong, who became king of Champā some time between A.D. 270 and 280, was probably descended from Śrī-Māra in the female line. He made an alliance with the king of Fu-nan (in Cambodia) and ravaged Chinese territories for ten years till peace was concluded in A.D. 280, probably on terms unfavourable to the Chinese. His son Fan Yi had a long and peaceful reign and sent an embassy to the Imperial court of China in A.D. 284.

On the death of Fan Yi in A.D. 336 the throne was usurped by his commander-in-chief Fan Wen. In A.D. 347 he led an expedition against the Chinese governor, and conquered the province of Nhut-nam, corresponding to the three northern districts of Thua-thien, Quang-tri and Quang-binh. The kingdom of Champā was thus extended to its furthest limits in the north. Wen also defeated the savage tribes who formed independent states within the kingdom and thus laid the foundation of a strong and consolidated kingdom. His son Fan Fo (A.D. 349-80) was, however, less successful in his wars with the Chinese who once advanced up to the very walls of the capital city of Champā. A treaty was concluded by which a considerable part of the province of Nhut-nam was restored to the Chinese (A.D. 359). During the rest of his reign Fan Fo lived in peace and sent two embassies to China in A.D. 372 and 377.

Fan Hou-ta, who succeeded his father Fan Fo, renewed the struggle with the Chinese. After a prolonged warfare, he not only succeeded in recovering Nhut-nam but even carried his arms further to the north as far as Than-hoa. Although defeated in a pitched battle in A.D. 413 he resisted successfully all the efforts of the Chinese governor to retake this city. This king is probably to be identified with king Bhadra-varman, two of whose inscriptions have been found at My-son, near Champā, and Cho-dinh to the north of Cape Varella Three other inscriptions also probably belong to his reign. On palaeographic grounds these have been referred to the fifth century A.D and this agrees well with the reign-period of Fan Hou-ta. But whatever we might think of the identification of the two, Bhadra-varman was one of the most important kings in ancient Champā. His full name was Dharma-mahārāja Śrī Bhadra-varman. He constructed a temple at My-son for the God Śiva, which was called after him Bhadreśvarasvāmī. This temple became the national sanctuary of

11 *IHQ*, XVI, p. 487.

Champā and kept alive the name and fame of Bhadra-varman for many centuries. The practice which he set on foot of calling the tutelary deity by the name of the reigning king was undoubtedly derived from India, but came to be almost universally adopted by his successor in Champā. The inscriptions of Bhadra-varman are written in Sanskrit and refer to the endowment of lands he made to the temple at My-son. One of them describes the king as versed in the Vedas.

According to the Chinese accounts, the death of Fan Hou-ta, in A.D. 413, was followed by internal dissensions in course of which his son and successor Ti-chen abdicated the throne in favour of his nephew and himself went to India. This small detail suggests his identification with the king Gaṅgārāja, who is mentioned in an inscription as having abdicated the throne in order to spend his last days on the bank of the Gaṅgā in India. But whatever we might think of this identification, the departure of the king was followed by a civil war. Anarchy and confusion followed, attended with murders and quick successions to the throne till the order was restored by Fan Yang Mai, probably a son of Fan Hou-ta, who ascended the throne about A.D. 400. He carried on raids into the Chinese territory, but being severely defeated in A.D. 420, made peace with the Imperial court. His son and successor, Yang Mai II was less wise. He continued the usual raids and in A.D. 431 sent more than 100 vessels to pillage the coast of Nhut-nam. The Chinese sent a military force and a fleet against him, but none of these achieved any decisive victory. Encouraged at the failure of the Chinese, Yang Mai sent raiding parties every year against the Chinese territory and was bold enough to send an envoy in A.D. 433 to the Chinese Emperor asking to be appointed the governor of Tonkin. Irritated by this effrontery the Chinese Emperor sent a strong force against Champā in A.D. 446. In spite of heroic resistance the Chinese carried everything before them and advanced towards the capital. Yang Mai opposed them with a huge army but suffered terrible defeat and fled from the battle field. The victorious Chinese general then entered Champā-pura in triumph and gradually occupied the whole country. All the temples were sacked and their statues were melted, yielding about 100,000 pounds of pure gold. The Chinese victory was complete.

One incident in the final battle between Yang Mai II and the Chinese deserves special mention. Yang Mai placed a large number of elephants in front of his army and this terrified the Chinese soldiers. The Chinese general hit numerous ingenious devices to counter the danger. He prepared numerous figures of lions by means of bamboo and paper and threw them before the elephants. These took

fright and fled in disorder, throwing into confusion the very army they were intended to protect. This was one of the main causes that led to the complete rout of the Cham army.

The Chinese force returned with a huge booty and Yang Mai II came back to his ruined capital. But he soon died of a broken heart (A.D. 446).

Yang Mai II was succeeded by his son and grandson who remained on friendly terms with the Chinese courts and sent embassies with presents in 455, 458 and 472. Soon after the death of the latter, a fugitive rebel from Fu-nan usurped the throne of Champā. He had committeed some crime and, to evade punishment, fled to Champā. Jaya-varman, the king of Fu-nan, sent a monk, Śākya Nāgasena, to the Chinese Emperor asking for the aid of Chinese troops to punish the rebel. The Emperor, however, refused the request, and not only recognised the usurper as the king of Champā, but also gave him high-sounding honorary titles in A.D. 491. But shortly after this the usurper was defeated and dethroned by Chu Nong, a grandson of Yang Mai II. The new king was also recognised by the Chinese Emperor and sent embassies to him in 492 and 495. But he died in A.D. 498 and was succeeded by his son, grandson and great-grandson, the last of whom was Vijaya-varman. He sent two embassies to China in 526 and 527.

Vijaya-varman was succeeded by Rudra-varman whose genealogy is given in an inscription engraved on stele at My-son. It begins with Gaṅgārāja who abdicated the throne and retired to the banks of the Gaṅgā. It next mentions king Manoratha-varman, but the relation between the two cannot be determined on account of the damaged nature of the stone. Manoratha-varman's granddaughter (daugher's daughter) was married to a Brāhmaṇa and their issue was Rudra-varman.

It is thus quite clear that Rudra-varman was not a direct descendant of Vijaya-varman, but if we accept the identification of Gaṅgārāja and Ti-chen suggested above Rudra-varman may be regarded as belonging to a collateral branch of the royal family, deriving his right to the throne from Gaṅgārāja.

We learn from an inscription that during the reign of Rudra-varman the famous temple of Bhadreśvarasvāmī was burnt by fire. The date of this event was also given in the inscription, but of this only the hundred-figure, viz. 400 can be read. Rudra-varman thus flourished in the fifth century of the Śaka era, and may be identified with Kao Che Lu To Lo Pa Ma (Ku Śrī Rudra-varman) mentioned in the Chinese annals, was sought for his investiture from the Chinese Emperor in A.D. 529 by payment of tribute and renewed

the tribute again in 534. Although what the Chinese call as tribute is nothing but presents, and should not be regarded as a regular payment by a vassal state, there is no doubt that China was at this time looked upon as a paramount power by the smaller states in Indo-China whose goodwill they were anxious to maintain.

About this time the Annamites of Tonkin revolted and threw off the Chinese yoke. Rudra-varman, probably at the instigation of the Chinese Emperor, invaded the province but was defeated and forced to retreat (A.D. 541).

Rudra-varman was succeeded by his son Praśastadharma who took the name Śaṁbhu-varman at the time of his coronation. He constructed a new temple for the God Bhadreśvarasvāmī in place of the one burnt during his father's reign, and re-named the image as Śambhu-Bhadreśvara, by adding his own name to that of the original founder.

Taking advantage of the political turmoil in China, Śambhu-varman stopped the payment of customary presents, but renewed it as soon as the Sui Dynasty was established on the Imperial throne. But the Chinese general who had been sent to quell the rebellion in Tonkin was ordered to invade Champā. The Chinese advanced both by land and sea, and having inflicted several defeats upon Śambhu-varman reached the capital in A.D. 605. The Chinese general cut off the left ears of about 10,000 Cham soldiers who were captured in the war. He sacked the capital city and took away as captives all the inhabitants he could lay hands on. He also took away the golden tablets of eighteen kings who had ruled over Champā before Śaṁbhu-varman as well as 1350 Buddhist manuscripts. Among his captives were some musicians from Fu-nan who introduced the musical art of India to the Imperial court.

As soon as the Chinese army left, Śaṁbhu-varman returned to his capital and sent an ambassador to the Imperial court asking for pardon. He was succeeded in A.D. 629 by his son Kandarpadharma, who also kept peace with China by regular payment of tribute.

Kandarpadharma's son and successor Prabhāsadharma was killed with all his family by a palace revolution in A.D. 645. Then the people raised a Brāhmaṇa, a son-in-law of king Kandarpadharma, on the throne. But he, too, was deposed by the nobles, who first offered the throne to his wife and later to the sister's son of Śaṁbhu-varman, who came back from Kaṁbuja (where his father had fled after committing a crime) and married the daughter of Kandarpadharma. The next king Prakāśadharma Vikrānta-varman was a devotee of both Śiva and Viṣṇu and erected many temples. He had a long reign

of more than thirty-one years (A.D. 656-687) and maintained cordial relations with China by sending embassies and regular tribute

We know the names of three more kings of this dynasty, viz. Nara-vahan-varman, Vikrāntavarman II, and Rudra-varman II, but hardly anything about them beyond the embassies they sent to China. With Rudra-varman II, who died about A.D. 757, ended the dynasty founded by the first king of that name about A.D. 529. The findspots of their inscriptions show that the province of Quang-nam, known as Amarāvatī, in which the capital city of Champā was situated, formed the stronghold of the dynasty, but its power extended over the whole of Southern Annam.

The new dynasty that succeeded had probably its headquarters in the south in the region known as Kauṭhāra where alone its inscriptions have been found. Its founder Prithivīndra-varman claims that 'he enjoyed the lands by having conquered all his enemies by his own power' and 'destroyed all the thieves.' This shows that there were disorders and perhaps civil war, and the military genius of Prithivīndra-varman enabled him to seize the throne. It is also not unlikely that the naval raid by the Javanese, to which reference will shortly be made, caused the overthrow of the last dynasty and the heroic resistance of Prithivīndra-varman against the foreign marauders gained him the throne. In any case, Prithivīndra-varman seems to have had a long and peaceful reign and died some time after A.D. 774.

He was succeeded by his nephew (sister's son) Satya-varman. The chief event in his reign was a naval raid of Champā to which reference is made in several inscriptions. The raiders are described as 'dark coloured people of other cities whose food was more horrible than that of the vampires (*preta*) and who was vicious and furious like yama', and again as 'multitudes of vicious cannibals'. The raiders, who are said to have come in ships, undoubtedly belonged to Java, as has been expressly stated in connection with another naval raid taking place in A.D. 787. The Javanese raiders carried away a Mukhaliṅga (*liṅga* with the face of Śiva engraved on it) held in the highest veneration. We are told that this Mukhaliṅga was established in Kauṭhāra by king Vīchitrasāgara in the year 5911 of the Dvāparayuga, and successive generations richly endowed the temple with articles of enjoyment such as grain, silver, gold, jewels, and costly utensils. The raiders carried away the image, articles of enjoyment, and the ornaments. As soon as Satya-varman heard of this raid he sailed on good ships with his soldiers and 'killed those wicked and vicious persons in the sea.' But he was very much dejected to learn that the Mukhaliṅga together with its property which was in their

ships, was thrown into water. Thereupon Satya-varman re-installed a *liṅga* together with other gods and goddesses and thus name to be known as an incarnation of Vichitrasāgara.

Satya-varman was succeeded by his younger brother Indra-varman, shortly after A.D. 784. There was another Javanese raid during his reign in A.D. 787. This time the raiders burnt and plundered the temple of Bhadrādhipatīśvara. It was also an ancient sanctuary richly endowed by the piety of successive generations. But, as the inscription puts it, 'owing to the excess of faults in the Kali age, the temple was burnt by the army of Java coming by means of ships, and became empty in the year 709 (A.D. 787)'. Like his predecessor Indra-varman re-installed the *liṅga* and re-named it Indra-Bhadreśvara.

Indra-varman's glory is sung in extravagant terms in his inscriptions. He is said to have fought with many enemies and ruled over the whole of Champā. Who these enemies were we cannot say. But as suggested earlier, it is not unlikely that the Javanese raids were backed by the power of the Śailendras who were rapidly rising to power. Kaṁbuja had to submit to their yoke about this time and probably Indra-varman saved Champā from a similar fate.

Indra-varman was succeeded by his brother-in-law (sister's husband) Hari-varman who seems to have been a very powerful king and invaded the neighbouring dominions on the north and the west. In one of his records he is said to have defeated the Chīnas (Chinese). That this was no mere empty boast is indicated by the Chinese chronicles. We learn from them that in January 803 a king of Champā conquered two Chinese districts, but in 809 the Chinese governor defeated and forced him to retreat. The king of Champā whose temporary success is admitted by the Chinese was almost certainly Hari-varman. We further learn from other inscriptions that his general, named Par, who led an expedition again Kaṁbuja, ravaged its towns and advanced into the heart of this country. The full significance of this raid will be discussed in connection with the history of Kaṁbuja.

Hari-varman probably ruled from 800-820. He was succeeded by his son Vikrānta-varman who enjoyed a long reign till about A.D. 860. He died without any issue and the kingdom of Champā passed to a new family whose origin is somewhat obscure. It seems to have been founded by Indra-varman II for, according to an inscription issued by this king in A.D. 875, he gained the kingdom, not from his grandfather and father, but by the special merit of his austerities, and by virtue of his pure intelligence. On the other hand, in the genealogy given in the same record, both his father Bhadra-varman

and grandfather Rudra-varman are referred to as kings. Most likely these two were petty local chiefs and Indra-varman made himself master of the kingdom by his own prowess. Indra-varman traces his descent from God Śiva and the royal family is referred to in a later record as the Bhṛgu family, presumably because Bhṛgu was sent to Champā by Śiva himself to set up his *liṅga*. The original name of the king was Śrī Lakshmīndra Bhumīśvara Grāmasvāmin, but on ascending the throne he assumed the title Śrī Jaya-Indra-varma Mahārājādhirāja. Although devoted to Śaivism, he erected a Buddhist temple and a monastery, and had probably some leanings towards that religion. He married his aunt, a niece of his grandfather Rudra-varman III.

Indra-varman II had a long reign (*c*. A.D. 858 to 895) and was succeeded by Jaya Siṁha-varman, who was probably the son of the elder sister of his queen Haradevī. Jaya Siṁha-varman made many pious donations and is said to have spread his power to other lands. This is partly corroborated by the fact that he sent Rājadvāra, a relation of his queen Tribhuvanadevi on a diplomatic mission to Java. The same envoy was again sent to Java by king-Bhadra-varman II, the second king after Jaya-Siṁha-varman. Bhadra-varman's known dates are A.D. 909 and 910. An inscription refers to the multitude of royal ambassadors coming from different countries to his court. Another inscription says with reference to one of his ministers that he understood thoroughly the meaning of messages sent by kings from different countries. All these seem to indicate that by the time of Bhadra-varman III, Champā had become a powerful and important kingdom taking part in international politics. Bhadra-varman III was succeeded by his son Indra-varman III whose earliest known date is A.D. 911. One of his records describes his high literary accomplishments. He is said to have mastered the six systems of philosophy (*shaḍ-tarka*) beginning with Mīmāṁsā, and also those of Buddha (Jinendra). He was also quite conversant with the grammar of Pāṇini, with its commentary Kāśikā, and the Uttarakalpa of the Śaivites. Even making due allowance for the exaggerations of the court poet, we must regard the king as an erudite scholar.

But the king was not very successful in maintaining the political greatness of his kingdom. Both Jaya-varman IV and Rājendra-varman of Kaṁbuja invaded Champā and wrought havoc and destruction. The fact that the golden image of the goddess Bhagavatī, which Indra-varman had installed at Po-nagar in A.D. 918, was carried away by the Kaṁbujas shows that they penetrated far into the interior of the kingdom of Champā. Indra-varman ultimately forced the Kaṁbujas to retreat, but his straitened circumstance is disclosed by the

fact that the golden image of Bhagavatī carried away by the Kaṁbuja king had to be replaced by a stone figure, when his successor restored the temple of Po Nagar in A.D. 965.

Indra-varman took advantage of the internal dissensions in China after the fall of the T'ang dynasty (A.D. 618-907) to stop the payment of customary presents. But on the foundation of the Heu Cheu Dynasty in A.D. 951 he sent an embassy to China with presents. The cordial relations were continued even after the Sung dynasty was established in A.D. 960. His son and successor Jaya Indra-varman sent no less than six embassies to China between A.D. 960 and 971. He probably died shortly after, about A.D. 972.

IV. KAMBUJADEŚA

1. *Beginnings of Colonisation*

The fertile valley of the Mekong which lay to the west of Annam was known in ancient days as Kaṁbuja, from which the modern name Cambodia is derived. Kaṁbuja proper roughly comprised the whole of Cambodia and Cochin-China, but the old kingdom in its greatest extent included Laos in the north and Siam or Thailand in the west.

Kaṁbuja may well be regarded as the gift of the Mekong. This mighty river rising in distant hills in China traverses a long stretch of territory along the eastern border of Siam before it enters Cambodia below the rapid of Prah Patang. From this point its bed is nearly doubled and it covers the country by its ramifications. A wide sheet of water joins it to the vast lake of Tonle Sap more than 60 miles to its north-west. Below this junction, near the modern capital Phnom Penh, the Mekong branches off into two wide streams, connected by cross canals, which both fall into the China Sea forming the rich delta of Cochin-China. The Mekong is to Cambodia what the Nile is to Egypt. Its banks supply the habitations of the people and its regular annual inundations fertilise the country. The region beyond the reach of the flood water is almost an arid desert. No wonder, therefore, that the river was held in the highest veneration as the Gaṅgā in India. It has even been suggested that the name of the river really consists of two parts Me and Kong and corresponds to Mā Gaṅgā (Mother Gaṅgā).

The geographical position of Kaṁbuja makes it very likely that it was colonised by the Hindus before they settled in Annam or proceeded by way of sea to China. According to a Chinese chronicle, there was regular communication between India and China by the

Southern Sea during the period A.D. 147-167.[12] We may, therefore, refer to earliest settlement of the Indians in Kaṁbuja to the first century A.D. As we shall see presently, this is corroborated by more positive evidence. It may be noted here that there was also an overland route between India and Kaṁbuja.

As in other colonies, popular legends and traditions have preserved the memory of the early Hindu immigration in Kaṁbuja. According to one of these, Ādityavaṁśa, king ot Indraprastha, banished his son who come to this country and married the daughter of the local Nāga king. According to a different version of the story Kaṁbu Svāyaṁbhuva, the king of Āryadeśa, being disconsolate at the death of his wife came to this country and married the Nāga king's daughter. A third version has been recorded by the Chinese Kia Tan, who actually visited Fu-nan, the southern part of Cambodia, in the middle of the third century A.D. It is also repeated in later Chinese texts, sometimes with additional details, and we find an echo of it in a Sanskrit inscription in Champā dated A.D. 657. By combining all these sources we can reconstruct the story somewhat as follows: An Indian Brāhmaṇa, named Kauṇḍinya,[13] being directed by his tutelary deity in a dream, embarked on a trading vessel and came to Fu-nan. The sovereign of Fu-nan, a female called Somā,[14] came in a boat to plunder his vessel. Kauṇḍinya raised the bow which the God had given him and pierced the queen's boat by an arrow. Being overtaken by fear the queen submitted and Kauṇḍinya married her. He ruled over the kingdom and fixed the site of his capital by planting the spear which he had obtained from Droṇa's son Aśvatthāmā.

These legends naturally remind us of similar ones current about the Pallava dynasty in India. Thus, some records describe Skandaśishya, the progenitor of the Pallavas, as the son of Aśvatthāmā by a Nāga woman. According to other, Vīrakurcha, the predecessor of Skandaśishya, married a Nāga maiden and obtained from her the insignia of royalty. Thus, there is a common basic factor in all these traditions, viz. the origin of a royal dynasty by marriage between an Indian male and a Nāga female. Even the mythical Aśvatthāmā is associated though in different roles in both the cases.

Apart from a possible Indian origin of these traditions they undoubtedly have preserved an echo of a great historical fact, viz. the conquest of the land of primitive wild tribes (Nāgas) beyond the sea by the people of India (Āryadeśa) who permanently settled there and introduced higher elements of civilization among them.

12 *BEFEO*, III, p. 271.

13 The Chinese form of the name is Huen-Chen or Huen Tien.

14 The Chinese form of the name is Lieu-ye.

The eye-witness' account of the colonisation of Tuen Suen a vassal state of Fu-nan, vividly illustrates the process by which the Indian colonies grew in this region. It is the usual story of trade followed by missionary propaganda, of gradual settlement of Indians, and their intermarriage with the indigenous people leading ultimately to their fusion on a higher plane of culture and civilization.

Evidently the same process led to the establishment of a colony at Fu-nan, an important trading centre where met the merchants from, India, China and other countries. We have already referred to King Tai's account of its foundation by Kauṇḍinya which is no doubt based on local tradition. Fortunately the subsequent history of Funan has also been preserved in the Chinese chronicles and we may begin with an account of this, the earliest known colonial kingdom of the Indians in Kambuja.

2. *Fu-nan*

The earliest historical kingdom in Cambodia known to us is that generally called Fu-nan by the Chinese, though I-tsing calls it Panan. Some scholars, regard it as a pure Chinese word meaning 'protected south,' but others take it to be the Chinese transcription of the indigenous name. Finot suggested that this original name was *Kuruṅ Vnan* (King of mountains).[15] Coedés, however, derives the name from Ba Phnom, a region round the hill of that name in South Cambodia. In any case there is no doubt that Fu-nan must have been situated in this region.

The earliest inhabitants of Cambodia seem to have been the Khmers who still from the predominant element of the population. The name appears as Kvir and Kmir in the old inscriptions of Champā, and as Comar in the writings of the Arabs. It is possible that the country was originally inhabited by primitive hill tribes whom the Khmers conquered. But in any case the people were not very highly civilised when the Hindu first went there. The Chinese chroniclers expressly state that the primitive people of Fu-nan were semi-savages. They went about naked and decorated themselves with tattoo marks Kauṇḍinya introduced the elements of civilisation among them; in particular he made the women wear clothes.

According to the tradition mentioned above, Kauṇḍinya was a Brāhmaṇa and came directly from India. This was probably a fact, though it is not unlikely that he was a Hindu colonist living in some part of Malay Peninsula or Malay Archipelago. The details fur-

15 JA, CCX, p. 286.

nished by the Chinese writers in the third century A.D. leave no doubt that Kauṇḍinya must have set up the kingdom of Fu-nan not later than the first century A.D. No particulars of his reign are known, but his descendants are said to have ruled for about 100 years, after which Fan She-man, the general of the last ruler, was elected king by the people.

Fan She-man was an able ruler and laid the foundation of the greatness of Fu-nan. He constructed a powerful navy and conquered the neighbouring states to a distance of five or six thousand *li* which henceforth became vassals of Fu-nan. Although the Chinese names of these vassal states cannot all be satisfactorlly identified, we may hold in a general way that nearly the whole of Siam and parts of Laos and Malay Peninsula acknowledged the authority of Fu-nan, which thus became the first Hindu colonial empire in Indo-China. Fan She-man assumed the title 'Great king of Fu-nan' and was about to lead a campaign against Kin-lin (Suvarṇabhūmi or Suvarṇadvīpa) when he fell ill and died.

Coedès has proposed to identify Fan She-man with Śrī-Māra[16] of Champā. According to this view South Annam formed a vassal state of Fu-nan under Fan She-man and his successors, and the Vo-canh inscription was issued by one of them. Whatever we might think of this there is no doubt that the political authority of Fu-nan was established over a wide area.

Fan Chan, the general of Fan She-man, usurped the throne after killing the son of the latter. He sent an embassy to China in A.D. 243, and this gives us a fixed point in the chronology of Fu-nan by which we can determine the date of Kauṇḍinya and his successors with a tolerable degree of certainty.

We have also evidence of intercourse between India and Fu-nan during this reign. An inhabitant of Western India came to Fu-nan in the course of a trading voyage and gave a detailed account of the country to Fan Chan. Thereupon the king sent one of his relations named Su-Wu as an ambassador to India. Su-wu embarked at T'eu-kiu-li, probably the famous port of Takkola in Malay Peninsula, and reached the mouth of the great river of India (Gaṅgā) after about a year. Having proceeded up the river for 7000 *li* (about 1150 miles) he met the king of India, who received him very cordially. In his turn the king of India sent two envoys to Fu-nan with a present of four horses of the Yüe-chi country. These came with Su-wu who returned to Fu-nan after an absence of four years.

There were palace revolutions in Fu-nan during these four years.

16 *IHQ*, XVI, p. 487.

Fan Chan was assassinated; his assassin met with the same fate; and general Fan Siun became the king of Fu-nan. During his reign two Chinese ambassadors K'ang T'ai and Chu Yüng, visited Fu-nan. It is their writings that have preserved the earliest account of Fu-nan as mentioned above. It is interesting to note that the Chinese ambassadors met in Fu-nan one of the envoys from India and K'ang T'ai recorded a brief account of India as reported by him.

Fan Siun had a long reign and sent four embassies to China between A.D. 268 and 287. We learn from K'ang T'ai's account that in those days the men in Fu-nan went about naked but the king put a stop to this indecent habit. We learn from another Chinese account of the time that the Chams and the people of Fu-nan were allies and they did not submit to China.

For nearly a century we do not know anything about Fu-nan. In A.D. 357 a Hindu named Chan-tan (Chandra or Chandana) sent an embassy with some elephants as presents to China. But the Chinese emperor did not like them (or ordered them to be returned) as the maintenance of these animals was very costly (or they were a source of evil).

According to the Chinese history the throne of Fu-nan was occupied by an Indian Brāhmaṇa named Kauṇḍinya towards the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. This second Kauṇḍinya, like the first, was directed by a supernatural voice to proceed to Fu-nan. He was cordially welcomed by the people, and being elected king, introduced Indian laws, manners, and customs. It is difficult to say whether this was merely an echo of the old legend or refers to a fresh stream of Indian colonists who thoroughly Hinduised the country.

Towards the close of the Sung Period (A.D. 420-479) Jaya-varman ruled in Fu-nan. The king's family name was Kauṇḍinya. He sent some merchants to Canton for trade and the Indian monk Nāgasena accompanied them on their return journey. In A.D. 484 Jaya-varman sent Nāgasena with presents and a long petition to the court of China. The full text of the petition is given in Chinese chronicles and it is a highly interesting document.

The petition narrates in detail how a rebellious subject of Fu-nan, named Kieu-ch'eu-lo fled to Champā, organised a rebellion there and made himself master of Champā. He was there indulging in all sorts of violence and injustice, and what was worse, adopted an attitude of of open hostility against the king of Fu-nan, his original master. As Fu-nan and Champā had a common boundary, Jaya-varman was naturally anxious to get rid of him and asked the emperor to send a force against Champā, which he complacently described as

originally a vassal state of China. He offered to help the imperial troops in their task of subjugating Champā, and agreed to recognise, as king of Champā, any other person nominated by the emperor. Even if the emperor were unwilling to send a powerful army to chastise the king of Champā, Jaya-varman requested him to send a small force to help him in punishing the wicked king. In order to strengthen his case he sent rich presents including a golden model of the throne of Nāga-rāja, an elephant of white sandal, two ivory *stūpas*, two pieces of cotton, two vases of precious transparent stones, and a betel-nut plate made of shell.

As mentioned above, the Emperor did not send any military aid, though he sent a cordial reply and presented a large quantity of silk of various colours to the king of Fu-nan. In A.D. 503 Jaya-varman sent another embassy with presents including an image of the Buddha, made of coral. The Chinese Emperor conferred an honorary title upon Jaya-varman in consideration of the fact that he and his forefathers ruled over the kingdom for generations and sent frequent embassies, with presents, to China. Jaya-varman sent two more embassies to China in A.D. 511 and 514. The cordial relation between China and Fu-nan is further proved by the fact that two Buddhist monks of Fu-nan, Saṅgha-pāla (or Saṅgha-varman) and Mandra (or Mandrasena), settled in China and translated various canonical texts.

A Sanskrit inscription found in South Cambodia records the foundation of a hermitage (*ārāma*),[17] with a tank and a dwelling house by Kulaprabhāvatī, the queen of Jaya-varman. The alphabet of this inscription closely resembles one of Guṇavarman who is described as the young son of a king of the family of Kauṇḍinya. Now we know from the Chinese chronicles that on the death of Jaya-varman in A.D. 514, his elder son Rudra-varman, born of a concubine, killed the younger son born of a legitimate wife and seized the throne. Coedès suggests that Guṇa-varman was the younger son of Jaya-varman by his queen Kulaprabhāvatī, and was killed by Rudra-varman. This seems very plausible.

Rudra-varman sent six embassies to China between A.D. 517 and 539. On the last occasion he sent a living rhinoceros and offered the Emperor a hair of the Buddha, 12 ft long, which was in his country. The Emperor sent a monk to fetch the precious relic.

Rudra-varman is praised in a Buddhist inscription of his reign, but it does not give any historical information. He is the last king of Fu-

17 *JGIS*, IV, p. 117.

nan, so far known to us. The kingdom was conquered by Chitrasena, ruler of Kaṁbuja, and though the kings of Fu-nan moved further south and maintained a precarious existence for some time, the whole country became ultimately subject to Kaṁbuja to whose history we may now turn.

A. *Kaṁbuja*

(i) EARLY HISTORY

The mythical legends about the origin of Kaṁbuja have been, mentioned earlier. It was named after Kaṁbu Svāyambhuva, the progenitor of its kings, who was sometimes called simply Kaṁbu. Originally it was a small principality in the north-eastern part of Cambodia. The earliest historical king known to us is Śruta-varman, who is referred to as 'the root of the rulers of Kaṁbu who delivered the country from bondage.' This no doubt means that either Śruta-varman or one of his successors freed Kaṁbuja from the yoke of Fu-nan. Śruta-varman was succeeded by his son Śreshṭha-varman, after whom the capital was named Śreshṭhapura. It was situated close to Vat Phu hill near Bassac in Laos.

We next hear of a king Bhava-varman who was the founder of a new royal family and had his capital at Bhavapura, evidently named after him. He ascended the throne in the second half of the sixth century A.D. and considerably increased the extent and power of his kingdom. He was succeeded by his brother whose original name was Chitrasena but who assumed the name Mahendra-varman at the time of coronation. The history of the Sui Dynasty tells us that Chitrasena made himself master of Fu-nan and was succeeded by his son Īśānasena. It also refers to an embassy from Kaṁbuja to China in A.D. 616-17 which was obviously sent Īśānasena. But another Chinese text tells us that the Kshatriya king Īśāna, at the beginning of the period Cheng-Kuan (A.D. 627-649) conquered Fu-nan and took possession of the kingdom. The fact that two Chinese texts attribute the conquest of Fu-nan respectively to Chitrasena and his son Īśāna, seems to indicate that the conquest of Fu-nan was a gradual process. Evidently Chitrasena or Mahendra-varman first led a military expedition against Rudra-varman, the king of Fu-nan, or one of his successors, and occupied a part of the kingdom, including even the capital. The king of Fu-nan fled to the south and his dynasty continued to rule over a petty state in the extreme south of Cambodia with a new capital city, as a Chinese text informs us. But the struggle continued and Īśāna-varman finally extinguished the kingdom of Fu-nan some time about A.D. 630.

Thus, in course of about a century the vassal kingdom of Kambuja first threw off the yoke of Fu-nan during the rule of Śruta-varman's family, and then conquered Fu-nan itself and became the premiér state in Cambodia under another royal family founded by Bhava-varman. There was possibly some relation between these two royal families, for, as noted above. Śruta-varman is described as the 'root' of the rulers of Kambuja, and even king Jaya-varman VII, who ruled towards the close of the twelfth century A.D., claimed to have been descended from Sreshṭhavarman, the supreme king of Śreshṭhapura. Similarly it is not unlikely that Bhava-varman was also connected with the kings of Fu-nan, for, he and his successors make no allusion to either Kambu or Sreshṭhapura, but describe themselves, like kings of Fu-nan, as descendants of Kauṇḍinya and Somā. But it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to say anything definite on the relation between these three royal families or any two of them.

The rule of Bhava-varman I and his brother Mahendra-varman covered roughly the second half of the sixth century A.D., and under them the greater part of Cambodia came to be included within the kingdom of Kambuja. Īśāna-varman completed the conquest of Cambodia by the annexation of Fu-nan, and he also ruled over the valley of the Mun to the north of the Dangrek mountains. He transferred the capital to a city, named after him as Īśānapura (modern Sambor Prei Kuk). He interfered in the political troubles of Champā and we have seen earlier how its disaffected and rebellious elements found shelter in his court an ultimately his daughter's son Prakāśadharma became the king of that kingdom. Although the nature and successive stages in the revolution of Champā cannot be precisely determined, there is hardly any doubt that Īśāna-varman really pulled the wires from behind, and succeeded in establishing his influence in the court of the neighbourly kingdom on the east. This is proved by the detailed reference in a contemporary inscription of Champā to the royal family of Īśāna-varman.

Two other kings, Bhava-varman II (A.D. 638) and Jaya-varman I (A.D. 657-674) are known from epigraphic records, but their relation, if any, with the preceding kings is not known. We know very little of the history of Kambuja during the century following the reign of Jaya-varman I. All that we can ascertain is that Kambuja proper was divided into a number of independent kingdoms, among which Śambhupura (Sambor), Vyādhapura (probably corresponding to ancient Fu-nan), and Aninditapura (region east of Angkor) are referred to in later epigraphic records. There is no doubt that the first and the last existed as independent states, though we have reasons to believe that

they came under the same ruler, temporarily or permanently, in the first half of the eighth century A.D. According to the Chinese annals of the T'ang Dynasty, Chen-la (the Chinese name of Kambuja) was divided into two states at the beginning of the eighth century A.D., viz. Chen-la of the land and Chen-la of the water. Many scholars held the view that these two states correspond respectively to Śambhupura and Vyādhapura (or Aninditapura). But Coedès holds that the Kambuja of water probably corresponded to the kingdom of Aninditapura, united with that of Sambhupura, while the Kambuja of land denoted the territory north of Dangrek mountains.

Whatever we might think of these theories, there is no doubt about the fact that there was no longer any powerful and united kingdom of Kambuja, and instead there were two or more separate states, none of which possessed any considerable power and authority. This might have been brought about by natural causes and local political factors, but it is not also unlikely that it was at least partially due to the rise of the Śailendra power. As we have seen above, the Śailendras exercised political supremacy over the northern part of Malay Peninsula, which was close to the border of Kambuja. Reference has been made earlier to the naval raids of Java against Champā, and according to the epigraphic record, Kambuja itself was a vassal state of Java towards the end of the eighth century A.D. As the Śailendras were masters of a big empire including Java it is likely that they also established their supremacy over Kambuja, and this foreign domination might have been the cause or effect (or both) of the political disintegration of Kambuja.

(ii) JAYA-VARMAN II

The accession of Jaya-varman II in A.D. 802 marks an epoch in the history of Kambuja in more senses than one. The obscurity in the history of Kambuja, for more than a century suddenly lifts, and we can trace the history of her rulers in an unbroken line of succession down to modern times. Kambuja not only becomes free and united, but sets definitely on the way to imperialism. Lastly, the centre of political authority and cutural activity is shifted to the Angkor region which was destined to acquire immortal fame in the history of human civilisation.

Very little is known of the early history of Jaya-varman. Scattered references in epigraphic records seem to indicate that both his grandmother (mother's mother) and his queen were connected with some royal families, but the relationship was not of such a nature as to give him a legitimate claim to the throne. It is only from a late record of the eleventh century A.D. that we come to know some

details which enable us to reconstruct his life and reign somewhat as follows:

Jaya-varman resided for some time at Java and then returned to his native land Kaṁbuja which was then under the domination of a foreign power with seat of authority in Java. Jaya-varman freed the country from foreign yoke and then performed some *tāntrik* rites in order that Kaṁbujadeśa might no longer be dependent on Java and might have a paramount ruler (*chakravartī*) of its own. For this purpose he invited a Brāhmaṇa named Hiraṇyadāma, who came from Janapada (probably in India). This Brāhmaṇa instituted the worship of Devarāja, who became the tutelary deity of the royal family, and initiated Śivakaivalya into its rituals. The king took a vow that only the family of Śivakaivalya should be in future employed to celebrate the worship of Devarāja. According to this decision the descendants of Śivakaivalya served as the High Priest of the royal family from generation to generation till A.D. 1052, when the record was drawn up by Sadāśiva, the High Priest for the time being. This long record of 340 lines, which contains 130 verses in Sanskrit and 146 lines of prose text in Khmer, gives the names of, and the pious works done by Śivakaivalya and his descendants together with the names of all the kings they served. It is, thus, a remarkable historical document which describes, in chronological order, the pious activities of a priestly family for 250 years and the names of all their patron kings who ruled during this long period.

In addition to what has been said above regarding Jaya-varman the record refers to his frequent change of capitals, four of which are named. The identification of these ancient cities has not been easy, and opinions differ very sharply in regard to some of them. According to the identifications now generally accepted, Jaya-varman, immediately after his return from Java, fixed his first capital at Indrapura, not far from the ancient royal seat of Śaṁbhupura, probably because he was a native of this region. He then successively shifted his capital to Hariharālaya (Prah Khan, immediately to the north of Angkor Thom), Amarendrapura (in Battambang), and Mahendra-parvata (Phnon Kulen, to the north-west of Angkor Thom). Thus we see a gradual transfer of royal seat towards the west, first to the Angkor region, then further west towards Battambang and lastly again back to Angkor. The reason for this frequent change is not known, and various theories have been put forward on this subject. Some attribute the changes merely to royal caprice, while others see in them an anxious desire to select a suitable site for the capital of the newly founded kingdom. It is also not unlikely that internal

troubles forced the king, at different times, to seek refuge in different parts of the country. On the other hand, it is just possible that starting from his home-province in the east, the conquest of a new region was followed by the setting up of a new capital, and the different capitals may thus indicate the different stages of political consolidation of Kaṁbuja brought about by Jaya-varman II.

The invasion of Kaṁbuja by Hari-varman, king of Champā, has been mentioned above. The Cham general is said to have forcibly advanced up to the very heart of the kingdom some time between A.D. 800 and 817, i.e. early in Jaya-varman's reign. It is not impossible, therefore, that the Cham incursion forced Jaya-varman II to leave Indrapura, perhaps even Angkor, and seek safety in the western part of the kingdom. All these are possible interpretations. If we hold that all the capital cities mentioned in the record were held by Jaya-varman II at one and the same time, we must hold that he reigned over the whole of Kaṁbuja, but this view has to be considerably modified if we accept any of the other interpretations.

The name of Jaya-varman II was held in great honour and esteem by posterity, even many centuries later. Although many achievements set to his credit by popular tradition and modern historians have proved to be erroneous, there can be no doubt that his great renown was well deserved. He delivered the country from the foreign yoke of Java, saved it from the aggressions of Champā, and perhaps gave it a unity and solidarity which it had lacked for a century. The Deva-rāja cult introduced by him remained the state religion for long, and he revived the old tradition of Kaṁbuja which had been replaced by the legend of Fu-nan about Kauṇḍinya and Somā. Henceforth the country is referred to as Kaṁbuja, and Kaṁbujendra, Kaṁbujeśvara, etc. become the normal official titles of the Khmer kings who regard themselves as belonging to Sūryavaṁśa and not to Somavaṁśa. Lastly, by fixing the capital finally at Hariharālaya, Jaya-varman laid the foundation of the greatness of Angkor. After a long and eventful reign he died in A.D. 854 and received the posthumous appellation Parameśvara.

Jaya-vardhana, the son of Jaya-varman II, ascended the throne under the name of Jaya-varman (III). Although no political events of his reign are known, he seems to have been an able ruler who not only maintained intact the kingdom he had inherited from his father but probably also extended its boundaries. For we know from the Chinese chronicle Man-chu, that in A.D. 862 the kingdom of Kaṁbuja included the whole of Laos in the north and almost touched the frontier of Yunnan. Thus, when Jaya-varman III died about A.D. 877 Kaṁbuja had grown into a powerful state. The Arab

writer Ya'kūbī (c. A.D. 875) describes the Khmer kingdom as vast and powerful, the ruler of which receives the homage of other kings. Ibn Rosteh (A.D. 903) refers to the high standard of judicial administration in Kaṁbuja. 'There are eighty judges,' says he, 'Even if a son of the king appears before them they would judge equitably and treat him as an ordinary complainant.' Several Arab writers bestow high praise on the people of Kaṁbuja for their abstinence from wine and women. Thus we may reasonably conclude that under Jaya-varman II and his son Kaṁbuja was not only powerful and prosperous but also reached a high level of culture and civilisation.

(iii) RISE OF ANGKOR

Indra-varman, who succeed Jaya-varman III in A.D. 877 was very remotely related to the queen Jaya-varman II, and we do not know the circumstances which enabled him to seize the kingdom. The respectful reference to Jaya-varman II and III in the epigraphic records of Indra-varman and his successors preclude the possibility of a rebellion or illegal usurpation on his part.

But howsoever he might have come to the throne Indra-varman proved to be an extremely able ruler. He pursued the aggressive and imperialistic policy of his predecessors and increased the power and prestige of Kaṁbuja still further. Indra-varman claims in his record that his commands were respectfully obeyed by the rulers of China, Champā and Yavadvīpa. In spite of obvious exaggerations it is not unlikely that he obtained some successes against the three neighbouring powers.

Indra-varman died in A.D. 889 and was succeeded by his son Yaśo-varman who occupies a place of honour in the history of Kaṁbuja such as falls to the lot of few rulers in any country. He was a great scholar and the numerous Sanskrit inscriptions of his reign show the high development of Sanskrit literature and Hindu culture in all its aspects. Although general reference is made to his numerous military campaigns, including a naval expedition, we do not know of any specific events of his reign. But there is no doubt that he ruled over extensive dominions which touched the frontiers of China on the north and were bounded by Champā and the sea on the east and south. On the west his kingdom extended up to the mountains which form the watershed between the Menam and Salween rivers.

The inscriptions of Yaśo-varman hold out a picture of a happy, prosperous and peaceful kingdom ruled over by an able and wise monarch who took all possible measures to ensure the welfare of the kingdom in all its aspects, political, economic, religious and social,

The elaborate regulations framed by him give us an insight into the social and religious condition of the time and the earnest effort made by the king to improve it. Making all due allowances for the exaggerations of court poets, we must regard Yaśo-varman as a brave general and ideal king, shining equally well in arts of war and peace. Himself a great scholar, he was a patron of art and science. He was liberal in his religious views, and although a devoted follower of Śaivism, he patronised Buddhism in an unstinted manner. He was a great king in every sense of the term. Perhaps the court-poet did not exaggerate very much when he said that the glory of Yaśo-varman was sung even after his death, by the people 'in their games, on their beds, and in their travels'. Yaśo-varman received the very appropriate posthumous title of Paramaśivaloka.

Yaśo-varman founded a new capital city which was at first called Kaṁbupurī and later Yaśodharapura. For a long time it was held by scholars that this was the famous Angkor Thom now covered with magnificent ruins. But it has now been proved beyond dispute that the capital city Yaśodharapura was situated on the top of the neighbouring hill called Phnom Bakhen. But as the city extended round the hill and included a large part of the present site of Angkor Thom, Yaśo-varman may still be regarded as the founder of Angkor Thom in a qualified sense. In any case Yaśo-varman may justly be regarded as having laid the foundation of the Angkor civilization whose glory and splendour form the most brilliant chapter in the history of Kaṁbuja.

Yaśo-varman died about A.D. 908, and his two sons ascended the throne one after another. But Jaya-varman IV, the husband of the sister of Yaśo-varman, rebelled and seized the throne some time before A.D. 921. He removed the capital to Koh Ker (Chok Gargyar), a wild barren country about 50 miles north-east of Angkor. He is said to have destroyed the ruler of Champā, but no details are known. Possibly he defeated king Indra-varman III. He was succeeded by his son (A.D. 941 or 942) and the later by Rājendra-varman, the son of another sister of Yaśo-varman. Rājendra-varman, who ascended the throne in A.D. 944, removed the capital back again to Yaśodharapura, and embellished the city which was deserted for a long time.

Rājendra-varman is credited in his inscriptions with victorious campaigns in all directions, but no details are given. But, as noted above, he certainly led a successful expedition against Champā and carried away among other things, a golden image of goddess Bhagavatī. Rājendra-varman's son and successor Jaya-varman V (A.D. 961-

1001) also continued the aggressive policy against Champā and obtained some success.

Jaya-varman V was the last king of the family founded by Indra-varman. The period of two centuries (A.D. 802-1001), covered by the rule of ten kings beginning from Jaya-varman II and ending with Jaya-varman V, is chiefly memorable in the history of Kaṁbuja for the great extension of its political authority, specially in the comparatively inaccessible and little known central region of Indo-China lying between Burma, China, Annam and Cambodia.

The kingdom, which the Chinese call Nan-chao and is referred to as Mithilārāshṭra in Thai chronicles, comprised the northern part of Yunnan. Immediately to its south lay the kingdom which is called Ālavirāshṭra, the kingdom of the giant Ālavi. It comprised the southern part of Yunnan. According to a contemporary Chinese chronicler, who visited these regions in A.D. 862, the northern part of Ālavirāshṭra formed the boundary of the Khmer empire. When, therefore, Indra-varman claims that his commands were obeyed by the king of China, and Yaśo-varman asserts that his empire reached up to the frontier of China, we must presume a further expansion of the power of Kaṁbuja at the cost of Mithilārāshṭra (Chinese Nan-chao), which would extend the Kaṁbuja power into the heart of Yunnan, probably not far from the border of the then kingdom of China. The memory of this Kaṁbuja empire is preserved in the local annals. The chronicles of Yonaka, which comprised the two kingdoms of Ālavirāshtra are Haribhuñjaya, record the foundation of Suvarṇagrāma, the site of the later capital Xien Sen, by a Khmer emperor. The chronicle of Bayao, a town about 60 miles further south, on a branch of the upper Mekong river, states that ruins of old palaces and cities belonging to the old time of Khmer kings were shattered in mountains and forests when this city was founded. The victorious campaigns of Rājendra-varman in all directions evidently relate to his campaigns in these regions. On the whole it may be safely presumed that throughout the reign of Indra-varman's dynasty the Kaṁbuja empire extended in the north as far as Yunnan and included a considerable portion of it.

While the Kaṁbuja kingdom was thus expanding along the valley of the Mekong river towards the north, it also extended its authority along the valley of the Menam on the west. In this region, which now constitutes the home province of the kingdom of Siam or Thailand, the country of Lavapuri, comprising all the territory between the Gulf of Siam in the south and Kampheng Phet on the north, formed a stronghold of Kaṁbuja power. For a long time this was regarded as an integral part of the Kaṁbuja kingdom. But the

Kaṁbuja kings also exercised political influence over the petty principalities of the local ruling chiefs that lay to its north. The successive kingdoms in this region in geographical order beginning from the south are Sukhodaya, Yonakarāshṭra and Kshmerarāshṭra which touched the Kaṁbuja kingdom of Ālavirāshṭra on the Mekong valley. The chronicles of these kingdoms refer to the Kaṁbuja sovereignty over them, and the very name Kshmerarāshṭra of the northernmost of these recalls the suzerainty of that people throughout the Menam valley. The Kaṁbuja kings established a strongly fortified post at a place called Unmārgaśilānagara which commanded the roads to the upper valleys of both the Mekong and Menam rivers, and although the petty vassal states on the Menam often revolted against the Kaṁbuja authority, the Kaṁbuja kings could always bring their forces from one region to the other through this road and subdue them. Many stories of such unsuccessful rebellions are preserved in the local annals.

If we now turn from the north towards the south we find that Kaṁbuja also came into contact with the mighty empire of the Śailendras in the Malay Peninsula. During the tenth century A.D. the northern part of this Peninsula, lying, roughly speaking to the north of the Isthmus of Kra, belonged to Kaṁbuja, while the part of its south was included within the mighty empire of the Śailendras. We have no definite evidence of any political relation between the two, but Indra-varman's claim of supremacy over Java may refer to a contest with the Śailendras who ruled over both Java and Malay Peninsula.

Although we are unable to find out the exact relationship between Kaṁbuja and the Śailendras, we are in a better position as regards her eastern neighbour, the kingdom of Champā. It will appear from what has been said above that almost throughout the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. there were perpetual hostilities between Kaṁbuja and Champā, and Kaṁbuja scored some definite successes against Champā in the tenth century A.D.

V. BURMA

1. *The Beginnings of Indian Colonisation*

Burma, being nearest to India and directly accessible both by land and sea, naturally attracted Indian traders, missionaries, and political adventurers from a very early period. Unfortunately, we do not possess any definite evidence regarding their early settlements. According to Buddhist tradition Aśoka's missionaries visited Burma, and two merchants of this country became the first lay-disciples even

of Gautama Buddha shortly after he attained Bodhi at Gayā. Although none of these traditions can be regarded as historical, the fact that Buddhaghosha believed them shows that in the fifth century A.D. people regarded the introduction of Hindu culture in Burma as reaching back to hoary antiquity. Howsoever that may be, the Sanskrit place-names mentioned by Ptolemy and the discovery of isolated letters of the Indian alphabet on stone indicate the settlements of Indians in Burma long before the second century A.D.

Like other countries, Burma has preserved many legends about the beginning of Indian colonisation, of which the one most generally accepted may be summed up as follows:

'Abhirāja, a prince of the Śākya clan of Kapilavastu marched with an army to Upper Burma, founded the city of Sankissa (Tagaung) on the Upper Irawadi, and set himself up the king of the surrounding region. After his death the kingdom was divided in two parts. The elder son ruled over Arakan and the younger over Tagaung. Thirty-one generations of kings ruled over Tagaung when the kingdom was overthrown by tribes coming from the east. About this time, when Gautama was still alive, a second band of Kshatriyas from the Gangetic valley in India arrived in Upper Burma under Daza (Daśa or Dāsa) Rāja. He occupied the old capital and married the widow of its last king. After sixteen generations of kings of the second dynasty had ruled, the kingdom of Tagaung was overrun by foreign invaders, who dethroned the king.

'The elder son of this king had a miraculous escape and founded a new kingdom with his capital near modern Prome. His son Duttabaung founded the great city of Thare Khettara (Śrīkshetra) near by and made it his capital. Eighteen kings ruled after him till A.D. 84, when a civil war broke out. Of the three constituent tribes Pyu, Kanran and Mramma, the first two fought for supremacy for eleven years. The Pyu having gained the contest by an artifice, the Kanran went off to Arakan. The Pyu themselves were shortly after defeated by the Mons or Talaings of the south, and after wandering in various regions founded the city of Pagan and settled there. After this the chronicles do not mention the separate tribes and the name Mramma, from which is derived the modern name Burma, appears as the national designation for all the peoples.'

The Mons or Talaings in the coastal districts of Lower Burma have their own traditions regarding the early history of their country. According to traditions current among the people of Pegu. Indian colonists from the lower courses of the rivers Krishṇā and

Godāvarī had at a remote time crossed the sea and formed settlements in the delta of the Irawadi and on the adjoining coast. A long story is told to explain the origin of the kingdom of Sudhammavatī (Thaton) and the foundation of the kingdom of Haṁsāvatī (Pegu) by Śvāmala and Vimala, two sons of the king of Thaton.

There is no doubt about the historical character of the broad facts which emerge from a critical analysis of these legends, viz. the settlement of Indian colonists, in Arakan and Burma, among the Pyus, Mramma and Karens, who were branches of the same race, and the Moṅs or Talaings in the south who belonged to a different race; the foundation of the Hindu kingdoms of Arakan, Tagaung, Śrīkshetra, Thaton and Pegu; and destruction of the Hinduised Pyu kingdom of Śrīkshetra by the Moṅs or Talaings of Pegu leading to the foundation of the new kingdom of Pagan where the Hinduised Mrammas or the Burmans came to occupy the supreme place.

2. *Ramaññadeśa*

The Hinduised Moṅs in Lower Burma seem to have been politically the most powerful, and at the same time the most advanced in culture and civilization, among the peoples of Burma who came in contact with the Indian settlers. The Moṅs are also known as Talaings. It is generally held that this name originally denoted the Indian colonists who came from Telingana (the Telugu speaking region in India) and was ultimately applied to the entire population of the region dominated by them.

The Hinduised Moṅ settlements in Lower Burma were collectively known as Ramañña-deśa. There are good grounds to believe that the kingdom of Dvāravatī, mentioned by Hiuan Tsang was also a Moṅ kingdom. It comprised the lower valley of the Menam river with its capital probably at Lavapurī (modern Lopbhuri). Several Moṅ inscriptions in archaic characters, probably belonging to the eighth century A.D., and a Buddha image have been discovered in the ruins of this city. It may, therefore, be reasonably held that the Moṅs in Lower Burma had gradually spread their power and influence along the coast right up to the lower valley of the Menam. Further, if we may believe in the medieval Pāli chronicles, Indian culture was spread by the Moṅs to the more inaccessible regions in Northern Siam and Western Laos. Thus according to the two chronicles *Chāmadevīvaṁśa* and the *Jinakālamalinī*, the *ṛshi* (ascetic) Vāsudeva founded the town of Haripuñjaya (modern Lamphun and Chieng Mai in N. Siam) in A.D. 661. Two years later, on his invitation Chāmadevī, daughter of the king of Lavapurī and the wife, pro-

bably a widow, of the king of Ramañña-nagara, came from her father's capital with a large number of followers and Buddhist teachers and was placed on the throne of Haripuñjaya. Her descendants ruled over the country and Buddhism spread over the surrounding region. Reference is made to an epidemic in the course of which the people of the kingdom fled to Lower Burma, whose people, we are told, 'spoke the same language'.

Whatever we may think of the precise date, the account of the foundation of Haripuñjaya may be accepted in its general features, and it shows the spread of Hinduised Moṅs in Siam. Accounts of other Hinduised kingdoms in Siam and Laos are found in local chronicles, written in both vernacular and Pāli. They give us a long list of royal names (mostly in Indian form) and describe their fight with the Mlechchhas (aborigines) and the foundation of Buddhist temples and monasteries. The general picture of Hindu culture and civilisation in them is fully confirmed by archaeological finds.

As has already been mentioned, all these Moṅ kingdoms in Siam and Laos were gradually included within the growing Kaṁbuja empire by the middle of the tenth century A.D. But the rest of the Moṅ settlements, known as Ramaññadeśa, comprising the whole of Lower Burma, Tavoy, Mergui and Tennasserim, was a very powerful kingdom at this time. It formed something like a federation of states such as Rāmāvatī, Haṁsāvatī, Dvāravatī, Śrīkshetra, etc. The number of these states varied but was never less than seven, all acknowledging from time to time the suzerainty of one of them which grew more powerful than the others. It was a strong centre of Hindu civilization and contained a large number of famous colonies of Indians.

3. *Śrīkshetra*

To the north of the Moṅs lay the kingdom of the Hinduised Pyus with its capital at Śrīkshetra (modern Hmawza, near Prome). The earliest notices in Chinese chronicles, going back to the third century A.D., refer to the people of Burma as P'iao. This undoubtedly stands for Pyu, and shows the great antiquity and importance of the tribe which then occupied the valley of the Irawadi. The continued existence of the Pyus as a political power is proved by references in various Chinese texts. The Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang refers to six kingdoms beyond the eastern frontier of India, of which he must have heard and gained information at Samataṭa (Lower Bengal). The first of these, Shi-li-cha-to-lo undoubtedly stands for Śrīkshetra. The third, fourth and fifth may be easily identified with Dvāravatī, Champā and Kaṁbuja. If the names were written in geographical

order, the second, Ka-mo-long-ka (Kāmalaṅkā), may be identified with Ramaññadeśa. The name of Kambuja is written as Īśānapura derived from king Īśāna-varman who ruled only a few years before Hiuan Tsang visited Samataṭa. The account of Hiuan Tsang thus proves an intimate intercourse between Eastern India and these remote Indian colonies in the seventh century A.D.

Several old inscriptions, found amid the ruins of the old capital of the Pyus, give us some insight into its history and culture. A few may be noted below:

(1) An inscription, engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image, composed in beautiful Sanskrit verses, interspersed with Pyu renderings of Sanskrit text. The script and the style of the image both resemble those of Eastern India of about the seventh century A.D. It appears from the record that the image of the Buddha was set up by king Jayachandra-varman at the instance of his *guru* (religious preceptor) for maintaining peace and good-will between the king and his younger brother Harivikrama. We are further told that king Jayachandra built two cities side by side.

(2) Seven inscriptions on five funeral urns, found at Payagi Pagoda, contain the names of three kings Harivikrama, Siha (Siṁha) Vikrama, and Suriya (Sūrya) Vikrama. The dates in these inscriptions have been interpreted to refer to the period between A.D. 673 and 718, but this is by no means certain. The inscriptions are written in. Pyu language and archaic South-Indian alphabets which appear to belong to a much earlier period.

(3) The Pyu inscription on a *stūpa* gives the names or titles of donors as Śrī Prabhuvarma and Śrī Prabhudevī, and most probably these are the names of a king and his queen.

The foundation of the independent Hinduised Thai kingdom of Nan-chao about A.D. 730, proved a source of great danger to the Pyus. The frontier between the two states roughly corresponded with the present Sino-Burman frontier near Bhamo. The king of Nan-chao invaded the Pyu kingdom, and the Pyu king seems to have submitted to his powerful neighbour. The Pyu king also sent ambassadors to China in A.D. 802 and 807. It is presumably from them that the Chinese derived the information about the Pyus which we find in the History of the T'ang Dynasty. According to this account the Pyu kingdom, which was 500 miles from east to west and 700 or 800 miles from north to south comprised nearly the whole of Burma down to the sea. Their ruler was called *Mahārāja* and his chief minister Mahāsena. The capital city surrounded by a wall, 27 miles in circumference and faced with glazed bricks, contained over a hundred Buddhist monasteries with courts and rooms all decked with

gold and silver. A detailed account is given of the musical instruments which are very similar to those which we find in India. The number and variety of these instruments and the excellence of the musical performance which was highly appreciated in the Chinese court leave no doubt that the Hinduised Pyus had attained to a high degree of civilisation.

This glorious Pyu civilisation seems to have vanished altogether, without leaving any trace, some time after the ninth century A.D. In A.D. 832 the king of Nan-chao defeated the Pyus and plundered their capital. Some scholars are of the opinion that this brought about the sudden end of the Pyu civilisation. But it seems that the Pyu kingdom survived this disaster, for it sent an embassy to China in A.D. 862. Little is known of the Pyu kingdom after this date. It is probable that the Moṅs conquered it for, as mentioned above, Śrīkshetra is included among the federated Moṅ States in a Chinese chronicle which describes the political condition prevailing about A.D. 960.

4. *Arakan*

According to the chronicles of Arakan, its first Indian royal dynasty was founded by the son of a king of Benares who fixed his capital at the city of Rāmāvatī. Three more dynasties, connected with the first through female, followed, and the capital was removed to Dhanyavatī which became the classical name of the whole country. In A.D. 146, during the reign of a king called Chandra-Sūrya, was cast the famous Buddha image called Mahāmuni which has been regarded as the tutelary deity of Arakan throughout the historic period. In A.D. 789 Maha-tain Chandra removed the capital to the new city of Vaiśālī founded by him.

Whatever we might think of these legends, the existence of a long line of kings with names ending in Chandra is proved by both coins and inscriptions. An inscription engraved on a pillar in Shitthaung temple at Mrohaung in Arakan gives an account of the Śrī-Dharmarājānuja-vaṁśa, and furnishes a list of 19 kings of the dynasty with the regnal period of each. Eight out of the twelve names, which alone are legible, end in Chandra (such as Bālachandra°, Deva°, Yajña°, Dīpa°, Prīti°, Nīti°, Narendra°, and Ānanda°). The other four names are Mahāvīra, Dharmaśūra, Dharmavijaya and Narendravijaya. Ānandachandra, who issued this inscription, is said to have built many Buddhist temples and monasteries, set up beautiful images of copper, constructed various dwellings for Āryasaṅgha, and granted land with servants to fifty Brāhmaṇas. On palaeographic grounds,

the inscription may be referred to the tenth century A.D., and the 19 kings mentioned in it may be presumed to have ruled between A.D. 600 and 1000. Some of these names are also found on coins and it is likely that the kings, known at present from their coins alone, such as Dharmachandra and Vīrachandra, also belonged to the same family.

Ānandachandra is described in his record as king of Tāmrapaṭṭana which was either the name of the kingdom or of the capital city. According to the chronicles, the capital was at Vaiśālī, ruins of which exist in and near a village still called Vethali (Vesali), 8 miles to the north-west of Mrohaung, the find-spot of the inscription. Remains of the city-walls, buildings and sculptures, scattered through the surrounding jungles, haunted by tigers and leopards, indicate the wide extent of the ancient city. Two short inscriptions of the seventh and eighth century A.D. mark the antiquity of the site, and it is not unlikely, as the chronicle says, that it was the seat of a powerful kingdom about that time, if not during the whole period of the Dharmarājānuja-vaṁśa.

The sculptures discovered so far in Arakan are predominantly Buddhist, but, there are Śaiva and Vaishṇava symbols as well on the coins. It is probable that the kings and people were mainly Buddhist though Brahmanical religion was also favoured. This follows also from the inscription of king Ānandachandra, who was evidently a Buddhist but granted lands to fifty Brāhmaṇas.

5. *Siam*

The archaeological finds, such as images of both Brahmanical and Buddhist deities and remains of temples, dug up at Pra Pathom, and Pong Tuk, 20 miles further to the west, clearly demonstrate the existence of Hindu colonies and the influence of Hindu culture and civilisation in Siam in the second century A.D., if not earlier still. A Sanskrit inscription of the fourth century A.D., found near Pechaburi, along with Śaiva and Vaishṇava sculptures, proves the continuity of Hindu colonies.

The character of some of the Buddhist sculptures, which reflect the most primitive ideas of Buddhism, forms, according to Coedés, 'a very strong argument in favour of an early colonisation of Southern Siam by Indian Buddhists.' 'One is even induced,' says he, 'to wonder whether that region with its many toponyms like Supan, Kanburi, U. Thong, meaning "Golden Land," has not a better claim than Burma to represent Suvarṇabhūmi, the "Golden Land," where according to Pāli scriptures and ancient traditions, Buddhist teaching spread very early.'

But none of the Hindu colonies in Siam grew to be a powerful kingdom. The major part of Siam was subject to Fu-nan. After the fall of that kingdom flourished the Moṅ State of Dvāravatī mentioned earlier. It sent embassies to China in A.D. 638 and 649, and probably comprised the whole of Lower Siam from the borders of Cambodia to the Bay of Bengal. As noted above, this and many other small Hinduised states that flourished in N. Siam and Laos were all subjugated by Kaṁbuja by the middle of the tenth century A.D. The Kaṁbuja supremacy which was gradually established all over Siam continued till the advent of the Thais in the thirteenth century A.D.

These Thais themselves, however, had come under the influence of Hindu culture long before they conquered Siam. They are a Mongolian tribe and are generally believed to be ethnically related to the Chinese. From their original home in the southern part of China, the Thais migrated to the south and west and peopled nearly the whole of the Uplands of Indo-China to the east of Burma and north of Siam and Cambodia. Among the various principalities set up by them, the two most important were situated in what is now called Tonkin and Yunnan. In the former the Annamites, a branch of the Thais, were subjugated to China for a long period and adopted Chinese culture. But they regained their independence in the tenth century A.D. and gradually established a powerful kingdom which comprised not only Tonkin, but also the northern part of the province now called after them Annam. This kingdom has been referred to in connection with the history of Champā.

The Thai kingdom in Yunnan, though occasionally defeated and subjugated by the Chinese, obtained complete independence in the seventh century A.D. and soon grew very powerful. This kingdom is referred to as Nan-chao by the Chinese, but it is called Videharājya and its capital is named Mithilā in the native chronicles. It was brought under the cultural influence of India, either directly by the Indian colonists, or indirectly through the Hinduised states in Burma

CHAPTER THIRTY-THREE

CULTURAL CONNECTIONS WITH CENTRAL ASIA, CHINA AND TIBET

I. INDIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

1. *The Zone of Indian Cultural Influence*

WE HAVE SEEN that the beginnings of India's cultural relations with that part of Central Asia which is now known as Eastern Turkestan go back to the second century B.C. The relations had been intensified in course of the next few centuries and the entire Eastern Turkestan from Kashgar up to the frontier of China had grown into a cultural colony of India by the end of the third century A.D. The region that had come under the sphere of Indian influence may be defined as the country bounded by well-known hill ranges on all sides—on the north by the T'ien-shan, on the south by the Kun-lun, on the east by the Nan-shan, and on the west by the Pamirs. These mountains give rise to important rivers which flow towards the Taklamakan Desert, gradually dry up, and ultimately lose themselves in the sands. The Kashgar river rising from the T'ien-shan and the Yarkand river rising from the Pamirs combine together to form the Tarim river. This river, which is known in Indian literature under the name *Sītā*, flows along the depression south-eastwards into the marshes of Lob-nor. It is along these river basins that thickly populated and prosperous colonies had come into existence from early times, and many of them developed into independent states during the period under consideration.

The colonies that flourished in the southern part of this region were from west to east—Śailadeśa (Chinese Shue-lei, Kie-sha: Kashgar), Chokkuka (Chinese So-kiu, Che-kiu-kia: Yarkand), Khotaṁna (Chinese Yu-tien, Kiu-sa-tan-na: Khotan, Kustana) and Calmadana (Chinese Che-mo-t'o-na: Shan-shan: Cherchen). The colonies in the north were: Bharuka (Chinese P'o-liu-kia: Uch Turfan), Kuchi (Chinese Kiue-tse: Kucha), Agnideśa (Chinese Yen-ki, Wu-ki Wu-Yi: Karasahr) and Kao-ch'ang (Turfan).

From the Indian frontier there were two distinct approaches to this region. The shorter one was along the upper valley of the Indus and through Gilgit over the Pamirs to Kashgar. Kashgar was the meeting place of two routes, one connecting it with the southern states and the other with the northern states. The two routes again met at Yu-men-kuan on the Chinese frontier. The other route from India, which was a longer one, lay along the Kābul river and, by the passes of the Hindukush, proceeded through Bactria and Tokharestan towards Kashgar. The northern part of Eastern Turkestan was also connected by another route which, starting from the Kābul region, went northwards through Sogdiana and the country of the Western Turks in the region of the Issik-kul, ultimately reaching Bharuka (Uch Turfan).

In some of these states, specially in those of the south, there was a strong Indian element in the population due to systematic immigration from India in the earlier period. Close relations, both cultural and commercial, had been established between India and these states. Indian script had been introduced under two forms: Kharoshṭhī in the southern states and Brāhmī in the northern countries. Besides, among the upper section of the people, an Indian dialect, akin to the spoken language of North-Western India, was current at least for the first three or four centuries of the Christian era.

The Indian influence was further strengthened through the acceptance of the Buddhist religion by the local people in the south as well as in the north. Buddhism brought to them Indian art, literature, medicine, astronomy and music. The language of culture in many of the states was Sanskrit. Fa-hien bears a clear testimony to this at the end of the fourth century: 'From this point (Lon-nor region)', says he, 'travelling westwards, the nation that one passes through are all similar in this respect (i.e. in the practice of the religion of India), and all those who have left the family (i.e. priests and novices) study Indian books and Indian spoken language'. That Sanskrit was the language of culture in the states of Eastern Turkestan is also clearly demonstrated by the discovery of a very large number of Sanskrit Buddhist texts in various part of the country. There are also bilingual texts in Indian script—consisting of Sanskrit texts and their translations in local languages.

2. *The Southern States*

Amongst the southern states, Khotan was of course the most important, even in this period, in the dissemination of Indian culture, but other states also did not play an insignificant part. It is the

account of Hiuan Tsang which gives a complete picture of the religious life of the people in the various states. The earlier name of Kashgar appears in the Chinese records as Shu-lei which was a transliteration of an Indian name like Śaila (deśa). In later Chinese records the name is given as Kie-sha, probably Khasa, from which the modern name Kashgar is derived. According to the testimony of Hiuan Tsang, the people of Kashgar were sincere believers in Buddhism. In the middle of the seventh century there were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries there with more than 1000 monks, all followers of the Sarvāstivāda school. The Buddhist scriptures, both canonical texts as well as the commentaries, were read by the monks. North of Kashgar, at a place called Tumśuk, ruins of Buddhist monasteries have been unearthed, and they show remains of the Buddhist art of the Gandhāra school.

Chokkuka, which is mentioned in the Chinese records earlier as So-kiu and later as Che-kiu-kia, was almost midway between Kashgar and Khotan. It has been identified with the modern Yarkand region. Buddhism was decadent in this country in the seventh century, probably on account of the growing prosperity of Khotan in this period. Hiuan Tsang tells us that the local people were sincere Buddhists and that they enjoyed good works. Although there were tens of Buddhist monasteries in the capital, they were mostly in ruins. The number of monks was more than 100, and they followed Mahāyāna. But according to the testimony of the pilgrim, it may be believed that in an earlier period the place was a more prosperous centre of Buddhism. He says that, in the south of the country, in a mountain, there were great topes in memory of Indian Arhats who had once lived there. Besides, although the number of Buddhist scholars was insignificant, the pilgrim says that the country possessed numerous canonical texts of Mahāyāna, much more than in any other Buddhist country. This shows that it must have been a very prosperous seat of Mahāyāna Buddhist culture in the earlier period.

Khotan was much larger as a state than any other country on the southern route. Its eastern frontier almost reached the Cherchen area and included many important cities like Pi-mo and Ni-jang (Niya). It was thus not only powerful but also prosperous. It, therefore, played a very preponderating role in the spread of Indian culture along the southern route. The communication between Kashmir and Khotan was very brisk in ancient times. We have seen that the road from Kashmir to Khotan, although difficult, was not long. It passed along the upper valley of the Sindhu river up to Darel, and then, proceeding north-westward along the Yasin valley, it went over hills and valleys up to Tashkurghan. From Tashkurghan to Khotan it was a

westward journey over the Bolor Tagh. This was the route followed by the first Chinese traveller Fa-hien towards the end of the fourth century. His example was followed by many Chinese travellers of later times.

A correct picture of Khotan can be had from the important Chinese records of the period—such as those of Fa-hien, Song-yun, Hiuan Tsang, etc. They say that in point of culture, Khotan belonged more to India than to China. Indian script was in use by the people; Sanskrit was cultivated and Buddhist canons in Sanskrit were studied by the local monks. Sanskrit medical texts were probably in use in the region, as fragments of them have been discovered in old sites of Khotan.

Khotan was a great centre of Buddhism and Buddhist studies. The form of Buddhism prevalent was both Hīnayāna of the Sarvāstivāda school and Mahāyāna. The people of the country as well as the rulers were devout followers of Buddhism. Fa-hien tells us that the kings of Khotan were lavish in their expenditure on the Buddhist church. In the days of Hiuan Tsang, in the capital itself there were more than 100 monasteries with above 5000 monks. In the time of Fa-hien there were about 14 principal monasteries among which the Gomati-vihāra was the largest. This monastery alone accommodated 3000 monks. Fa-hien says about the monastery: 'At the sound of a gong, three thousand priests assemble to eat. When they enter the refectory, their demeanour is grave and ceremonious; they sit down in regular order; they all keep silence, they make no clatter with their bowls, etc., and for the attendants to serve more food, they do not call out to them, but only make signs with their hands'. About the next largest monastery called the 'King's New Monastery', Fa-hien says that it was 250 feet in height, richly carved and overlaid with gold and silver with a splendidly decorated hall of the Buddha. The building of the monastery, we are told, took eight years.

Religious procession of the type of Yātrā was known in Khotan and the priests of the Gomati-vihāra were the principal organisers of such annual functions. Fa-hien has left a full description of this Yātrā:

'At a distance of 3 or 4 *li* from the city, a four-wheeled image car is made over thirty feet in height, looking like a movable hall of the Buddha, and adorned with the seven preciosities, with streaming pennants and embroidered canopies. The immense Buddha is placed in the middle of the car with two attendant Bodhisattvas and Devas following behind. These are all beauifully carved in gold and silver and are suspended in the air. When the images are one hundred

paces from the city gate, the king takes off his cap of state and puts on new clothes; walking barefoot and holding flowers and incense in his hands with attendants on each side, he proceeds out of the gate. On meeting the images, he bows his head down to the ground, scatters the flowers and burns the incense. When the images enter the city, the queen and court ladies who are on the top of the gate, scatter far and wide all kinds of flowers which flutter down and thus the splendour of decoration is complete. The cars are all different, each monastery has a day for its procession, beginning on the first of the fourth moon and lasting until the fourteenth when the processions end and the king and queen go back to the palace'.

There were a number of other monasteries within the kingdom of Khotan which enjoyed a great prestige in the Buddhist world of Central Asia. Hiuan Tsang mentions a famous monastery on the Gośṛiṅga mountain in the immediate vicinity of the capital; another called Ti-kia-p'o-fo-na to the south-west of the capital, Sha-mo-no monastery to the west, Mo-she monastery to its south-east, P'i-mo (Bhīma) and monasteries of the city of Ni-jang on the eastern frontier of the country. The discovery of a large number of archaeological sites in the region of Khotan amply confirms the description given by Hiuan Tsang of the Buddhist institutions. The principal sites so far explored are Yôtkan, Rawak, Dandān-üilik and Niya. Fragments of manuscripts, images, and paintings clearly demonstrate that all these sites were once flourishing centres of Indian Buddhist culture. The Buddhist sculpture in this region faithfully represents the Gandhāra school.

Two other ancient states on the southern route to China and mentioned by Hiuan Tsang were Che-mo-t'o-na and Na-fo-p'o. The Sanskrit form of the name of Che-mo-t'o-na was Chalmadana and the country has been located in the modern Cherchen area. Na-fa-p'o, the new name of ancient Lou-lan, was evidently an Indian name beginning with Nava-. Watters would restore it as Navabhāga. Before the time of Hiuan Tsang the region was known as Lou-lan of which the original name occurs in the Kharoshṭhī documents as Kroraina. This has been identified with later Chinese Shan-shan and modern Lob-nor region. We have not much evidence on the condition of Buddhism and Indian culture in these regions excepting the relics of Buddhist art discovered in the old sites of Endere and Miran. As the sphere of Indian cultural influence went far beyond up to Tun-huang along this route it may be presumed that these two places also contained Indian settlements and Buddhist establishments.

3. *The Northern States*

In the northern part of Eastern Turkestan, along the route proceeding from Kashgar eastwards to the Chinese frontiers, the three countries Bharuka, Kuchirājya and Agnideśa represented a homogeneous type of culture, whereas Kao-ch'ang (Turfan) was mostly a Chinese outpost. Of the first three kingdoms Kuchi was the most important and played the same role as Khotan in the dissemination of Indian culture along the northern route. The local people of the three kingdoms were predominantly an Indo-European speaking people. Their language represents an unknown branch of the Indo-European having more affinities with the Kentum group. It has been variously called by modern scholars, by some as Tokharian and by others more precisely as Kuchean and Agnean. These were, however, dialects of the same language and one was spoken in Kuchi and the other in Agnideśa. The existence of these dialects has been demonstrated by Buddhist documents discovered in these regions. Although no such documents have been found in the region of Bharuka, the testimony of Hiuan Tsang would have us believe that the language of that region was a dialect of Kuchean. While speaking of Bharuka, Hiuan Tsang says: 'In general characteristics this country and its people resembled Kuchih and its people, but the spoken language differed a little.'

Although the people of Kuchi and of its two neighbours, Bharuka and Agnideśa, spoke an Aryan language, still Sanskrit was adopted by the learned along with Buddhism. Plenty of fragments of Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts and bilingual texts in Sanskrit with its Kuchean and Agnean translations have been discovered in the region of Kucha and Karasahr. From these documents we can know that the names of the three kingdoms were spelt in Sanskrit as Bharuka, Kuchi, and Agni. The first was known in Chinese documents as either Ku-mo or P'o-liu-kia, Kuchi as Kiue-tse, Kiu-che, Kiu-yi, and the last as Wu-ki, Wu-yi, Yen-ki, A-k'i-ni. There is no doubt about the modern identifications of these places respectively with Uch-Turfan, Kucha and Karasahr.

As already said, of the three kingdoms, it was Kuchi which played the most important part in the history of Ser-Indian culture. Politically it was a very powerful state, often engaged in war with China for the preservation of its independence. The people of the country, the most refined and advanced in many ways, were instrumental in introducing many elements of Buddhist culture in China.

The people of Kucha had adopted Buddhism very early. According to the Chinese accounts there were nearly 10,000 *stūpas* and

temples in Kuchi in the beginning of the fourth century. The following quotation from the *History of the First Tsin Dynasty* will give a clear idea of the state of Buddhism in Kucha and of the influence of Indian culture on it in the fourth and fifth centuries:

'The kingdom of Kucha possessed numerous monasteries. Their decoration is magnificent. The royal palace also had standing images of Buddha as in a monastery. There is a convent named Ta-mu which had 170 monks. The convent named Che-li on the northern hill had 50 monks. The new convent of the king named Kien-mu had 60. The convent of the king of Wen-su had 70. These four convents were under the direction of Buddhasvāmin. The monks of these convents change their residence every three months. Before completing five years after ordination they are not permitted to stay in the King's convent even for a night. This convent has 90 monks. There is a young monk there named Kiu-kiu (? mo) lo (Kumārajīva) who has great capacity and knowledge and has studied Mahāyāna. Buddhasvāmin is his teacher, but he has changed as Budhasvāmin belongs to the Āgama school (Hīnayāna).

'The convent of A-li has 180 nuns, that of Liun-jo-kan has 50, and that of A-li-po has 30. These three convents are also under the direction of Buddhasvāmin. The nuns receive regular Śikshāpadas; the rule in the foreign countries is that the nuns are not allowed to govern themselves. The nuns in these three convents are generally the daughters or wives of kings and princes (of countries) to the east of Pamirs. They come from long distances to these monasteries for the sake of the law. They regulate their practices. They have a very severe rule. They change their residence once in every three months. Excepting the three chief nuns they do not go out. They observe five hundred prescriptions of the law.'

Kumārajīva, referred to in the passage, was a great figure of the fourth century and stands as a great symbol of Indo-Kuchean cultural relations. His father, Kumārāyaṇa was an Indian noble and had migrated to Kucha where he rose to the position of *Rājaguru* royal preceptor). He married Jīvā, the sister of the king of Kucha, and Kumārajīva was their issue. Kumārajīva also had another brother, Pushyadeva. After the birth of Pushvadeva, Jīvā embraced the Buddhist faith and became a nun. Kumārajīva was then only seven years of age, but he was a boy of extraordinary intelligence. He was under the supervision of his mother and was initiated to Buddhist studies at Kucha. After two years his mother realised the need of taking him to India for further studies. At the age of nine. Kumārajīva accompanied his mother on the arduous journey to India

and ultimately reached Kashmir. He was placed under various teachers of repute in Kashmir and had a thorough training in the Buddhist as well as in Brahmanical lore.

After his return to Kucha, Kumārajīva was soon recognised as the most competent teacher in the whole of Central Asia, and students flocked to him from various parts of the country. His reputation spread very far and soon reached the capital of China. He had various invitations from China to proceed to the capital, but refused to do so. Ultimately war broke out between China and Kucha. Kucha was reduced to subjection, and Kumārajīva was taken to China as a prisoner (A.D. 383). He died in China in 413. His life in China was one of intense intellectual and religious activities. He was a great scholar of Buddhist philosophy and was the first to introduce and interpret the Mādhyamika philosophy along with the works of Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. He translated into Chinese a very large number of works from Sanskrit and they are considered classics in Chinese literature. In short the great personality of Kumārajīva was responsible for winning a high prestige for Indian culture not only in all the Central Asian states but also in China.

Kucha continued to be an important centre of Indian culture even after Kumārajīva's time. Hiuan Tsang visited the country in the beginning of the seventh century on his way to India, and he says that there were more than 100 monasteries in the country with above 500 monks of the Sarvāstivāda school. He further says that the monks studied the religious texts in the *language of India*, and that they were extremely punctilious in observing the rules of their code of discipline. Hiuan Tsang also gives description of some of the principal monasteries of Kucha and the splendour of the local Buddhist art. While speaking of two monasteries called Chao-hu-li in the neighbourhood of the city he says: 'The images of Buddha in these monasteries were beautiful almost beyond human skill'. 'Outside the west gate of the capital were two standing images of Buddha ninety feet high, on each side of the highway. These images marked the place where the great quinquennial Buddhist assemblies were held, and at which the annual autumn religious meetings of clergy and laity occurred. The latter meetings lasted for some tens of days, and were attended by ecclesiastics from all parts of the country. While these convocations were sitting, the king and all his subjects made holiday, abstaining from work, keeping fast, and hearing religious discourses. All the monasteries made processions with their images of Buddha, adorning these with pearls and silk embroideries. The images were borne on vehicles'. About another monastery called A-she-li-yi (Āścharyavihāra) which was probably the largest in Kucha the pilgrim says: 'This had spacious halls and artistic images of the Buddha; its brethren were grave seniors of long perseverance

in seeking for moral perfection and of great learning and of intellectual abilities: the monastery was a place of resort for men of eminence from distant lands who were hospitably entertained by the king and officials and people'.

Remains of literature and art demonstrate equally well that Kucha had fully adopted Indian culture. Two old sites near Kucha, Kizil and Kumtura, contain remains of old Buddhist cave temples. The sculpture and the frescoes reveal among other influences a preponderating influence of the Gandhāra school. There is evidence of the prevalence of Indian music in ancient Kucha. The country had sent on several occasions musical parties to the Chinese court and a number of musical airs which were introduced by them in China has been identified with Indian *rāgas*. Some of the names of Kuchean musical notes like *shaḍja, pañchama, vṛisha* and *sahagrāma* had been taken from India. The literary finds, we have seen, consist of Sanskrit texts and their translations in Kuchean. The Sanskrit texts belong to the literature of the Sarvāstivāda school.

It has been already said that the kingdom of Agni, situated further to the east, also belonged to the same cultural zone as Kucha. The Sanskrit name Agni is found in the Sanskrit documents discovered from this region. The country has been identified with modern Karasahr. The country of Agni, although not so important as Kucha, still played a considerable role in the history of Ser-Indian culture. Hiuan Tsang gives a fairly clear idea of the Indian influences in Karasahr The country, we are told, had Indian writing with certain modifications. About the condition of Buddhism in Karasahr the pilgrim says: 'There are above ten Buddhist monasteries with above 2000 ecclesiastics of all degrees, all adherents of the Sarvāstivādin school of the Small Vehicle system. Since as to Sūtra teachings and Vinaya regulations they follow India, it is in its literature that students of these subjects study them thoroughly. They are very strict in the observance of the rules of their order'.

In a place called Sorcuk near Karasahr relics of old Buddhist art affiliated to the Gandhāra school have been found in plenty. Buddhist Sanskrit texts along with translations in local language have also been found in Karasahr area.

Kao-ch'ang, further to the east of Karasahr, was at times recognised as an independent state, but it was generally a Chinese colony. Kao-ch'ang is modern Turfan. A number of old Buddhist sites of the eighth-ninth centuries have been discovered in this region at Idikutsahri, Murtuk, and Bazaklik. The art exhibits various influences, but the influences of Gandhāra school and of even Gupta school on the Buddhist sculpture is not quite insignificant.

The decadence of Indian cultural influence in Central Asia starts from the end of the eighth century. Continual war for supremacy between the Chinese, the Tibetans, the Uigur and the Arabs devastated the once prosperous and populous localities, and the ancient culture, about eight centuries old, became gradually feeble and ultimately disappeared.

The Central Asian states served as the most important agent for the transmission of Indian culture, religion, and art to China. Although there was regular contact between China and India by the sea-route in this period, still the Central Asian routes were in greater use by Indian scholars proceeding to China from North-India. Kashmir played the most important part in the history of relations between India, Central Asia, and China. The Kashmirian scholars were more familiar with the Indian Cultural outposts in Central Asia on account of the presence of a large number of their countrymen there Besides giving shelter and help to the Indian travellers to China and Chinese travellers to India, the Central Asian states, specially Khotan and Kucha, made distinct contributions of their own in the interpretation of Indian culture in China. Among the translators of Sanskrit texts into Chinese there were many scholars of Central Asia, the most outstanding figures being those of Kumārajīva of Kucha (fourth century) and Sikshānanda of Khotan (seventh century).

II. INDIA AND CHINA

1. *Indian Scholars in China*

There were various routes connecting China with India in this period. We have already spoken about the two Central Asian routes between China and the Western countries including India. The two principal routes in this region, the northern and the southern, met on the Chinese frontier at a place called Yu-men. One of the largest Buddhist establishments in Asia, the 'Caves of the Thousand Buddhas', had been founded at a place called Tun-huang not far from Yu-men. It served as the resting place for all Buddhist pilgrims from Persia, Bactria, India, Sogdiana, Khotan, Kucha and other countries on their way to the Chinese capitals, either Lo-yang (Honan) or Ch'ang-ngan (Sian).

Another important overland route from India had also been opened in this period. It was the Tibetan route which was opened after the conversion of Tibet to Buddhism under its first emperor, Srong-btsan-Sgam-po, in the first part of the seventh century. A number of Chinese and Indian monks travelled by this route so long as relations between Tibet and China remained friendly. There was still another overland route, viz. the Assam-Burma route which was

not quite impracticable. It connected Eastern India with Yunnan and the various stages from Pāṭaliputra onwards were: Champā (Bhagalpur), Kajaṅgala (Rajmahal), Puṇḍravardhana (North-Bengal), Kāmarūpa (Assam), Bhamo, etc. Hiuan-Tsang, while in Kāmarūpa, learnt that South-West China could be reached from there in two months.

The sea route to China had been opened in the earlier period, but it was in more frequent use from the fourth century onwards. This is indicated by the rapid growth of the Indian colonies in Indo-China and Indonesia. The most important of these colonies in this period were Champā (Annam), Kaṁbuja (Cambodia), and Śrīvijaya (Sumatra). There were, besides, a large number of vassal states here and there owing allegiance either to Cambodia or to Śrīvijaya. In the beginning of the fifth century when Fa-hien returned to China, the sea route was not yet in frequent use by the Chinese travellers, but in the Seventh century, in the days of I-tsing, it was almost in general use by Buddhist monks going to South China from Ceylon and coastal regions of India, and for Chinese monks coming to India. The biggest centre of Buddhist learning in this period, Nālandā, was more easily accessible to the Chinese travelling by this route. From the end of seventh century till about the middle of the eleventh century the sea route came more and more in use than the land routes—the political disruptions in Central Asia from the eighth century being the most important cause.

The period under review is certainly the most important in the history of Sino-Indian Cultural relations. It can, however, be subdivided into three periods : (i) A.D. 300-600 when China was divided into two or three kingdoms—this was the most fecund period in Sino-Indian relationship; (ii) A.D. 600-900 whn China was united under one Empire, that of the Suei and the T'ang—this was a period of consummation in cultural relations when Indian culture, along with Buddhism, was firmly established in China and became a part of Chinese civilisation. The end of this period also saw the decadence in the cultural relations; (iii) A.D. 900-1100—the period of decay, in spite of the arrival of a large number of Indian Buddhist scholars in China in this period. Buddhism was already a decadent religion—it was no longer that strong force which bound Indian and China together.

Although China was politically divided in the first period, the cultural and religious life of the people was a very active one. The contact with foreign countries, specially with those of Central Asia, was brisk, and Indian Buddhist scholars arrived in China in large numbers through Central Asia. The end of the fourth century is marked by the arrival of the famous Kumārajīva. He worked in

the capital of China, Ch'ang-ngan, till his death in A.D. 413. He was the greatest interpreter of Buddhism and Indian culture in China. He was responsible for starting a new epoch in the translation of Buddhist texts in Chinese. Previous translations of Indian texts were not satisfactory because the translators were not competent. Kumārajīva's acquaintance with various schools of Buddhist philosophy enabled him to render the sense of the texts more clearly and precisely. He had, besides, a great command not only of Sanskrit but also of Chinese. In addition he had a great literary gift. All this made his translations of Buddhist texts attractive and popular, and helped in the correct interpretation of Buddhism. He left behind a very large number of Chinese disciples, some of whom were people of great renown.

Kumārajīva seems to have attracted a large number of Kashmirian scholars, probably his personal friends, to China. Gautama Saṅghabhūti came to China in A.D. 381 and worked up to 384. Gautama Saṅghadeva came in 384 and was in China till the end of the century. Puṇyatrāta and his pupil Dharmayaśas came about the same time, collaborated and Kumārajīva in the work of translation, and remained in China even after the latter's death. Buddhayaśas came in A.D. 406, collaborated with Kumārajīva till 413, and then went to South China. Guṇavarman, formerly a prince of Kashmir, came to South China in A.D. 431 by the sea route and spent his life there in translating Buddhist texts and propagating Buddhism.

The fifth and sixth centuries saw also a number of Buddhist scholars from other parts of India: Dharmakshema, who came in A.D. 414 and worked till 432. Guṇabhadra, who came in 435 and worked till 468, Paramārtha, who came in 546 and worked till 569, Vimokshasena and Jinagupta, who came in 557 and worked till 600. There was a host of other scholars, too, who had come to China in the same period. Considerable parts of the Buddhist canon, mostly Sanskrit, were rendered into Chinese through the untiring zeal of these scholars. Interest was also created among the Chinese scholars themselves in the work, and they started to take part in the work either independently or as collaborators.

Some famous Indian Buddhist scholars came to China during the first part of the T'ang period. The first to come was Prabhākaramitra, a noted Professor of Nālandā, who first went to the kingdom of the Turks in Central Asia, and then proceeded to China in A.D. 626. He translated a number of Buddhist texts into Chinese, was highly honoured by the Emperor, and surrounded by a number of admirers. He died in China in 633. Next to come was Bodhiruchi of South India. He was a scholar of great repute in India and was living most probably in the Chālukya court. The Chinese envoy to the Chālukya ruler in 692 invited Bodhiruchi to China. He reached

China by the sea route in 693. A board of translators was officially appointed to help him in translating Buddhist texts into Chinese. He worked incessantly till his death in 727 and left behind 53 large volumes of translations. The great prestige he had won at the Chinese court is shown by the following event. It was on the occasion of his translation of the great Mahāyāna work *Ratnakūṭa*, which was started in 706 and completed in 713. His Chinese biographers tell us that the Emperor was present when the translation was made and took down notes with his own hand. It was a unique occasion on which all the chief functionaries and the queens and the other women of the palace were present. The board set up to help Bodhiruchi consisted of Indian as well as Chinese scholars.

Three great Indian Buddhist scholars also came to China in this period. They are famous in the history of Chinese Buddhism and Buddhist literature for having introduced a new form of Buddhism which is called Tantrayāna. The three scholars were Śubhākarasiṁha, Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra. Śubhākarasiṁha, who claimed decent from Amṛitodana, the uncle of Śākyamuni, was in Nālandā. He came to China in 716 with a collection of manuscripts and remained in China till his death in 735. Vajrabodhi was the son of king Īśānavarman of Central India. He studied Buddhism at Nālandā and Valābhī and then went to South India where he was for some time the teacher of the Pallava king Narasiṁha-potavarman. He next went to Ceylon, and came to China in 720, carrying presents from the king of Ceylon to the Emperor of China. He had a great personality and successfully introduced mystic Buddhism among the Chinese. He translated a number of mystic texts and died in China in 732. His disciple Amoghavajra, who was all the time with him, continued the work of the master. He came to Ceylon for a short while to collect new manuscripts, and worked incessantly in China till his death in 774. He has left behind nearly a hundred translations of Buddhist texts in Chinese. Amoghavajra was practically the last great Indian scholar to have come to China. We get a number of names of Indian scholars who went to China between 970 and 1036; they even translated a fairly large number of Sanskrit texts, but they are mostly shadowy figures. They were not interpreters of Indian culture in China like their illustrious predecessors. They represent only an effort to carry on the old tradition before the curtain was finally dropped on this glorious chapter of Indian history.

2. *Chinese Scholars in India*

The period under survey also saw a large number of Chinese scholars, some of them great personalities, coming to India with a view to establish closer cultural connections between the two countries.

This shows that it was not quite a one-way traffic. The Chinese themselves were taking a real interest in India and Indian culture. It was towards the end of the fourth century that a famous Chinese scholar named Tao-ngan started impressing his pupils with the need of going to India to get a first-hand knowledge of the country and study the Buddhist religion under Indian teachers. The first among the enterprising monks was Fa-hien. Four other monks—Hui-king, Tao-king, Hui-ying, and Hui-wei—volunteered to accompany him. Another party which had started for India independently joined them on the way. The party consisted of Che-yen, Hui-kien, Seng-shao, Pao-yun, and Seng-king. They started on their journey in A.D. 399. Among these enterprising monks only two, Fa-hien and Pao-yun, succeeded in completing their journey and left accounts of their travels. Both of them came by the Central Asian routes to India, but Fa-hien returned to China by the sea route. Fa-hien spent more than ten years in India, visiting most of the principal Buddhist centres in the North. He studied Buddhism in various places, copied a number of texts with his own hands, and collected a number of other texts. He learnt Sanskrit, and on his return to China translated many of the texts into Chinese The next Chinese visitor to India was Song-yun, an official envoy of the Empress of the Wei dynasty. He accompanied in 518 a Buddhist monk, Hui-sheng, who was charged by the Empress to offer presents on her behalf of the Buddhist monasteries in Uḍḍiyāna (Swat Valley) and Gandhāra (Peshawar). Song-yun and his party did not visit other parts of India and returned in 522.

The T'ang period saw the largest number of Chinese pilgrims in India. The first and the foremost was Hiuan Tsang who started on his journey in 629, and after visiting the important countries in Central Asia, ultimately reached India. He visited almost all the principal kingdoms in Northern and Southern India and collected information on such distant parts of the country as Nepal, Ceylon, Further India, etc. He made personal contacts with two powerful rulers of India—king Harsha of Kanauj and his ally king Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa. He passed five years in the University of Nālandā in studying various systems of Buddhist philosophy and establishing personal relation with the great Indian teachers. He returned to China in 645 to publish the most complete account of India ever written in Chinese. His mastery over Indian language and literature also enabled him to give authoritative translations of a very large number of texts of the Buddhist canon.

Hiuan Tsang was followed by an official envoy Wang hiuan-ts'e who was entrusted with four different missions to India between 645 and 664. In 645 he was sent with ambassador Li Yi-piao to king Harsha of Kanauj. This was in return for a mission which king

Harsha had sent to the Chinese Emperor. Wang-Hiuan-ts'o returned to China in 647 to be sent back to India immediately on a second official mission. On his arrival at the capital, Wang-hiuan-tse found that Harsha had died and that his minister had usurped the throne. As noted above, the Chinese mission was ill treated by the usurper, and this induced Wang-hiuan-tse to seek for Nepalese and Tibetan help to fight the usurper, who was ultimately defeated and taken to China as prisoner. Wang-huian-tse came to India for the third time in 657 to bring back home an Indian Yogī who had been sent by an Indian king to the Chinese court to prepare for the Emperor the medicine for longevity. Wang-hiuan-tse came to India in 664 for the fourth time to take back home a Chinese pilgrim named Hiuan-chao whom he had previously met in India. Wang-hiuan-tse wrote a very comprehensive account of India which unfortunately survives only in fragments.

The Chinese texts have preserved the biographies of 60 other Chinese monks who came to India during the second half of the seventh century. Most of them were ordinary pious monks who came to pay homage to the Buddhist holy places and, thus, to acquire merit. The example of Hiuan Tsang had aroused in their hearts a fervent longing to visit India. Most of them came by the sea route and many lived in India for life. One of them, Hiuan-cho, is also mentioned in the official accounts. He came to India about 650 by the Tibet route, visited the holy places in North India, and ultimately settled in Nālandā for the study of Buddhist philosophy. He was met by Wang-Hiuan-tse in the course of his third visit to India He went back to China in 664 with the official envoy but was soon sent back to India by the Emperor to collect rare medicines for him. He came back by the Tibet route. On the completion of his mission he tried to go back to China, but it was impossible for him to do so, as all the overland routes had been closed. The Arabs had blocked the Central Asian routes and Tibet had declared war on Chino. He, therefore, stayed in India for the rest of his life.

The last great Chinese pilgrim to come to India was I-tsing. Next to Hiuan Tsang he was the greatest Buddhist scholar in China. He undertook his journey to India in 671. He did not come directly to India, but first went to Śrīvijaya (Sumatra), which had become a very important centre of Buddhist learning in this period under the Śailendra kings. He passed a few years there studying Buddhism under competent scholars. The flourishing condition of Buddhism in Śrīvijaya is reflected in his famous book *Nan-hai-ki-kui-nei-fa-ch'uan*, "*Record of Buddhist Religion as practised in the South Sea Islands*". I-tsing then came to India and stayed in the Nālandā University for ten years till 695. He returned to China with a collection of 400 manuscripts of Buddhist texts.

The last Chinese visitor to India of the T'ang period was Wu-k'ong. He was sent on an official mission in 751 to escort an ambassador who had come from the kingdom of Kapiśa to China. While in Gandhāra he was converted to Buddhism. He then visited the different holy places and passed a number of years in Kashmir in the study of Buddhism. He returned to China in 790.

After a long period of silence, there was a resumption of cultural contact on the Chinese side in the Song period. A number of Chinese monks came to India between 950 and 1039. Their names are preserved in the Chinese Buddhist Encyclopaedias, but we do not know much about them. Their names are also traced in a few Chinese inscriptions discovered at Bodhgayā. A good number of them came on an official mission to offer homage either on behalf of the Emperor or the Empress to the holy places in India, or to make other presents on their behalf to the Buddhist establishments, specially that of Bodhgayā.

3. *Indian Culture in China*

The activities of the Indian Buddhist scholars who had gone to China, and the Chinese monks who had come to India, between 300 and 1030, were extremely fruitful in the dissemination of Indian culture in China. China for all practical pursposes became a cultural colony of India. It was not merely in the field of Buddhist religion and literature but also in all other spheres of cultural life: philosophy, art, sciences, medicine, etc.

The Chinese Buddhist literature, which is mainly a literature translated from Indian sources through the untiring efforts of the Buddhist scholars, both Indian and Chinese, through centuries, constitutes one-third of the ancient Chinese classics. Although an understanding of this literature requires a specialised study, still it had its influence on the development of Chinese literature itself. Some of the great translators like Dharmaraksha and Kumārajīva had used a popular language as the vehicle of their translations as opposed to the high-browed style of the literati. This inspired writers of popular novels in medieval times, and such novels, although condemned by the ancient literati, have been acclaimed as the real literature of ancient China by modern scholars. This popular Chinese literature also borrowed from the Buddhist story books many elements such as the method of delineation of stories, method of circling narration, the Buddhist ethics which had got mixed up with the popular belief, etc.

The Chinese Buddhist classics represent the most comprehensive collection of Buddhist canonical literature in any language. The Pāli literature represents the literature of only one school—the Thera

vāda school. The Tibetan translations represent mainly the literature of the Mūla-Sarvāstivāda school and later mystic schools. But the Chinese translations contain the literature of five Hīnayāna schools such as Sarvāstivāda, Mūla-Sarvāstivāda, Mahāsāṁghika, Mahīśāsaka, and Dharmaguptaka, in addition to the entire literature of Mahāyāna including that of its later philosophical schools—Mādhyamika and Yogāchāra. Although the work of translation had started from the first century A.D., the greater bulk of the translation belongs to the period under survey.

The art, which developed in China, through Buddhism, in this period, is still her greatest legacy in this domain. There were three chief centres of Buddhist art in China—Tun-huang, Yun-kang and Long-men. There were, besides, numerous other centres, but they were less important. The relics of Buddhist art at Tun-huang are found in the famous Caves of Thousand Buddhas situated in the hills near Tun-huang in the province of Kansu. A series of over 500 caves, excavated at various times between A.D. 400 and 1000, constitute a sort of museum of Buddhist sculpture and painting of different ages. The early period represents predominantly the art traditions of India, of the Gandhāra school in sculpture and of Ajaṇṭā and Bāgh in painting. The later periods represent a gradual Chinese adaptation of these foreign traditions culminating in a purely Chinese Buddhist art. The Buddhist caves of Yun-kang and Long-men in North China also present the same features on a smaller scale. These Buddhist caves clearly bear the stamp of Indian artists in the earlier period (400-600), and historical records confirm it. We know definitely that many of the caves were excavated and embellished under the supervision of Indian Buddhists. The Chinese pilgrims like Hiuan Tsang and Wang-Hiuan-tse were particular in bringing from India pieces of Buddhist sculpture and also drawings with a view to supply models to the Chinese artists. The influence of such models is traceable in many Buddhist images in the ancient monasteries of China. Canons of Indian iconography were translated into Chinese for the guidance of the Chinese artists, and Indian principles of aesthetics were adopted in China. So far as Buddhist architecture is concerned, it is believed by many that the pagoda type of temples with superimposed stories was introduced from India. The vestiges of this type of temples are found in many parts of India. In various centres of Buddhism in Central Asia such temples were built in imitation of Indian temples. Temples of this type began to be constructed in China in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Indian music was known and practised in China in the sixth and seventh centuries. It was first introduced in the court by Indian musicians who had settled in Kucha. Later on Indian orchestral

parties were directly invited to China to give demonstrations of their music. We are told by the Chinese historians that at one time Indian music became so popular among the princes and the nobles that it had to be banned by an official order.

Indian systems of medicine, astronomy, and mathematics were known in China and practised. Although the number of medical texts translated from Sanskrit into Chinese is very few, Indian influence on the Chinese medical system is clearly demonstrated by the occurrence of numerous Indian drugs in the Chinese pharmacopoeia. Numerous fragments of Sanskrit medical texts have been discovered from various parts of Central Asia, and it is very likely that such texts were also carried to China. Medicine being a practical science, it was not so much the translation of texts that was needed as the practical use of new drugs. We know with what craziness some of the Chinese pilgrims were in the habit of collecting rare medicinal herbs in India.

A number of treatises on astronomy and mathematics were translated into Chinese in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Chinese court, since ancient times, was very particular in preparing official calendars for the guidance of state rites, and used to have a permanent astronomical board for this purpose. It was towards the end of the seventh century that the Indian method of calculation was found to be more accurate than the old Chinese method. Hence there was a need for translating Indian astronomical texts. Under the T'ang, three Indian astronomers named Gautama, Kāśyapa and Kumāra were officially appointed on the astronomical boards, and several members of their families prepared official calendars for a number of years.

Thus, the Indian influence on Chinese culture was not a superficial one, merely exerted in the religious sphere by a band of zealous Buddhist missionaries. It went much deeper and created a strong feeling of sympathy and respect in the Chinese mind for India and her culture. It was much more stable than a political conquest and left indelible marks on Chinese life that have not been effaced even after long centuries of isolation of the two countries.

III. INDIA AND TIBET

Tibet emerged as a powerful kingdom in the beginning of the seventh century under its able ruler Sroṅ-btsan-Sgam-po. Its earlier history is still shrouded in mist. The Tibetan people are composed of a number of nomadic tribes, called 'Kiang' in Chinese history, which were moving about on the western border of China and carrying on continuous wars with her even during the first few centuries of the Christian era. It was probably in this period that they

infiltrated into Tibet proper and founded principalities in various parts of the country. What relations, if any, they had with India during that period is not known, but it is quite likely that they had come in contact with Indian culture in course of their peregrinations in Central Asia. It is difficult to say whether the Kiangs of the Chinese history belonged to the same nomadic race as the Kāṁbojas mentioned in Indian literature. A relation between the two is, however, not quite unlikely. Western Tibet, specially Ladakh, had contacts with Kashmir since very early times. It belonged to the Kushāṇa empire as is proved by the Khalatse inscription of the year 187 of Wima Kadphises. The wide popularity of the story of a mythical king Gesar (Caesar) in different parts of Tibet might be due to a certain amount of Kushāṇa infiltration in Tibet from the west under Kaṇishka, who was the only Asiatic ruler to have adopted the title of Caesar (Kaisara).

The early accounts of Tibet are mixed up with legends. The most reliable of them says that one thousand years after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha there was the first king in Tibet called Gñah-khri-btsan-po. Twenty-six generations after him there was the king Khri Thothori-snan-btsan. In his time the law of the Buddha first reached Tibet. Fifth in descent from him was king Srong-btsan-Sgam-po, with whom all the great works of civilization in Tibet started. The legends connect the first mythical ruler Gñah-khri-btsan-po with the dynasty of king Prasenajit of India. This is evidently a later Buddhist invention. For all practical purposes we may believe that Tibet came in contact with India under king Thothori, who lived four generations before Srong-btsan and may be placed about A.D. 500. Buddhism might have made its way in certain parts of Tibet in this period, especially from Kashmir and Nepal. Srong-btsan was born in 569 and was on the throne from A.D. 622 to 650. He not only founded the first Tibetan empire by bringing together all the tribes, but was also responsible for many outstanding improvements. Tibet had no writing. So the emperor sent the son of Anu of the Thoṅmi tribe (Thoṅmi Sambhota) with 16 others to India in order to study the art of writing. On the completion of his study, Thoṅmi Sambhota devised an alphabet for the Tibetan language consisting of 30 consonants and 4 vowels, based on the Indian writing, but adapted to the needs of the Tibetan language. Thoṅmi also composed works on grammar which were highly honoured by the king. Buddhism was propagated in the capital, and monasteries were built at Lhasa and other places. The next important act of king Srong-btsan was to establish relations with Nepal and China. He married the daughter of king Aṁśuvarman of Nepal and also a Chinese imperial princess, and thus established matrimonial relations with the two neighbouring countries. Both the queens were Buddhists, and it was they who

patronised the spread of Buddhism in Tibet. The Buddhist church of Tibet in later times came to regard king Srong-btsan as the incarnation of Avalokiteśvara and his two queens as two Tārās, one the Green Tārā and the other the White Tārā. King Srong-btsan is also credited with great political reforms based on the fundamental principles of Buddhism. During the reign of Srong-btsan, Tibet played a very important part in the relations between India and China not only by opening a shorter route connecting the two countries but also by offering facilities to the Buddhist travellers.

The period immediately following the death of Srong-btsan is dark, and very little is known about the progress of Buddhism and Indian culture in Tibet. It is with the rise of king Khri-srong-lde-btsan (755-797) that we again hear of great activities in this direction. We are told by the most reliable account, in which legend does not play any part, that the king Khri-srong invited a great teacher named 'Lotus-born' (Padmasaṁbhava) and Kamalaśīla and other Siddhas along with Vairochanarakshita, Nagendrarakshita of Khon etc.—in all seven men—who translated the teachings of the law. We are further told that during his reign Buddhism was firmly established in Tibet, and that other Paṇḍitas, along with masters of translations, also translated the teachings of the Law. King Khri-srong is regarded by all sources as an incarnation of Mañjūśī. He became the most enthusiastic patron of Buddhism and adopted it as the state religion. His invitation to Padmasaṁbhava and Kamalaśīla from India is told in other accounts with a good deal of supernatural colouring. The fact is that the new king wanted to patronise Buddhism and to suppress the old Bon religion which was the strength of the recalcitrant nobility. He found in Padmasaṁbhava and Kamalaśīla very capable teachers to help him in that direction The first systematic translation of the Buddhist canon started at this time. The seven teachers who helped the Indian scholars are known from other sources, too. They were Mañjūśrī of Ba, Devendra and Tsan, Kumudika of Tan, Nagendra of Khon, Vairochana of Pa-k'or, Rin chen-chog of Ma, and Katana of Lan. They were the first seven Tibetan monks of the Sarvāstivāda school to be ordained by Padmasaṁbhava. This shows that in spite of the great activities of Thoṁmi Sambhota and the two Buddhist queens of king Srong-btsan in the earlier period, the progress of Buddhism, just before this period, was not very great, and Buddhism became an established religion in Tibet only under Khri-srong. The foundation of the famous monastery of Bsam-yas, modelled after the Mahāvihāra of Odantapurī, is placed in this period.

The immediate successors of Khri-srong were quite friendly towards Buddhism, but their reign is not characterised by any great

event in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. It was king Khri Ral-pa-can (804-816) who was the next zealous patron of the new religion. In his time a great effort was made to continue the work of translation of the Buddhist texts. A number of Indian scholars of repute had come to Tibet in this period and helped in the work of translation. The Tibetan sources mention the following names: Jinamitra, Surendrabodhi, Śilendrabodhi, and Bodhimitra. Among the Tibetan scholars there were personalities of note: Ratnarakshita, Dharmaśīla, Jñānasena, Jayarakshita, Mañjuśrīvarman, Ratnendraśīla and others.

Ral-pa-can was succeeded by the notorious gLandar-ma (836-842) who carried on a vehement persecution of Buddhism in collaboration with the Bon priests and nobles. Buddhism practically disappeared as a result of this persecution except probably in the western part of the country, and for about two centuries no special Buddhist activities are heard of in Tibet. It was in the middle of the eleventh century that Buddhism was again restored in Tibet through the efforts of the great Indian teacher Atīśa Dīpaṁkara. Atīśa was born about A.D. 980 in a royal family of Bengal, but he joined the Buddhist church at a very early age. He studied under great scholars in the Mahāvihāra of Vikramaśīla. He was invited to Tibet several times, but at first turned down the invitation. He travelled in various countries, and we are told even went to Suvarnadvīpa, to study under famous teachers of that land. It was after his return from that land that he accepted the Tibetan invitation, though he was then 59 years of age. He started on his journey through Nepal accompanied by a number of his disciples, both Indian and Tibetan. He entered Tibet from the west and started his Tibetan campaign from the great establishment of Tholing. He then moved from province to province, converting people everywhere. In the course of his travels he visited the provinces of U, Tsang, and Kham. Dīpaṁkara lived in Tibet for the rest of his life and died at the age of 73 (c. A.D. 1053). This time the cultural conquest of Tibet was final. Buddhism was not to be ousted again through the caprices of its nobles and rulers.

The subsequent period saw the arrival of Indian scholars in various parts of Tibet in a continuous flow. Tibetan scholars are found in the great monasteries of Eastern India, specially in the Mahāvihāras of Vikramaśīla, Odantapurī, Jagaddala, etc., and also n the great monsteries of Nepal, devoted to the study of Buddhist literature and engaged in its translation.

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Chapter Thirty-Four

INDIA AND THE WESTERN COUNTRIES

The geographical continuity of the north-west of India with Eastern Iran and Central Asia, and the contacts, in pre-historic times, of the Indus valley with a wide area of a fairly advanced culture extending right up to the eastern Mediterranean, is now well-known. Trade by sea between India and the West goes back to a very great antiquity. There is a large volume of evidence, numismatic and literary, bearing witness to the varying fortunes of a continuous trade between India and the Roman empire by land as well as by sea. Strabo, the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,* Pliny, and Ptolemy clearly mark different stages in the increasing knowledge of the East that was spreading in the Roman empire. India remained an important intermediary between the West and China, the carriers between Malabar and Malaya being the large ships (Colandia) of Malaya and Coromandee/rarely Greek or even Chinese vessels; and the Greeks touched India on their way to China as is shown by the Indian wares which, as the Chinese records show, they brought to China from time to time.[1] The old canal leading to Arsinoe (Suez canal) was cleared out by Trajan, and another was opened between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez. He established a Roman fleet on the Red Sea for the defence of the trade with India against pirates. There was a Roman temple at Muziris on the Malabar coast, and it has been plausibly suggested that its foundation was connected with a naval expedition sent by Trajan against the pirates on that coast. The period from the accession of Trajan to a time shortly preceeding the death of Marcus Aurelius was the period of Rome's most widely spread, if not her most intense, commercial intercourse with India and China. Trajan's gold coins along with Hadrian's and one of the elder Faustina have been bound at Nellore, and one of Trajan at Athiral in the Cuddapah district indicating the extension of trade to the east coast of India.[2] Ptolemy used for his description of the Indian seas accounts of merchants based on their recent of contemporaneous

1 E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 129.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

visits to India, and his emporium was a legal mart in India where foreign trade was officially allowed and taxed.[3] He enumerates nearly forty inland places in the Tamil kingdoms and gives plenty of detail about the Andhras. The chief towns of the Tamils are given with remarkable accuracy and the Roman trade with South India was more prosperous than ever at the end of the first century A.D. and in the second, Roman subjects being resident in all the three Tamil states.[4] Trajan, Hadrian, Pius and Elagabalus received Indian embassies, and the coin hoards in India and the Indian traders in Egypt show how close the connection was.[5] The Kushanas by their unifying conquests helped to open up commerce by land between the Roman empire and India, and to gain due prominence in this trade for the north-west of India, within easy reach from several directions. When Vespasian (A.D. 69-79) took steps to stop the export of Roman gold coins to India, Kadphises II stepped in and created a half-Roman currency of his own acceptable to the Greeks and Syrians, and calculated to establish trade with the West on a sound economic basis. A coin of Menander with one of Vespasian found at Tenby in Pembrokeshire invokes the vision of a Graeco-Roman merchant visiting both India and Britain in pursuit of trade. Other North Indian coins and their imitations have been found in Scandinavia and there are relics of eastern trade along the Oxus-Caspian route.[6]

In the third century there was a falling off in the trade, and for a time India, though much written about in the west, faded away into a land of fancy and fable, India and Indians often coming to mean Ethiopia and the Auxumites or even South Arabia and its people.[7] At his triumph in 274 Aurelian is said to have received ambassadors from India among other countries. There was a revival of trade in the fourth century after the firm establishment of Constantinople and the Eastern Empire; but there could be no comparison with the earlier phase of the first two centuries. Roman coins reappear in South India as well as in the North from Constantius, and increase in the fourth and fifth centuries. Constantine received an Indian embassy in the last year of his life, and Julian (361-3) received embassies from Indian tribes, the people of Maldives and the Ceylonese—Ceylon having become the Centre of Hindu trade in Indian seas. That South Indian products found their way even to Rome at this period is seen from Alaric demanding and getting (in A.D. 408) 3,000 pounds of pepper as part of the ransom of Rome, besides 4,000 silk robes. Gold coins of Theodosii, Marcian, Leo I, Zeno, Anastasisus I, and

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 101, 107.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 116.
5 *CAH*, XII, p. 247.
6 Warmington, *op. cit.*, pp. 301-02.
7 *Ibid.*, p. 137.

Justinus I (518), and many copper coins of Arcadius, Honorius and others appear in South India and Ceylon, probably brought by intermediaries, though Sewell holds that the presence of Roman agents in Madurai is attested by copper coins found all over the place in two types—an original Roman fabric and a local imitation of it. These conditions continued more or less unchanged till the Arab conquest of Syria, Egypt and Persia in the seventh century A.D. when a new era opened.[8]

As for North India, stray discoveries of later imperial coins there reflect the activity of Palmyra in promoting trade by land. The luxuries of Commodus (A.D. 180-193), the excesses of Elagabalus and the commercial efforts of Alexander Severus (223-235) might have brought about a revival of trade, but the chief gainer was Palmyra. The Parthian empire under the Persian Sassanids developed commerce, and controlled the Persian gulf as well as the land routes and the silk trade. Only in Northern India reached by land, especially in Bengal, have Roman coins from Gordian (A.D. 238) to Constantine been found. A coins of Theodosius (A.D. 378-95) also comes from the North besides five gold coins of Theodosius, Marcian and Leo in a *stūpa* at Hadda near Jelalabad.[9] Indian philosophy, it is generally admitted, exercised some influence on the development of Neo-Platonism. The presence of an Indian colony in the valley of the Upper Euphrates and its destruction by Christians early in the fourth century is attested by the Syrian writer Zenob. He mentions the existence of Hindu temples built by an Indian colony settled in the canton of Taron to the west of lake Van as early as the second century B.C., about A.D. 304 St. Gregory appeared before these temples, and in spite of heroic defence by the Indians, he defeated them and broke the two images of gods which were 12 and 15 cubits high.[9a] Akbar was quite justified in putting Christianity in the same class with orthodox Islam for its intolerance.

Typical in some ways of the Byzantine trade by sea was the 'Crotchety Monk' Cosmas Indikopleustes (the man who sailed to India), who was a merchant in his early days and whose business seems to have taken him to many places on the Persian Gulf, on the west coast of India and as far east as Ceylon, though some doubt if he visited India at all. He wrote in A.D. 550 a book called *Christian Topography*. Its main purpose was, in the words of Gibbon, 'to confute the impious heresy of those who maintain that the earth is a globe and not a flat oblong table as is represented in the Scriptures'. He speaks of Christian churches in Ceylon, often citing a merchant

8 *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40, 'Roman coins found in India', *JRAS*, 1904, esp. pp. 607 ff.
9 *JRAS*, 1904, p. 309. *New History of the Indian People, VI.*
9a *Ibid.*, pp. 339-40.

Sopatros who had been to Ceylon, and in several districts on the west coast of India. He says that the bishop under whose care these Christians were, had been ordained in Persia. He was the first and the only ancient writer to enunciate the truth that beyond China on the east is the Ocean. There is nothing in the information he gives about India or Ceylon which he could not have learnt from Sopatros and other travellers.[10]

Severus Sobokht, a teacher and titular bishop in a Christian monastery on the Euphrates, in one fragment of his works dated A.D. 662, says this: 'I will omit all discussion of the science of the Hindus, a people not the same as Syrians (he was defending Syrians against Greek arrogance); their subtle discoveries in this science of astronomy, discoveries that are more ingenious than those of the Greeks and the Babylonians; their valuable methods of calculation; and their computing that surpasses description. I wish only to say that this computation is done by nine signs. If those who believe, because they speak Greek, that they have reached the limits of science should know these things they would be convinced that there are also others who know something.'[11]

The Christian bishop is doubtless referring to the principle of the place value of the first nine numbers which together with the use of the zero considerably simplified arithmetical calculations. Āryabhaṭṭa mentions the system in his *Āryabhaṭīya* and applies it to the extraction of square and cube roots. He was well posted in the contemporary Greek astronomy of Alexandria and in the work and methods of his predecessors in India, but reached independent conclusions from his own researchers. He gave a value for π more accurate than any suggested before, and his work registered similar progress in Algebra and Trigonometry. India did indeed owe something to Greece in astronomy as in some other sciences and arts; but as Sebokht pointed out, it was by no means a one-way traffic.

The rise and rapid progress of Islam in the seventh and eighth centuries drew the East and West much closer than any force had yet done, and opened out numerous channels of intercourse, both material and spiritual. Travel and trade increased when the first shocks of war subsided, and we possess a more complete record of the transactions of the age, thanks to the writings of Arab travellers, geographers and historians. The early Arab geographers gained from India the notion that there was a world centre which they styled *arin*, a corruption of the name of the Indian town Ujjayini where there was an astronomical observatory and on the meridian of which the

10 See Laistner in *Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages*, ed. A. P. Newton, London, 1926, pp. 34-5.

11 D. E. Smith, *History of Mathematics*, London, 1923, *I*. pp. 166-67.

'world Cupola' or 'Summit' was supposed to be.[12] Abul Kasim Ubaidullah bin Abdullah, better known as Ibn Khurdadhbih, was one of the earliest of these Arab writers. His ancestors had been Magians of Persian descent before they embraced Islam. He was Director of Post and Intelligence service in Media and initiated road books and itineraries with his *Kitab al-Masalik Wal Mamalik* (*Book of Routes and Kingdoms*) first published in A.D. 846, but revised subsequently till at least 885. Abu 'Ali Ahmad, better known as Ibn Rustih, also of Persian origin (c. A.D. 903), compiled a work called *Ah-a 'Lak al-Nafisah* (*Precious bags of travelling provisions*); Abu Bakr bin Muhammad, better known as Ibn Al-Fakih al-Hamdani composed in the same year his *Kitab-al Buldan* (*Book of Countries*), a comprehensive geography often cited by al-Masudi and Yakut. About 950 Abu Ishak Ibrahim, better known as al-Istakhi produced his *Masalik Wal-Mamalik* (*Routes and Kingdoms*) with coloured maps for each country. At his request Ibn Hawkal (943-977), who travelled as far as Spain revised the maps and text of his geography; he later rewrote the whole book and issued it under his own name.[13] Abu-al-Hasan Ali bin Husain, known as al-Masudi, 'the Herodotus of the Arabs' followed the topical method instead of the dynastic in his history. His *Muruj al-Dhahabwa Ma'adin al-Jawhar* (*Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*) brought down to 947, was a Cyclopaedia of history and geography.[14] Abu Zaid Hassan Sirafi of the Persian gulf, no great traveller himself, met many well travelled merchants and scholars, including the celebrated Masudi, and edited and earlier work Silsilat al-Tawarikh, on India and China by adding to it data from his own studies and talks. His predecessor, Arram bin al-Asbaj as-Sulami, who wrote his work (*Kitab Asma Jibal*) (*Tihamah wa Makaniha*), in A.D. 851 has often been identified, though wrongly, with merchant Sulaiman, who seems to have been only one of the several authorities relied on by that writer; Abu Zaid's revision was made in A.D. 916.[15]

After this brief notice of the principal sources of information on this interesting period, we may proceed to notice the details of the intercourse, material and spiritual, and give an indication of their cultural effects. In the seventh century bamboo was imported from India to al-Khatt, the coast of al-Bahrayan, for the shafts of lances. The best swords also came from India, whence their name *hindi*.[16] From the fall of Rome, the Red Sea and Persian Gulf trade was run

12 Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, p. 384.
13 *Ibid.*, pp. 384-85.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 391.
15 K. A. N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, Madras, 1939, pp, 21-2.
16 Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 173,

solely by Arabs and Indians for many centuries. According to Hamza of Ispahan and Masudi, from the fifth century A.D. the ships of India and Ceylon were constantly to be seen moored as high up the Euphrates as Hira, near Kufa, a city some forty-five miles to the S. W. of ancient Babylon. There was a gradual recession in the headquarters of the Indian and Chinese trade. From Hira it descended to Obulla, the ancient Apologos; from Obulla, it was transferred to Basra, a neighbouring city; from Basra to Siraf on the northern side of the Persian Gulf, and thence to Kish and Hormuz.[17]

The partial success of Muhammad bin Kasim in annexing Sind to the Arab empire early in the eighth century brought Indian thought well within the horizon of Islam and helped to produce a steady Indian influence on the Islamic world. Wandering Indian monks were a factor of practical importance as early as the age of the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad. Jahiz (*d.* A.D. 866) pictures them very graphically and calls them Zindig monks. One of these monks preferred to bring suspicion of theft on himself and endure maltreatment rather than betray a thieving bird, because he did not wish to be the cause of the death of living being. They were either Sadhus or Bhikshus, or those who followed their methods and example.[18] Buddhist works were translated into Arabic under the Abbasid Caliphs Mansur (A.D. 754-775) and Harun (775-809) from Persian or Pahlavi or directly from Sanskrit. Among them were *Balauhar wa Budasaj* (Barlaam and Josaphat, being the story of the conversion of an Indian prince Josaphat, Buddha, by the ascetic Barlaam), and a Budd-book. And there was much direct contact, with Buddhist monasteries flourishing in Balkh, the Naubehar for instance, long before the definitive Muslim conquest of India in the twelfth century. Generally speaking several lines of Indian influence have been traced in Islam as the result of the early contacts between Islam and Hinduism in Sindh and outside India. First, in the sphere of secular popular literature, many a deliverance of ethical and political wisdom in the dress of proverbs, was taken over from the fables of India such as the Tales of the *Panchatantra*. The earliest literary work in Arabic that has come down to us is *Kalilah wa Dimnah* (Fables of Bidpai), a translation from Pahlavi (Middle Persian) which was itself a rendring from Sanskrit. The original work was brought to Persia from India, together with the game of chess in the reign of Anovshirwan (531-79). What gives the Arabic version special significance is the fact that the Persian was lost, as also the Sanskrit original, though the material

17 Yule, *Cathay and the Way Tither, I*, p. 83 cited by James Hornall, *The Origins and Ethnological Significance of Indian Boat Designs; VII.* no. 3, 1920, p. 202.

18 Titus, *Indian Islam*, London, 1930, citing Goldziher and other authorities, is followed in the whole of this paragraph unless otherwise indicated.

in an expended form is still found in the *Panchatantra*. The Arabic version became the basis of all existing translations into some forty languages including, besides European tongues, Hebrew, Turkish, Ethiopic, Icelandic and Malay. This book, intended to instruct princes in the laws of polity by means of animal fables, was done into Arabic by ibn-al-Muqaffa', a Zoroastrian convert to Islam whose suspect orthodoxy brought about his death by fire (*c*. A.D. 757).[19] Secondly, in the field of science, in mathematics, astronomy and astrology, and in medicine and magic, the secular wisdom of Islam was largely indebted to India. About 773 an Indian traveller introduced into Baghdad a treatise on astronomy, a *Siddhanta* (Al-Sindhind which by order of al-Mansur was translated by Muhammad ibn-Ibrahim al-Fazari who subsequently became the first astronomer in Islam; the translation was made between 796 and 806 with the aid of Indian scholars. The famous al-Khwarizmi (*c*. 850) based his widely known astronomical tables (Nij) on al-Fazari's work, and syncretized the Indian and Greek systems of astronomy, adding his own contribution at the same time. The same Indian traveller has also brought a treatise on mathematics by means of which the numerals, called in Europe Arabic and by Arabs Indian (Hindi), entered the Muslim world. Thirdly, there was a good deal of influence in the distinctly religious sphere though this was largely confined to the development of Sufism. Abu'l 'Atahiya (A.D. 748-825) was well aware of the doctrine of *Zuhd* (Asceticism) and hailed, as an example of a highly honoured man, the king in the garments of a beggar. Goldziher thinks this is in fact an image of the Buddha; that may or may not be, but there is little reason to doubt the influence here of the thought, the religious imagery of expression, and pious practices from both Buddhist and Vedantic sources. A Persian, Bayazid al-Bustami (875), whose grandfather was a Magian, probably introduced the doctrine of *fana*, or absorption in the personality of God. Another Persian, al-Hallaj (the carder) was in 922 flogged, exposed on a gibbet, then decapitated and burned by the Abbasid inquisition for having declared Ana al-Haqq (I am the Truth), i.e. God. His 'crucifixion' made him the great Sufi martyr. His mystic theory is made clear in these verses quoted in his biography:

I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I
We are two souls dwelling in one body.
When thou seest me, thou seest Him:
And when thou seest Him, thou seest us both'.

Al-Hallaj's tomb in west Baghdad stands still as that of a saint.[20]

19 Hitti, *op. cit.*, p. 308.
20 *Ibid.*, pp. 435-36.

The religious practices of Sufi communities comprise ethical self-culture, ascetic meditation and intellectual abstraction much like Yoga, including kneosis and ecstacy. The Sufis were responsible for the diffusion of the rosary (*subhah*) among Muslims. Of Hindu origin, this instrument of devotion was probably borrowed by the Sufis from the eastern Christian churches, and not directly from India; it is first mentioned in Arabic literature about A.D. 810.[21]

The shadow play had its origin in India and thence spread to the neighbouring countries to the east and west, and the Muslims got it from India direct or by way of Persia.[22] Indian craftsmen were employed in building the mosque of al-Walid (Ummayyad) at Damascus early in the eighth century A.D.[23] The Great mosque of Samarra (A.D. 850) built at a cost of 700,000 *dinars* was rectangular and the multifoil arches of the windows suggest Indian influence.[24] Shortly before the middle of the tenth century, the first draft of what later became *Alf Laylah wa-laylah* (A Thousand and One Nights) was made in al-Irak. The basis of this draft prepared by al-Jashiyari (942) was an old Persian work *Hazar Afsan* (Thousand Tales) containing several stories of Indian origin.[25]

Many terms of musical terminology in Arabic are of Indian origin.[26] Abu-al-'Ala al-Ma'Orri (973-1057) of Northern Syria, 'philosopher of poets and poet of philosophers', went to Baghdad in 1009 and became inoculated with the ideas of Ikhwan-al-Safa and others of Indian origin. The former was an eclectic school of popular philosophy with leanings towards Pythagorean speculations, its name meaning 'the brethren of sincerity'. The appellation is presumably taken from the story of the ringdove in *Kalilah wa-Dimnah* in which it is related that a group of animals by acting as faithful friends (*Ikhwan-al-Safa*) to one another escaped the shares of the hunter. The school had their centre in al-Basrah and a branch in Baghdad. On his return home al-Ma'arri adopted a vegetarian diet and a life of comparative seclusion. His late works, particularly his *Luzumiyyat* and *Risalat-al-Ghufran* (Treatise on Foreigners) reveal him as one who took reason for his guide and pessimistic scepticism for his philosophy. It was this *Risalah* that is claimed to have exercised a determining influence over Dante in his *Divine Comedy*.[27] As is well known, the illustrious Al-Biruni (Alberuni), a Shiite with agnostic leanings, stayed in India at the beginning of the eleventh century,

21 *Ibid.*, p. 438.
22 *Ibid.*, p. 690.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 265.
24 *Ibid.*, p. 417.
25 *Ibid.*, p. 428.
26 *Ibid.*, 428.
27 *Ibid.*, pp. 372 and 459.

was charmed by Hindu science and philosophy, and did his best to make it better known in the Muslim world.

On the state of trade between Europe and Asia in the ninth century A.D. there is a precious passage in Ibn Khurdadhbih which is worth reproducing.[28] 'The Jewish merchants speak Persian, Roman (Greek and Latin), Arabic and the French, Spanish and Slav languages. They travel from the West to the East, and from the East to the West, now by land and now by sea. They take from the West eunuchs, female slaves, boys, silk, furs, and swords. They embark in the country of the Franks on the Western sea and sail to Farama; there they put their merchandise on the backs of animals and go by land marching for five days to Colzom, at a distance of twenty *parasangs*. Then they embark on the Eastern Sea (Red Sea) and go from Colzom to Hedjaz and Jidda; and then to Sind, India and China. On their return they bring musk, aloes, camphor, cinnamom and other products of the eastern countries, and return to Colzom and then to Farama where they take ship again on the Western Sea, some going to Constantinople to sell their goods, and others to the country of the Franks. Sometimes the Jewish merchants, in embarking on the Western Sea, sail (to the mouth of the Oronte) towards Antioch. At the end of three days' march (from there), they reach the banks of the Euphrates and come to Baghdad. There they embark on the Tigris and descend to Obullah, whence they sail to Oman, Sind, India and China. The voyage is thus made without interruption'. In fact, it is only with the establishment of the Muslim empire that the Persian Gulf, which had experienced some revival under the Sassanians, come fully into its own as the main channel of trade.[29] The importance of Obollah (Ubullah) dates from the Sassanian times or even earlier; the Muslims gathered there 'such a quantity of booty as had never before been seen'.[30] Ibn Khurdadhbih also mentions *galangal* (galingale) and *kamala*, besides porcelain, sugar-cane, pepper, cassia, silk and musk as articles imported from the east. Masudi, who visited India about A.D. 916, mentions nutmegs, cloves, camphor, arecanuts, sandalwood and aloes wood as products of the Indian Archipelago. Edrisi (A.D. 1099-1186) of Sicily also mentions porcelain, the fine cotton fabrics of the Coromandel, the pepper and cardamoms of Malabar, the camphor of Sumatra, nutmegs, the lemons of the Mihran (Indus), the asafoetide of Afghanistan, and cubebs as an import of Aden. He names Konkan as the country of 'saj', i.e. of the sag or teak tree.

28 *Foreign Notices*, p. 21.
29 T. Wilson, *The Persian Gulf*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 51-2.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

Chapter Thirty-Five

COINAGE

The coinage dealt with in the last volume naturally divided itself into two categories, the indigenous and the foreign. The former was usually irregular in shape and weight, devoid of the king's portrait, and artistically inferior. The latter, on the other hand, was regular in size, uniform in weight, usually embellished with the king's portrait or figure, and artistically of a high order. This distinction between the indigenous and foreign coinages disappears in our period (*c.* A.D. 320-985). The foreign invaders of our period could hardly issue any coinage that could match with the indigenous one in artistic beauty, or denominational regularity. During the earlier centuries, the indigenous rulers were trying unsuccessfully to attain the standard set by the foreigners; during the present period, the case was exactly the reverse.

I. THE COINAGE OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Our period begins with the ascendancy of the Guptas in Northern India. The Gupta period is usually described as the golden age of ancient Indian history. Whether this observation is applicable to all aspects of Indian life or not, there is no doubt that it is true, both literally and metaphorically, as far as coinage is concerned. The Gupta coinage marks the golden age of the ancient Indian numismatics not merely because it was predominantly in gold. In the artistic merit of variety and originality, it has hardly any equal in the coinage of ancient India. The artistic merit of some of the Indo-Bactrian coins is no doubt higher; but, taken as a whole, that coinage lacks the striking variety in types and motifs which is characteristic of the Gupta coinage. The Indo-Bactrian coins usually show on the obverse the bust of the king; in rare cases we find the king shown as a horseman. On the Gupta coins, on the other hand, the king is shown in a variety of attitudes, and with a variety of attributes. He is sometimes holding a bow, sometimes carrying a standard, and sometimes wielding a battle-axe. He is often shown in a deadly grapple with a tiger, a lion or a rhinoceros. Sometimes he rides a

horse and sometimes an elephant. Now we see him playing on a lyre, now feeding a peacock, now offering a sacrifice. The art critic will thus see a pleasing variety in Gupta coinage, which he cannot but admire.

The numismatic art was remarkably creative in the Gupta Age. During the heyday of the Gupta Empire, no emperor was content with a single coin-type. Samudra-gupta and Chandra-gupta II each issued a number of coin-types; their number was greatly increased in the reign of Kumāra-gupta I. In each type the mint-masters took considerable pains to avoid monotony. Thus, in the Archer type of Chandra-gupta II, we find almost a bewildering variety. Sometimes the bow is held at the top, sometimes at the middle, sometimes with the bow-string inwards, and sometimes with the bow string outwards. Sometimes the bow is in the right and sometimes in the left hand. The name of the king Chandra is written sometimes under the arm, sometimes between the bow and the bow-string, and sometimes outside the bow-string.

The art of the Gupta coinage is not only of high order, it is also thoroughly Indian. In the beginning, owing to the conservatism so characteristic of Indian coinage, we find the Gupta emperors imitating the coin type popularised by the later Kushāṇas in the Central Panjab. Gupta mint-masters, however, were out to Indianise this foreign type. The standard was replaced by the bow, Ardokhsho was converted into Lakshmī, and king was given Indian dress and jewellery. Scores of new types were introduced, thoroughly national in sentiment,[1] and highly admirable in artistic merit.

It is interesting to note that the literary renaissance of the Gupta period is reflected in its coinage. For the first, and alas also for the last time, in Indian numismatics, coin legends become metrical and their poetical merit was also fairly high. It is not improbable that some of the metrical legends on the Gupta coins were composed by the Gupta emperors themselves, some of whom were probably good literary critics and authors.

The gold coins of the Imperial Guptas were struck initially, under the influence of the Kushāṇa gold coinage, on a weight standard of

1 V. A. Smith's view that Gupta coinage shows considerable Roman influence is untenable. The view that the Garuḍa standard on the Gupta coins is borrowed from the Roman *aurei* can hardly appeal to those who know that Guptas were Vaishṇavas, and, therefore, revered Vishṇu and is mount Garuḍ. The Besnagar pillar shows that *Garuḍadhvaja* was common in India at least a century before it was introduced on the Roman coins. The peacock motif, which appears so prominently on several coins of Kumarā-gupta I, is obviously due to his desire to pay numismatic homage to Kārtikeya or Kumāra after whom he was named and whose mount was peacock. It can hardly be due to the desire to imitate a rare coin of princess Julia Augusta, who lived three centuries earlier. For Smith's view, see *JRAS*, 1889, pp. 22-5.

about 120-121 grains. There are indications that the weight of gold coinage was gradually increased until it reached the traditional weight of Indian gold coin (*suvarṇa*) of 80 ratis or about 144 grains. This heavy weight standard was introduced in the reign of Skanda-gupta. The silver coins of the Guptas followed the weight standard of Kshatrapa silver currency of about 30-33 grains. It is, however, difficult to detect any denomination scheme in the recorded weights of Gupta copper coins.

The Gupta gold coins were called *dīnāra* and also *suvarṇa*. The silver pieces were known by the name *rūpaka*. Sixteen of such silver coins were equal in value to a gold *dīnāra* at least in the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti area in the period of Kumāragupta I. The coins were supplemented by cowries in commercial transactions at least in parts of the empire. Fa-hien, who visited Madhyadeśa (in the Gupta empire) probably during the reign of Chandra-gupta II, noticed that "in buying and selling commodities they use cowries."

2. CHANDRA-GUPTA I

The first two rulers of the Gupta dynasty, Gupta and Ghatotkacha, were mere feudatories and issued no coinage. It was started by Chandra-gupta I, probably at the time of his formal coronation, when he assumed the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja*. Chandra-gupta I probably owed his imperial position in no small measure to the valuable help he had received from the famous Lichchhavi clan, besides the princess he had married. Probably the Gupta dominion was something like a dual kingdom in the reign of Chandra-gupta I and his condition is reflected in his coinage. It was confined to a single type showing on the observe king Chandra-gupta and his crowned queen Kumāradevī, the former apparently offering the marriage ring to the latter. The names of both the royal consorts are expressly given on the obverse. The reverse shows Durgā seated on a lion and bears the legend *Lichchhavayaḥ*.

According to J. Allan, this coin-type does not represent the coinage of Chandra-gupta I, but is due to the desire of Samudra-gupta to commemorate the marriage of his parents.[2] Supposing that Samudra-gupta issued these pieces as commemorative medals, one would expect him to put his own name somewhere, either on the obverse or on the reverse. We should not forget that a commemorator is as anxious to disclose his own identity to commemorate the persons he reveres. Eucratides I, Agathocles and others who issued commemorative pieces, all of them took care to inscribe their own names

2 For Allan's view, see *CGD*, Introduction, pp. lxv-lxviii, for its refutation, see A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 28 f.

on them. The Aśvamedha type coins of Samudra-gupta were commemorative pieces, which disclose his identity by the legend *aśvamedhaparākramaḥ*. Chandra-gupta's coinage is confined to the above type, partly because it was started towards the end of his reign, and partly because the political situation rendered the adoption of a different type inadvisable.

3. SAMUDRA-GUPTA

Chandra-gupta's son and successor Samudra-Gupta had a long reign of about fifty years and issued coins in six different types. Of these the Standard type, which was the most common one, was a close copy of the late Kushāṇa coin-type current in the Central Panjab at the beginning of the fourth century. The Gupta king appears in Kushāṇa overcoat and trousers; he is represented as holding a standard in his left hand, and offering, with the right hand, incense on an altar as on the Kushāṇa prototype. Effort, however, is made to Indianise the type by giving Samudra-gupta a national head-dress. On the reverse also, though the goddess recalls the throned Ardokhsho of the prototype, her name is omitted and the ***biruda*** of the issuer, *parākrama*, is inserted in its place.

Further indianisation of the motifs can be seen in the other types of Samudra-gupta. The king, as his own standard-bearer, was foreign to Indian tradition; so the standard in his left hand was replaced by the bow or the battle-axe, giving rise to the Archer and the Battle-axe types. In the former type. which continued to be issued by almost all the emperors of the dynasty, the king holds the bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right, the *Garuḍadhvaja* being usually behind it. The reverse shows the throned goddess with the inscription *apratirathaḥ*. In the latter type we find in front of the king, who holds the battle-axe in his left hand, an attendant who has apparently come to report the latest situation in the battle which the king is directing from a point of vantage. The reverse of this type has the usual throned goddess, and describes the emperor as *Kritāntaparaśu*, an epithet not used for any other Gupta emperor. It is interesting to note that this Battle-axe type also was not subsequently copied by any successor of Samudra-gupta. The three types, so far discussed, refer to the military aspect of Samudra-gupta's personality and achievements; and their metrical legends announce in appropriate language the valour and victories of the great emperor.

Two of the other types issued by Samudra-gupta proclaim his hobbies. The emperor was a great sportsman, and his Tiger-slayer type shows him shooting the tiger by his bow almost from a point-blank distance. The dress of the king on this type is Indian, and so also his jewellery. Coins of this type are rare. The Allahabad inscription claims

that Samudra-gupta was a great musician; it is but natural that he should have issued the Lyrist type, in which we find the emperor playing on a lyre or a lute; he is seated on a couch, probably on the terrace of his palace in a summer evening; for he is very scantily dressed. Coins of the Aśvamedha type, issued by Samudra-gupta, are very beautiful from the artistic point. The obverse shows the sacrificial horse in front of a *yūpa* (sacrificial post), the representation of which fairly tallies with that given in the sacred texts. It is bent at the end pennons fly from it over the horse, which looks noble and graceful, and almost resigned to its impending doom. On the reverse is the crowned queen standing with a chauri over her shoulder, ready to wait upon the sacrificial horse, as required by the sacred texts. The circular legends on the obverse proclaims that the emperor, who has conquered the earth, now wins the heaven as well by celebrating the Aśvamedha sacrifice.[3]

We have seen already how on the reverse of the Standard type coins the goddess Ardokhsho appeared without her name in the accompanying legend. The same reverse continued on the Archer type. Effort was made to Indianise her by supplying her with a lotus footstool in the Battle-axe type. In the Lyrist type she was shown seated on a wicker stool.

Samudra-gupta's coins are known so far in gold only. R. D. Banerji has referred to two copper coins of this emperor with Garuḍa in the upper half and his name in the lower half, the reverse being blank.[4] These coins, however, have not been published, nor are their present whereabouts known.[4a]

4. KĀCHA AND RĀMA-GUPTA

The identity of Kācha, who issued coins closely resembling those of the Standard type of Samudra-gupta, is still a matter of controversy. The obverse shows the king standing to left and offering sacrifice on an altar. There is no *Garuḍadhvaja* in his front; instead, he holds a *chakradhvaja* in his right hand. The reverse has a goddess standing to right, with the legend *sarvarājochchhettā*, which is a title given to Samudra-gupta in the official Gupta records of later times The obverse legend *Kācho gām—avajitya divaṁ karmabhir—uttamair—jayati* is an obvious adaptation of Samudra-gupta's legend on the Archer type *apratiratho vijitya kshitiṁ sucharitair—divaṁ jayati.*

3 It is *rājādhirājah prithivīṁ vijitya divaṁ jayaty-āhrita-vājimedhaḥ.* The reverse legend is *aśvamedhaparākramaḥ.*

4 *AIC*, p. 214.

4a The legend on a copper piece, published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIV, 1972, (p. 224) and attributed to Samudra-gupta, cannot be read with confidence (*ibid.*, pl. X, no. 5).

It has, therefore, been argued by Allan that Kācha is identical with Samudra-gupta.[5]

The arguments adduced above are by no means convincing. *Sarva-rājochchhettā* figures as a special title of Samudra-gupta only in later official records, and not in any of his own. The close similarity in the legend of Kācha with that of the Archer type of Samudra-gupta need not prove identity. For, we have a similar close resemblance in wording between the legend on the coins of Kācha on the one hand and that of the swordsman type on Kumāra-gupta I on the other, where we have *gam=avajitya sucharitaiḥ, Kumāragupta divaṁ jayati*. Can we then argue that Kācha is identical also with Kumāra-gupta I ?

It is true that Chandra-gupta II had also another name Deva-gupta. It is, therefore, possible to argue that Samudra-gupta also may have had another name Kācha-gupta, and so the difference in name need not point to a difference in personality. Even supposing that such was the case, we cannot explain why Kācha, the familiar or alternative name of Samudra-gupta, should be confined to his Chakradhvaja type only, and why it should not appear even once on any of his remaining six types. It is interesting to note that Chandra-gupta II did not permit his familiar name Deva-gupta to appear on his coinage. *Chakradhvaja* is peculiar to the coinage of Kācha· it occurs on the coinage of no other Gupta emperor. This circumstance also suggests, though it does not prove, that Kācha was a personage distinct from other Gupta emperors represented in the coinage.

It, therefore, appears most probable to us that Kācha was different from Samudra-gupta. This inference, however, does not solve the problems of establishing the identity of Kācha and his relationship with the Imperial Guptas.

Similarly, we cannot be sure about the identification of Rāma-gupta of some copper coins from Malwa with Rāma-gupta who, according to literary tradition, was an elder brother of Chandra-gupta Rāma-gupta was deposed by his younger brother Chandra-gupta (II) after a short and inglorious reign. Copper coins of Rāma-gupta consist of the Lion (lion: crescent), Garuḍa (Garuḍa: crescent), Garuḍa-standard (Garuḍa-standard: Garuḍa) and Double Garuḍa (Garuḍa: Garuḍa with outstretched wings) types.[6]

5 *GCD*, *Introduction*, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

6 Some copper coins and three inscriptions referring to a ruler named Rāmagupta have been found in the Vidiśā district area of the Malwa region of M.P. (A.S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, p. 162; K.D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies* p. 139 f; *Journal of the Oriental Institute*. Vol. XVIII, p. 247). Palaeographic features of the coin legends and of the epigraphs suggest that the king belonged to about the fourth century A.D.

5. CHANDRA-GUPTA II

(i) *Gold Coins*

We now proceed to consider the coinage of Chandra-Gupta II. He had a long reign like his father, and issued gold coins in eight different types. His Standard type closely follows the devices of his father's Standard type. Like his father he also minted Archer type coins. He, however, transformed the goddess on the reverse into Lakshmī by providing her with a lotus seat on most of his coins. The obverse legend is *devaśrī-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandra-Guptaḥ* and the reverse is *śrīvikramaḥ*. The Lion-slayer type of Chandra-gupta was suggested by the Tiger-slayer type of his father. The coins of this type are among the best specimens of the ancient Indian numismatic art. They show pleasing varieties. The lion is sometimes to right, and sometimes to left; it is sometimes leaping at the king, and sometimes retreating away from him; sometimes it is standing at bay, sometimes collapsing; sometimes the king is triumphantly trampling upon it. The reverse of this type shows the goddess seated on a lion. In some cases the lion is walking and the goddess is sitting astride. In one case we find her audaciously dangling her feet over the head of the walking lion. The obverse legend is *narendrachandraḥ prathitaraṇo raṇe jayaty=ajeyo bhuvi siṁhavikramaḥ*, and the reverse legend is simply *siṁha-vikramaḥ*.

The Couch type of Chandra-gupta II was probably suggested by the Lyrist type of his father. The king is seated on a couch with a flower in one hand, apparently witnessing a drama. The reverse has the throned goddess with the legend *śrī-vikramaḥ*. The King-and-the-Queen-on-the-Couch type is a further modification of the above type, showing the king offering an (uncertain) object to his consort seated by his side on the couch.[6a] The other side shows the king standing and offering sacrifice at the altar.

The Chakravikrama type became known for the first time with the discovery of the Bayana hoard in 1947. The obverse bears no legend, but shows two-handed Vishṇu holding a mace (*gadā*) in one hand and offering some object to the king standing before him. The reverse shows Lakshmī standing with lotus in one hand, the conch being in her front. The reverse legend *Chakravikramaḥ* enables us to identify the issuer with Chandra-gupta II.

The Chhattra and the Horseman types are the remaining two types of the emperor that we have to consider. Both of them are

6a P. L. Gupta and S. Srivastava are inclined to identify the male and female figures in question as Nārāyana and Lakshmī (*Gupta Gold Coins in Bhārat Kala Bhavan*, pp. 46-47).

known from numerous specimens. The Chhattra type, which was probably intended to emphasise the imperial position of the issuer, shows the Emperor with an attendant by his side holding the imperial umbrella (*chhattra*) over his head. There are two obverse legends, *mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ* and *Kshitiṁ = avijitya sucharitair = divaṁ jayati Vikramādityaḥ.* The reverse shows Lakshmī standing, facing, on a lotus, and the legend *Vikramādityaḥ.* On the obverse of the Horseman type, the king is shown riding a horse, the legend being *paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ.* The reverse shows the goddess seated to left on a wicker stool, the legend being *ajitavikramaḥ.*

(ii) *Silver Coins*

The annexation of the Śaka kingdom of Gujarat and Kathiawar rendered it necessary for Chandra-gupta to issue silver currency for the use of his new subjects, who were accustomed to the coinage in the white metal.[7] Probably this step was taken late in the reign, since we get very few specimens of the silver coins of this emperor. As may be expected, they are a close copy of the Kshatrapa prototype. The obverse shows the typical Kshatrapa bust with long hair and moustaches, and prominent nose. Traces of the meaningless Greek legend are allowed to continue, and some coins give the date of issue as the year 90 (plus a unit figure which is lost) obviously of the Gupta Era. The reverse shows some change, the three-arched hill being replaced by Garuḍa, the insignia of the conquering house. The reverse legend does not follow the Kshatrapa model in giving the name of the issuer and his father. In some cases it proclaims the family and personal name of the conqueror, in others it refers to his Vaishṇava persuasion. The metrology of the Gupta silver coinage is the same as that of the Kshatrapa coinage; most of the coins are about.5" in diameter and 30 grains in weight.

(iii) *Copper Coins*

The copper coins of Chandra-gupta II can be divided into nine types, the Bust (bust: Garuḍa) and the Chhatra (standing king: Garuḍa) types being the most common. The Archer type (standing king, holding bow and arrow: Lakshmi), the Standing king type (standing king: Garuḍa), the Vase type (crescent: vase), the Chakra type

7 These coins are usually found only in Western India and rarely in the home provinces of the Gupta Empire. A few silver pieces bearing the devices and legends as on the gold coins of Chandra-gupta I have come to our notice (for example, see *JNSI*, Vol. XXXVII, pl. XII, no. 2). But the genuineness of these pieces has not yet been proved. So Chandra-gupta II should continue to be considered as the first of the Imperial Guptas to strike silver coins.

(wheel: Garuḍa), the Crowned Head type (crowned head: Garuḍa), the Lakshmī type (crowned head: Lakshmī), and the crescent type (crescent: Garuḍa) constitute the remaining ones.[7a] The reverse of the coins of all these types (excepting Archer, Vase and Lakshmī) usually shows the field divided in two parts, the upper one showing Garuḍa and the lower one giving the legend. The Archer type has seated Lakshmī on the reverse. The coins of the Vase type display a vase on one side and the name *Chandra* surmounted by a crescent on the other. The Lakshmī type displays a crowned head on one side and the standing figure of Lakshmī on the other.[7a]

It is interesting to point out that some of the copper coins of Chandra-gupta II were found at Panipat and some in the Jhelum district. Copper coins do not usually travel a long distance, and the find-spots of the above coins would suggest that portions of the Panjab were under the sway of the Guptas.

(iv) *Lead Coinage*

Chandra-gupta II minted rectangular lead coins probably after conquering the territory of the Western Kshatrapas. The obverse displays Garuḍa with outstretched wings and the reverse carries the legend *śrī vikrama (ḥ*)*.[8]

6. KUMĀRA-GUPTA I

(i) *Gold Coins*

The numismatic activity of the reign of Kumāra-gupta I was even more intense and varied than that of the preceding one. The number of the gold types issued by Chandra-gupta II was eight, while that of Kumāra-gupta was fourteen. The silver coinage was introduced in the new reign in the U.P. and Bihar, where it was so far practically unknown, and new types were introduced in it.

The Archer, the Horseman, the Lion-slayer, and the Chattra types of his father were continued by Kumāra-Gupta I. The Archer type shows different varieties, the one in which the king holds the middle portion of the bow being the most common. The Horseman is the most common type of Kumāra-gupta; 308 out of 623 coins of the ruler in the Bayana hoard belonged to this type. The obverse shows the king riding the horse to right or left, and holding sometimes the bow,

7a A. S. Altakar, *op. cit.*, p. 156 f; K. D. Bajai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 142-144. K. D. Bajpai wants to attribute to Chandra-gupta II a copper piece bearing an ornamental tree (*Kalpavriksha*?) on one side and the legend *jitaṁ-bhagavatā padmanābhena* on the other (*ibid.*, p. 150; but see also JNSI, 1972, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 253 f.).

8 *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. V, pt. I, p. 24.

sometimes the sword, and sometimes both in his hands. On the reverse a goddess is seated on the wicker stool facing left; in one variety she holds a fillet in the right hand, and in the other she is shown as feeding peacock. Some of the coins of this variety, where the peacock is shown as extending its neck to reach the bunch of grapes, or as dancing at the sight of the fruits, are very artistic. The obverse legends on some varieties of this type, e.g. *Guptakul=āmalachandraḥ mahendra-karmājito jayati* or *Guptakula-vyomaśaśi jayaty=ajeyo' jitamahendraḥ*, are of high poetic merit also. The coins of the Lion-slayer type of Kumāra-gupta are fairly numerous, and they continue most of the old varieties. The Chhatra type is very scarce, and it was not known till the discovery of the Bayana hoard which contained only two specimens of this variety. The obverse is of the usual type, but the king is shown holding a sword by the hilt; the reverse shows a goddess walking to left.

Kumāra-gupta revived the Tiger-slayer, the Aśvamedha and the Lyrest types of his grandfather. The coins of the Tiger-slayer type are artistically beautiful; on their reverse there is a standing goddess feeding peacock. The coins of the Aśvamedha and the Lyrist types are scarce. On some of the Aśvamedha type coins the horse is caparisoned, on others it is bare; in some cases it faces right, in others, left.

In the devices of the King and Queen-type of Kumāra-gupta, we may notice the revival of the King and Queen type of his great grand father Chandra-gupta I. The coins concerned display standing king and queen on the obverse and a goddess on lion on the reverse.

Kumāra-gupta introduced several new and interesting types. He was named after Kumāra or Karttikeya, the generalissimo of the gods. He was naturally anxious to pay him numismatic homage, and the result was the introduction of a new type. On the obverse of this type the king is seen standing and feeding a peacock, the mount of Kārttikeya; on the reverse there is Kārttikeya himself riding the peacock. The coins of this type, however, are not so numerous as one may expect.

Kumāra-gupta introduced a number of new types referring to his military and sporting activities. In Swordsman type, we find the king standing and offering sacrifice by the right hand, while grasping a sword by the hilt by the left. The reverse shows Lakshmī seated on lotus. The Elephant-rider type shows the king riding an elephant, controlling its movement himself by a goad, while an attendant behind is holding the state umbrella over him. Apparently the king is going out for hunting.

The Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer type was an obvious improvement of the earlier type. Coins of this type are artistically very

beautiful. The elephant is shown as furiously advancing against the lion and trying to trample it under its left foreleg (or rather trying to grapple the king of the beasts by its trunk?). The lion is shown as anticipating the movement and trying to spring against it. The reverse shows Lakshmī facing, standing, on lotus.

The Rhinoceros-slayer is another new type introduced by Kumāra-gupta. It is scarce and was not known till the discovery of the Bayana hoard. Artistically it is of high merit. The king is hunting the animal from a horse, which is shown as slightly frightened. He bends forward to hit the animal, which is shown standing at bay, turning back its neck to attack the hunter. The reverse of this type shows a standing goddess (Gaṅgā) with a female umbrella-bearer behind her.

The so-called Apratigha type of Kumāra-gupta is still a mystery. It was known from a single specimen till a few more were discovered in the Bayana hoard. On the obverse of this type there is a male figure in the centre, with two female figures on his two sides. The central figure is expressly labelled as Kumāra-gupta; but he is wearing a long loose robe like that of a monk; his hands are folded in front, and hair on the head is tied in a knot. The female figure on the right faces the central figure, her left hand resting on the hip and the right hand raised up as if in argumentation. The female figure on the left also faces the central figure and holds up the right hand precisely like the figure on the right. There seems to be a shield covering the left arm of this lady. There is a Garuḍa standard behind the central figure. The reverse shows Lakshmī seated on lotus with a legend on the right which was once read as *śrī-pratāpaḥ*. But it appears to be *apratighaḥ*.

(ii) *Silver Coins*

Kumāra-gupta continued the silver type introduced by his father in his western dominions which, as noted above, was a close copy of the Kshatrapa prototype, showing the Kshatrapa bust and even the traces of Greek legend. He, however, introduced a new type for the home provinces of his Empire, which may be conveniently described as the Maḍhyaḍeśa type. In this type the bust on the obverse shows quite different features; apparently it is an attempt at portraiture. The meaningless traces of the Greek legend are dispensed with, and the date is engraved in front of the king's face and not behind the head as in the Western variety. The reverse device of Garuda is replaced by a fan-tailed peacock, and the circular legend is *vijitāvanir=avanipatiḥ Kumāragupto divaṁ jayati.* This legend was continued for about two hundred years by a number of rulers and dynasties, with only a change in the proper name.

The Trident type of Kumāra-gupta is known from a single specimen; it shows trident on the reverse instead of Garuḍa or fan-tailed peacock.

The dire distress of the Gupta Empire towards the end of the reign of Kumāra-gupta perhaps induced the mint authorities to issue silverplated coinage to tide over the financial stringency. Copper coins were dipped in melted silver and passed off as silver pieces. They bear the same types and legends as the silver pieces; but their real nature was betrayed in course of time when the silver coating came off partially or entirely. (See also the appendix on Numismatic Art, f.n. 67).

(iii) *Copper Coins*

We know of several classes of copper coins of Kumāra-gupta. On the obverse of one class of coins the king is standing and throwing incense. The reverse is divided into two halves, the upper one showing Garuḍa, and the lower one giving the king's name. The obverse of another class of coins shows an altar above, and the legend *Śrī Ku* below. The reverse of these pieces display a crude representation of Lakshmī. We can notice the standing figure of the king with an umbrella bearer on the obverse and Garuda on the reverse of a class of coins. Another class of specie has the same reverse device and an obverse device showing the king as an archer. Besides these Standing King, Altar, Chhatra, and Archer types, coins of the King's Head type (head: Garuḍa), Vase type (crescent and vase: Garuda), and Peacock type (crowned head: peacock) have been noticed.[8a]

(iv) *Lead Coins*

Like his father, Kumāra-gupta also minted lead coins. These are round, rectangular and square in shape. The obverse displays Garuḍa with outstretched wings and reverse the name of the king and sometime the year (of issue).[9]

7. SKANDA-GUPTA

The set-back in the fortunes of the Guptas towards the close of the reign of Kumāra-gupta I is reflected in the subsequent coinage. The variety in type that characterised the issues of the earlier emperors now comes to an end. Skanda-gupta issued coins in three or four types only, while his successors were content with a single type. The coins of most of the later emperors were adulterated.

8a A. S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 236 f; K. D. Bajai, op. cit. pp. 145-146.

9 *Numismatic Digest*, Vol V, pt 1, pp. 24-25. According to a theory, the metal of some Gupta coins may be classed as brass (an alloy of copper and zinc).

(i) *Gold Coins*

The Archer type is the most common of Skanda-gupta's gold coins. It shows no varieties, unlike the Archer types issued in the earlier reigns. Some coins of the Archer type were issued following the standard of 132 grains prevailing in the earlier reign; others were intended to conform to the traditional *suvarṇa* standard of 144 grains.

The king and the Lakshmī type was the only numismatic novelty introduced by Skanda-gupta. On the obverse of this type we find the king standing in front of Lakshmī and looking with intense interest at some object which she is offering to him. It has been rightly conjectured that this numismatic type gives a graphic representation of the poetic idea, contained in the Junagadh inscription, of the goddess Lakshmī choosing Skanda-gupta as her lord in preference to other princes.

The Bayana hoard contains a solitary coin of the Chhattra type with the reverse legend *Kramādiaḥ*. The obverse legend on this coin is not well preserved, but since *Kramāditya* was a *biruda* of Skanda-gupta, we may attribute this coin to him.[10] The solitary coin of Horseman type with an indistinct reverse legend which seems to read *Kramādit* (*yaḥ*) may have been also an issue of Skanda-gupta.

(ii) *Silver Coins*

Skanda-gupta was the last Gupta emperor to issue silver coins in the Western types. In Gujarat and Kathiawar, he continued the old types of his predecessors, but also introduced two new types, one showing a bull, and the other an altar on the reverse. The coins of the former type are the most common. In the home provinces of the empire, Skanda-gupta continued the issue of the fan-tailed peacock type introduced by his father. The coins of this type give the dates of the issue also.

(iii) *Lead Coins*

Lead coins of Skanda-gupta are either square or rectangular in shape. On the obverse appears Garuḍa with outsretched wings. On the reverse we can notice the legend *śrī-Kumāraguptasya* and sometimes also the year (of issue).[11]

Unlike his grandfather and father, Skanda-gupta is not known to have struck copper.

8. SUCCESSORS OF SKANDA-GUPTA

Skanda-gupta had two brothers, Ghatotkacha-gupta and Pūru-

10 Ghatotkacha-gupta, a brother of Skanda-gupta, apparently bore this *biruda*; hence the attribution of these two types cannot be regarded as certain.

11 *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. V, pt. I, p. 25.

gupta. The former was the Governor of Malwa in A.D. 435 during his father's rule;[12] the solitary archer type in the Leningrad museum, having the letters *Ghato* under the arms, seems to have been issued by this prince, probably late in his life, when the central government had grown weak owing to internal dissensions.[13]

The coinage of the second brother of Skanda-gupta Pūru-gupta, was for a long time believed to be represented by heavy weight Archer type coins, having the *biruda* Vikrama on the reverse. Most of the coins of this type have no name on the obverse; but on one of them the legend under the arms was taken to be *Pura.* New coins, since discovered, have, however, conclusively shown that the legend under the arm on these coins is *Budha* and not *Pura.* We have, therefore, to conclude that no coins of this class, which have so far come to light, belong to Pūrugupta.[14]

The coins of Narasiṁha-gupta Bālāditya, the son of Pūru-gupta, are fairly numerous, and chiefly found in the eastern provinces. They are of the usual Archer type and are struck on the *suvarna* standard. It is from the time of this ruler that we begin to have solitary letters between the feet of the standing king. These occurred at this place in the later Kushāṇa coinage, but were discontinued by the Gupta rulers. Why they were introduced now, and what their significance was, we do not know. On the coins of Narasiṁha-gupta we have the letter *gre* between his feet.

The coinage of Kumāra-gupta II, the son and successor of Narasiṁha-gupta, is confined to the Archer class and is much more numerous than may be expected. Some coins, bearing the letter Ku (=*Kumāra-gupta*) and the reverse legend *śrī kramādityaḥ,* are in base metal and very rude in fabric. Between the king's feet, they show the letter *go.* Several other pieces, bearing the letter *ku* (=*Kumāra-gupta*) and the reverse legend *Kramādityaḥ,* are purer in metal and superior in artistic merit. Here there is no letter between the feet of the king. It is not unlikely that the two distinct groups of coins bearing the name of Kumāra-gupta may belong to two different rulers. One of them, consisted of purer metal, may be attributed to Kumāra-gupta II (c. A.D. 473), and the other coinsisted of baser metal to Kumāra-gupta III, who ruled in the second quarter of the sixth century.

Coins of Kumāra-gupta II can be easily distinguished from the Archer type of Kumāra-gupta I on account of their larger size, hea-

12 Tumain inscription (*EI*, XXVI, p. 115).

13 This could have happened in *c.* A.D. 470. Ghatotkacha could have been a governor of the Malwa area at the age of 30 in c. 435. In that case he should have been about 65 years old in *c.* A.D. 470

14 S. K. Saraswati, *Indian Culture*, p. 691; see also B. N. Mukherjee, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 21st session, p. 77f.

vier weight, and the reverse legend, which is *Kramādityaḥ* and not *Mahendrādityaḥ*.

Budha-gupta, the successor of Kumāra-gupta II, was a powerful ruler, who ruled for a fairly long time (c. A.D. 476/77-494/95 or 500?). His gold coinage, however, is very meagre. However, on a few pieces the legend under the arm clearly reads as *Budha*.[15] The type is the Archer type of the heavy weight standard, the *biruda* on the reverse being Vikrama. Some Archer type coins of the heavy weight standard, which have the *biruda* Vikrama on the reverse and no legend under the arm, will also have now to be attributed to Buddha-gupta.

Buddha-gupta is the last Gupta ruler to issue silver currency; all his coins are of the fan-tailed peacock type current in Madhyadeśa. The discontinuance of the Western India types shows that the Guptas had probably lost control over Gujarat and Kathiawar at this time.

The contents of the Bharsar hoard shows that one Prakaśāditya ruled soon after Skanda-gupta. If Puru-gupta, a brother of Skanda-gupta ruled at all, he must have done so immediatly or shortly after the latter. Hence the gold coins of fairly pure metal and of the heavy weight standard, which bear the reverse legend *śrī-Prakāśādityaḥ*, may be attributed to Pūru-gupta. These coins show on one side a horseman slaying a lion and on the other the figure of seated Lakshmī. However, if the name *Bhānugupta* has been correctly read in the obverse legend of a recently noticed coin of Prakāśaditya,[15a] then the pieces may be considered to have been minted by Bhānu-gupta, referred to in the Eran inscription of the year 191 (c. A.D. 510-11).

Some debased gold coins of Archer type, struck on the heavy weight standard, bear the name *Vishṇu* (=Vishṇu-gupta). Vishṇu-gupta is definitely known to have been the son and successor of Kumāra-gupta II. The findspots of the coins of Vishṇu-gupta are confined only to the eastern part of the Gupta empire.[16]

In this region, Vainya-gupta rose to power soon after Budha-gupta's death.[16a] The latter's gold coinage is in the usual archer type. Vainya-gupta adopted the *biruda* Dvādaśāditya on the reverse of his

15 *JNSI*, XII, p. 113; pl. X, no. 2.

15a *Ibid.*, Vol. XLII, p. 120 and pl. VI, no. 2.

16 They are mostly from the Kalighat hoard, but one was found in Cuttack district (*ASIAR*, 1926-1927, p. 230).

16a Attempts have been made to attribute some Archer type gold pieces, bearing the name *Chandra* and *biruda Vikrama* and struck apparently on the *suvarṇa* standard, to one Chandra-gupta (III). According to a hypothesis, he flourished immediately before Vainya-gupta Dvādaśāditya. (*Numismatic Digest*, Vol. V, pt. II, 1981, p. 36f).

coins. Between the feet of the standing king on the obverse, there is the letter *bha.*

Vainya-gupta is rather an unusual name; for several decades the first two letters of his name, written under the arm of the standing king, were mistaken for *Chandra,* giving rise to the theory of historicity of a ruler called Chandra-gupta III in the Gupta empire. The discovery of the Gunaigher inscription, however, showed that there was a Gupta emperor named Vainya-gupta ruling in A.D. 507. This enabled D.C. Ganguli to correct the longstanding mistake and identify the Dvādaśāditya of the coins with Vainya-gupta of the epigraph. Nevertheless, the existence of a Chandra-gupta III can still be postulated on different numismatic grounds.[16b]

II. REGIONAL, LOCAL AND TRIBAL COINS OF THE ARYAVARTA IN THE FOURTH CENTURY A.D.

In different parts of the Āryāvarta well-known Kushāṇa coins-types like "king at altar: enthroned goddess", "standing king: Mao (or Miiro)" and "Siva with bull" were imitated by *inter alias* local rulers and moneyers (see also section VI). Some varieties of coins of certain tribes who paid tributes, etc, to Samudra-gupta may be dated on *inter alia* palaeographic features of their legends, to c. 3rd-4th century A.D. (or, in some cases, to a stilll later age?). We can especially refer to the large copper coins of the Yaudheyas bearing the figure of Kārttikeya standing with a peacock on one side and a female deity on the other. The legend on the obverse is *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jaya.* Numerous tiny copper-pieces (weighing from 1.7 to 15 grains) of the Mālavas display different devices (tree, animal, human head, etc.) and a part of the legend speaking of their victory or referring to one of their chiefs. These Mālava coins are comparable with the smaller specimens of copper coins (weighing from about 5 to 60 grains) of the Nāgas of Padmāvatī (bearing generally a symbol, or an animal or a bird and a legend). They might have continued to strike coins up to the time of Gaṇapatināga, who was among the Āryāvarta kings forcibly extreminated by Samudra-gupta. To Achyuta, another of such exterminated or uprooted rulers, have been attributed some coins from Pañchāla showing a wheel on one side and the name *Achyu* on the other. Similarly Rudra of a coin-type bearing that name on one side and Śiva and bull on the other may be identified with Rudradeva, who was also exterminated by Samudra-gupta. The Maghas or rather their successors struck coins

16b See above no. 16a. A gold-plated coin of the Archer type, bearing the legend *śrī-vikrama,* may refer to this ruler or to Chandra-gupta II. This piece has been unearthed during an excavation at Sonkh (*Indian Archeology—A Review,* 1970-71) p. 10 and p. XXVII, no. B. see also the appendix, fn. 67).

in Kauśāmbī in the early fourth century A.D. before that area was annexed to the Gupta empire.[16c]

It appears that in the fourth century A.D. regional, local and tribal rulers and private moneyers struck coins in parts of the Āryāvarta before the Gupta rule and in certain areas of that territory (lying outside the Gupta empire) even during the Gupta age. The unofficial series of the socalled Puri-Kushan coins (bearing imitations of Kushāṇa coin-devices), which had begun earlier than the fourth century A.D., was probably continued, at least for some time, during the period under review[16d] (in *inter alia* the Gupta empire?).[16e]

III. COINAGE OF MADHYADEŚA (MIDDLE COUNTRY) AND EASTERN INDIA (C. A.D. 500-985)

Madhyadeśa was the centre of the political and cultural life of Northern India during the greater part of the period A.D. 500 to 985. But its history in the sixth century is still shrouded in considerable obscurity. The Hūṇa invasions shook the Gupta Empire to its foundations and fissiparous tendencies soon asserted themselves.

It appears that by sometime of the first half of the sixth century a king named Bhīmasena assumed independence in a part of Madhyadeśa and issued silver coins closely resembling those of Budhagupta. His coin-type shows the usual bust of the king on the obverse with a date in its front, which has not yet been deciphered. The reverse shows the fan-tailed peacock with the circular legend *vijitāvanir=avanipatis-śrī-Bhīmasena* (*or Bhīmarājo*) *divaṁ jayati.*[17] It appears that the power of Bhīmasena or Bhīmarāja was shortlived; he or his successors were displaced by the Maukharis by c. A.D. 550.

A king named Vīrasena is known from a few gold coins found in the U.P.[18] Their reverse closely copies the seated goddess motif of

16c In this connection see P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 39f, K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, p. 115f, and 209f, H. V. Trivedi, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Nāga Kings of Padmavati* p. If. and the Shastri, *Kauśāmbī Hoard of Magha Coins*, pp. 30 and 97; J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. 276 and pl. XL, no. 1; etc. See also the appendix on Numismatic Art. Some copper coins of a ruler called Rāvaṇa have been doubtfully attributed to the Yaudheyas (K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211).

16d V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. 1, pp. 92-93. The so-called Puri-Kushan coins are so named because a find of these copper pieces bearing crude imitations of Kushāṇa coin-types (standing king: a standing deity) was made in the Puri district in 1893. Later, coins of this class were found in several places. Some local coin-types might have evolved (at least partly) out of the so-called Puri-Kushāṇa coins. (For an example, see J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, p. cxiii).

16e These pieces could have been struck for *inter alia* supplementing available supply of copper coins.

17 *ASR*, IX, p. 26; pl. V. 16; IC, p. 27, pl. IV, 14, A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

18 *CGD*, pp. 151-2; pl. XXIV, 11-2.

the Gupta coinage, but the obverse shows a bull in the upper half and the inscription *śrī-Vīrasena* in the lower. His *biruda* on the reverse is Kramāditya. The coins of this ruler are about 20 grains heavier than even the *suvarṇa* standard. It is difficult to determine the chronological position of this ruler. It appears that he had succeeded in carving out a kingdom for himself somewhere in northern U.P. during the first half of the sixth century. The same observation will have to be made about a king named Harigupta known from Chhatra and Vase (Kalasa) type copper coins.[19] A Gupta prince named Harigupta is known to the Jaina tradition as the preceptor of Toramāṇa. Can it be that Harigupta was a scion of the Gupta family, who issued coins of the above type as a king, and who later became a monk and preceptor of Toramāṇa?

During the sixth century there was a contest for supremacy in Madhyadeśa between the Maukharis and Later Guptas, neither of whom have left any gold coinage. The Maukharis, however, started silver coinage when they began to claim imperial position under Īśānavarman by c. A.D. 550. Their coin type closely imitates that of Budha-gupta, but the king's face is sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left. The date is given in front of the face. The reverse shows the fan-tailed peacock with the Gupta legend *vijitavanir=vanipatiś-śrī......divaṁ jayati,* the name of the particular issuer being inserted in the proper place.

Iśānavarman (c. A.D. 540-555), Śarvavarman (c. A.D. 555-570) and Avantivarman (c. A.D. 570-600) are the three Maukhari *Mahārājādhirājas* who have left us their coins. The dates on their coins cannot be properly interpreted partly because we do not know the era and partly because the figures are indistinct. 54 and 55 are certain dates on the coins of Īśānavarman, who is known to have have been ruling in A.D. 554. 58 is a certain date for his successor Śarvarman, and 71, for the latter's successor Avantivarman. It could, therefore, be plausibly suggested that the dates might be referring to a Mapkhari era beginning in c. A.D. 500, when Harivarman, the grandfather of Īśānavarman, can well be assumed to have started his career. The coins of the Bhitaura hoard, however, appear to give the dates (2) 36 and (2) 3x for Śarvavarman and (2) 57 for Avantivarman.[20] The reading of these dates is very uncertain; if correct, they cannot be referred to the Gupta Era with hundreds omitted. Nor can the years 54 and 55 on Īśānavarman's coins be referred to the era of the year 52 on the coins of Toramāṇa.

19 *CGD*, p. 152; A.S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 320.
20 *JRAS*, 1906, pt. II, pp. 843; INSI, XXVI, p. 30f.

For, the two rulers were separated from each other by about half a century.[21]

It is probable, but not certain, that the coins of Pratāpaśīla found in the Bhitaura hoard were issued by Prabhākaravardhana, the father of Harsha-vardhana. This hoard contained as many as 284 coins of Śīlāditya who, of course, is none other than Harsha-vardhana. Harsha's silver coins follow the Gupta prototype, as was the case with the coins of the Maukharis. Dates 31 and 33, which have been read on them, most probably refer to Harsha's own era.

To the same ruler K. D. Bajpai has attributed a unique round gold piece (weighing 113.5 grains). One side of this piece displays four-handed Śiva Parvatī as seated on a bull (*nandin*). The other side carries the legende *paramabhaṭṭāraka- -manarajādhirāja- parameśvara-śrī-mahārāja Harshadeva*.[21a]

Some gold coins of thin fabric and light weight (c. 7.7 and 19.7-24.6 grains), which appear to have been produced following the re-pousse technique, bear a couchant bull and the name of the issuer. The issuers include Varāha, Bhavadatta, and Arthapati of the Nala dynasty of South Kosala. These rulers may be dated to about the second half of the sixth century A.D. Similar gold coins, displaying *inter alia* the figure of a Garuḍa with outstretched wings, bear le-gends referring to Prasannamātra (of the Sarabhapurıya dynasty and of early 6th century A.D.), Mahendrāditya and Kramāditya.[21b]

In Eastern India, Harsha's rival Śaśāṅka has left us gold coinage which is sufficiently original. Śasāṅka was a devoted Śaiva, and the obverse of his coins shows Śiva reclining on his Bull. There is the full orb of the moon above on the right, obviously in allusion to the name of the issuer Śaśāṅka. The name itself has been engraved both on the obverse and reverse, usually in an abbreviated form. The reverse shows Lakshmī seated on lotus as on the Gupta coins, but an additional feature is introduced by adding an elephant on either side to give her ablution. The coins of Śaśāṅka are usually of the *suvarṇa* standard, but there is one which weight only 85 grains.[22]

21 E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 27; B. P. Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 427f.

21a K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 154, pl. VII, no. 8.

21b P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 61, *JNSI*. Vol. I, p 29f, A. S. Altekar, *op cit.*, p. 214. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 9; Vol. XXII, p. 184, Vol. XXXIII, p. 61f. We can refer here to the copper coins (a couchant bull . legend) of Sunanda, who probably ruled in the fifth or sixth century A.D. in a part of north-eastern Orissa. It is interesting to note that couchant bull also appears on tiny gold *fanams* (a couchant bull: regnal date in Telugu) attributable to the Eastern Gaṅgas of Orissa.

22 *CGD*, p. 148. The coins with similar weight might have been struck on a standard different from the *suvarṇa* standard (A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 328; *Desh* (in Bengali), April, 24, 1982, p. 18). Many coins carrying the name of *Śaśāṅka* have debased metal and some of them appear to look like silver (*JRAS*, 1979, p. 153).

King Samāchāradeva (of Vaṅga?), who ruled slightly before Śaśāṅkā, issued gold coins with the *biruda* Narendrāditya. One of the types of this ruler is the usual Archer type, but the standard is the bull standard. On the other type the king is seated on the obverse on a couch with two queens or female attendants on either side. The reverse of this type has seated Lakshmī as on the former, but there is a *haṁsa* (goose) in front of her in addition.

Uncertainty prevails about king Jaya, who has issued gold coins of the Archer type. The reverse of his coin type has an elephant giving ablution to Lakshmī seated on a lotus, obviously adapted from the reverse of Śaśāṅka's coinage. The *biruda* of the reverse is Prakāṇḍayaśas. The full name of this ruler is considered to have been Jayanāga and he is identified with one of the successors of Śaśāṅka bearing the same name. His epigraphic record describes him as *paramabhāgavata*. On the coins we have *Chakradhvaja* on the obverse, which lends additional support to the proposed identification.

Several coins of the Archer type, datable to the 7th-8th century A.D. have been found in *inter alia* Jessore, Dacca, Bogra, and Comilla districts of Bangladesh.[23] They are in base gold and weigh only about 85 grains. These pieces have the Archer type on the obverse and a standing eight-armed (sometimes four-armed or six-armed) goddess on the reverse. Among the names appearing on these coins are Śrīkramā (=śrī-Kramāditya), Śrīkumāra (or śrī-Kumāra), Prithuvīra (or Prithuvala), Balabhaṭa, jīva (=Jivadhāranarāta), Śrī, Rāma and Naladeva.[24] These coins are found mainly in the eastern side of the territory once included in undivided Bengal. It is, therefore, most probable that these coins were issued in that region. At least some of the coins in question have been attributed to ancient Samataṭa, (now included in South-eastern Bangladesh).[25] Their metrology also follow the weight standard indicated by one of the coins of Śaśāṅka weighing 85 grains.[26]

In this connection we should refer to a number of silver coins bearing a recumbent bull on one side and a tripartite symbol on the other. B. N. Mukherjee has read the legend on them as *Harikela* and has assigned them to the territory of the same name (which initally denoted the Chittagong district and gradually included also

23 *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI, 1979, p. 43; *Desh*, April 24, 1982, p. 19; *Bangladesh Lalitkalā*, 1975, Vol. I, pt. 1, p. 51f.

24 See above n. 23.

25 *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI, 1979, p. 43; *Desh*, April 24, 1982, pp. 19-20.

26 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 335; *Desh*, April 24, 1982, p. 19.

Nokhali, Comilla and Sylhet districts of Bangladesh).[27] The coins bearing the name *Harikela* have been broadly divided into two series on the basis of their weight, size and fabric.[28] The coins of the first series which are of thicker and smaller flan and of heavier weight (5 to 7.5 gms, i.e. about 78 to 116 grains), have been assigned to c. 7th (or 7th-8th) century.[29] They are considered to have been influenced, stylistically, metrologically and typologically, by the coinage of the Chandras of Arakan and to have influenced in similar ways the silver coinage of Paṭṭikeḍā (including the Comilla area) of c. 8th century A.D.[30] Coins of the second series, which are of thinner and larger flan and of lighter weight (usually 2.38 to 3.3660 gms., i.e. about 36 to 52 grains), have been dated to c. 9th 12th (or 13th) century 3.?.[31] Most of the coins of the second series carry only the obverse device (recumbent bull), the other side remaining blank. Several other groups of silver coins, some of them carrying local names, are considered to have been associated with the above noted two series of coins of Harikela.[32]

The coins of Harikela continued to be issued during the period of the Pālas and of the Senas, the two powerful ruling families of eastern India. However, neither the Pālas nor the Senas are known to have issued coins.

Harsha was succeeded in the region of U.P. first by the 'Varman' and they by the 'Ayudha' dynasty, but their rulers hardly paid any attention to coinage. It, however, appears probable that the coins bearing the name *Yaśovarman* which closely resemble the contemporary Kāśmīra currency, may have been issued by Yaśovarman, the king of Kānyakubja (Kanauj) and patron of Bhavabhūti. This ascription is not free from difficulties, for early collectors have noted that the coins of this ruler were found in the Panjab and Kashmir. The Kāśmīra annals, however, know of no king named Yaśovarman, and there is nothing improbable in Yaśovarman having eventually decided to imitate the coin-type of the family of his conqueror Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa of Kāśmīra. Yaśovarman may have reasserted his power subsequent to the death of Lalitāditya and included a portion of the Panjab in his dominions. His coins could thus well

27 *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVIII, 1976, pp. 100-101; *Bangladesh Lalitkalā*, 1975, Vol. I, no. 2, pp. 115-119.

28 *Coin Review*, 1976, nos. III and IV, pp. 2-3; *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. X, 1976-77, pp. 166 f.

29 See above n. 27.

30 *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, 1975-76, Vol. IV, p. 22.

31 *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. X, 1976-77, p. 167. Recorded weights of several coins of both series may mark them as submultiples of the denomination indicated here.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 169-170.

be found in the Manikyala *stūpa*. Hoernle attributed these coins to king Yaśodharman of Malwa. This is, however, improbable. If Yaśodharman had issued any coinage in c. A.D. 520, it would have been in imitation of one of the Gupta types. He is not likely to have copied a barbarous type not current in Malwa, but issued in distant Kashmir by Toramāṇa, the father of the enemy he had crushed.[33]

On the coins of Yaśovarman, which are in base gold, the obverse shows the crude figure of standing goddess with the letters *śrī-Yaśova* to her left and *rma* to her right. On the reverse there is the crude figure of the standing king with the letter *ki* written under the arm.

The Gurjara-Pratīhāras established a big empire in Northern India in the eighth-ninth century. One of the most powerful rulers of this imperial dynasty, Bhoja I, issued coins bearing the legend *śrimad=Ādivarāhaḥ*. The expression Ādivarāha, which can refer to the boar incarnation of Vishnu, was also assumed by Bhoja I as one of his titles. His coins are in silver; their usual weight is 60 grains and diameter 0.75". On the obverse of these coins we have the representation of Varāha (Boar), one of the incarnation of Vishnu. The deity is here shown with animal head and human body. The deity faces right with left leg raised; the expression is energetic and clearly conveys the resolve of the god to save the earth. Below the left leg is *chakra*, referring to Vishṇu. There are also other objects, including a trident behind him; these, however, can be completed only from their traces on different coins. The reverse is mostly occupied with the legend in two lines (1) *śrimad=Ādi-* (2) *Varāhaḥ*. There are, however, traces of *inter alia* an attenuated fire altar below the legend. The coins of Bhoja are found in Rajputana and U.P. and they are appropriately described as Ādivarāha-dramma in the contemporary inscriptions. (See also section 'D' of the appendix on Numismatic Art).

Some silver coins (bearing the above devices?) are attributed to Vināyakapāla, one of the successors of Bhoja. But the ascription seems to be very doubtful. The same may be observed about the attribution of the coins carrying the legend *śrī-Vigraha* and imitation of bust and fire altar with attendants on Sasanian and Indo-Sasanian series. These coins concerned have been referred to as Vigrahapāla-dramma in epigraphic sources.

IV. THE COINAGE IN WESTERN INDIA AND MALWA

The dynasties that were ruling in Western India during c. 300 to 630 A.D. were no doubt petty, but they were more particular about

33 For the theory attributing these pieces to Śaṅkaravarman of Kāśmīra, see S. C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, 2nd edition, pp. 240-241.

coinage than many of their confrères in Northern India. At the beginning of the period covered by this volume, the Śakas were ruling over Gujarat and Kathiawar; we find them continuing their old coin-types. The Guptas, who overthrew them, borrowed their silver coinage. In southern Gujarat, the Traikūṭakas rose to power in the fifth century (or in the third-fourth century) (see fn 36). We find two rulers of the house issuing silver currency similar to that of the Western Kshatrapas. The Gupta rule was followed by that of the Maitrakas in Kathiawar; and the Kalachuris rose to power in Malwa a little later. Both these dynasties paid some attention to the issue of coins.

1. THE SAKA COINAGE

There is an unusually long gap of 15 years in the coinage of the Western Kahatrapas, from the year 255 to the year 269 (i.e. from fifth century (or in the third-fourth century) (see f n 36). We find any satisfactory manner. There is also a gap in the coinage of Rudrasena III from the year 274 to the year 279 (i.e. from A.D. 351/52 to 356/57).[33a] It is not unlikely that Śarva Bhaṭṭāraka, who issued coins with the title Mahākshatrapa, was the ruler who had temporarily eclipsed the Kshatrapa power.[34] His coins are found in Gujarat and Kathiawar and the title *Mahākshatrapa*, which he assumes, suggests that he was a contemporary of the Śaka Mahākshtrapas. This theory, however, cannot yet be regarded as definitely proved.

Dated lead coins, bearing dates from the year 280 to 294 (i.e. A.D. 357/58 to 371/72), and having humped bull on one side and the usual three arched hill, cresent and star on the other, have been found in the Kshatrapa kingdom. But their attribution is not certain. They belong to the reign of Rudrasena III, but do not bear his name. Can it be that they were issued by Śarva Bhattāraka? This suggestion derives some support from the circumstance that the trident on the silver coins and the bull on lead coins both point to Śaiva inclination of the issuer.

G. V. Acharya stated that among the coins of the Sonepur hoard, there were some which supplied 301, 312 and 31x as new dates for Rudrasena III.[35] These coins, however, were not illustrated. So one cannot be quite sure that the dates were correctly read. If we accept these dates, it will follow that Rudrasena III was ruling

33a R. Saloman, *Western Kshatrapa and Related Coins*, p. 133.

34 *JNSI*, VI, pp. 19-23; Vol. XXXI, pp. 27f. On some pieces the name of the issuer may be written as Saśa Bhatāraka.

35 *Num. Suppl.* XLVII, pp. 95-99.

contemporaneously with four of his successors Siṁhasena, Rudrasena IV, Satyasiṁha, and Rurasiṁha III. This, however, seems improbable. Rudrasena III had already completed 30 years of his reign in c. 300 S.E. (A.D. 377-78) and is not likely to have ruled contemporaneously with four of his successors. The coinage of the four successors of Rudrasena III, mentioned above, follows the usual Kshatrapa type and need not detain us any longer. The political problems connected with the troubled times, covered by the reigns of these and the other Śaka kings mentioned above, have been dealt with already in an earlier chapter (p. 121). The last known date on the coins of Rudrasiṁha III is 310 or 31x. This would show that the Gupta conquest of Western India could not have been achieved much later than *c.* A.D. 398.

2. THE COINAGE OF THE TRAIKŪṬAKAS, MAITRAKAS AND KALACHURIS

The Traikūtaka dynasty ruled over a petty kingdom in South Gujarat during the greater part of the fifth century. Two of the rulers of the house, Dharasena (*c.* A.D. 446-465) and Vyāghrasena (*c.* A.D. 465-485),[36] issued silver currency. As may be expected, their coinage closely follows the Kshatrapa prototype, so much popularised in Gujarat during the three preceding centuries. The obverse shows the bust of the king, but the meaningless traces of Greek letters have been dispensed with. The Kshatrapa custom of giving the date behind the bust of the king is also given up. The reverse shows the usual three-arched hill and star surrounded by the circular legend, giving the name and title of both the issuer and his father. The legend on Dharasena's coins is *mahārājendradatta-puttra-parama-Vaishṇava-śrī-mahārāja-Dharasena*, and that on the Vyāghrasena's coins is *mahārāja-Dharasenaputra-parama-Vaishṇava-śrī-madhārāja-Vyāghrasena.* They obviously imitate the legend on the Kshatrapa coins. The Traikūṭaka legend, however, also gives the religious persuasion of the issuer as was done on some Gupta coins. The legends show that both Dharasena and his son Vyāghrasena were Vaishṇavas like the Gupta emperors.

The Maitrakas of Valabhi rose to power towards the end of the fifth century. It appears probable that several silver coins, bearing a rude bust of the king on the obverse and a trident on the reverse, with a circular legend including the word *Bhaṭṭāraka* in it, were issued by

36 These tentative dates are suggested on the basis of referring the years known from the epigraphs of the Traikūṭaka kings (year 207 mentioned in an epigraph of Dharasena and year 241 referred to in a record of Vyāghrasena) to the era of A.D. 249. But an attempt has been made to assign the dates to the era of A.D. 78 (B. D. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, pp. 20-25). See also the *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. III, pt. II, 1979, pp. 42f; Vol. V, pt. I, 1981, p. 31f).

Senāpati Bhaṭṭāraka,[37] who was the founder of the dynasty and was called Bhaṭārka in epigraphs. He might have been a descendant of Śarva Bhaṭṭāraka, mentioned above, who had issued similar coins in *c.* A.D. 370. These so-called Valabhī coins have been found in number in the vicinity of Valabhī. The type appears to have been cotinued by the successors of Bhaṭṭṭāraka in a progressively degraded form, for more than a century.

A Kalachuri family rose to power in Malwa in the latter half of the sixth century. Coins bearing the name of Kṛishṇarāja are to be attributed to one of its early rulers of that name who was the father of king Śaṅkaragaṇa (*c.* A.D. 580-600) and grandfather of king Buddharāja (*c.* A.D. 600-620). The coins are too early to be attributed to the Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler Krishṇa I (*c.* A.D. 758-772.). The coins of the Kalachuri Krishṇarāja are in silver; their size is about 0.45″ and weight about 30 grains. The obverse shows the face of the king to right, with moustache, as on the Kshatrapa and (certain classes of) Gupta silver coins. There are, however, no traces of any date or Greek letters. The reverse has the bull device, which occurs on the Nāga and Gupta coins current earlier in Malwa. The circular legend is *parama-māheśvara-mātāpitṛipādanudhyāta-śrī-Kṛishṇarāja*. The legend follows the Valabhī prototype in giving the religious persuasion of the issuer. The adjective *mātāpitṛi-pādanudhyāta* is apparently intended to improve the Kshatrapa practice of giving merely the name of the issuer's father. The historian, however, would have been happier if the names of the parents had been given, or at least that of the father.

The coins of Kṛishnarāja continued to be issued posthumously for at least 150 years.[38] This would appear rather surprising; but the mystery is partly solved when we remember that no contemporary power issued any silver coinage in Malwa, Central India, and Northern Deccan during this period. This circumstance will also explain the fairly wide prevalence of the coins of Kṛishṇarāja from Satara to Southern Rajputana, and Salsette to Amaraoti.[39]

V. HŪṆA AND INDO-SASANIAN COINAGE

The main and striking peculiarity of the Hūṇa coinage is the absence of originality. The Hūṇas went on merely copying the coin-

37 *JNSI*, Vol. XV, pp. 500-531.

38 *EI*, Vol. XXV, p. 232; B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

39 *JNSI*, Vol. III, pp. 23-24; B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 35. We may refer here to the small silver coins (weighing 6-7 grains) bearing the legend *śrī-Raṇahasti* on one side and the figure of an elephant on the other. According to a hypothesis, these were issued by the Pratīhāra ruler Vatsarāja (last quarter of the eighth century), who was referred to as *Raṇahastin* in the *Kuvalayamālā* (*JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, p. 222; Vol. XX, pp. 190-191).

types current in the provinces conquered by them. These coin-types, therefore, supply a useful clue to the expansion of their power.

In the course of their conquests, the Hūṇas came into conflict with the Sasanians from *c.* A.D. 435 to 485, and their earliest coinage is closely modelled on the Sasanian prototype. In the beginning, they were content merely with restriking the Sasanian coins with their own bust on one side, making the other almost obliterated during the process; later, they began to stamp the reverse also with the Sasanian motif of altar and two attendants. As these coins were struck for circulation in trans-Indian provinces, we need not consider them here.

The leader or leaders of the Hūṇa invasion, who shook the Gupta Empire to its foundation, must have issued his or their own coinage, but it cannot be definitely identified at present. According to the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun, Lae-lih was the leader of one of the Ye-tha (i.e. Ephthalite or White Hun) invasions of India. Cunningham suggested that this general should be identified with Lakhāna Udayāditya, known from some thin silver coins, having on the obverse a bust with the legend Lakhāna Udayāditya, and on the reverse, an altar with attendants.[40] This suggestion is, however, untenable. The reading *Lakhāna* is by no means certain, and it is difficult to understand how Lae-lih can be transformed into Lakhāna. The coins of Udayāditya show a complete and well-engraved Bhāhmī legend[41] and the issuer assumes the Sanskritic epithet of Udayāditya. No Hūṇa invader could possibly have issued in the period of Lae-lih (third or last quarter of the fifth century A.D.) coins showing so advanced an Indianisation.

The coins issued by the first Hūṇa invaders of Afghanistan and the Panjab must have been close copies of the Sasanian prototype with furtive efforts at Indianisation. They were probably similar to the silver pieces found in the excavations at Shahaji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar in A.D. 1911.[42] Like Sasanian prototype these coins are thin and large silver pieces, having Sasanian bust on the obverse and faint traces of a fire-altar and attendants on the reverse.[43] The obverse legend is sometimes in cursive Greek script and sometimes in Pahlavi script. Indian influence is, however, seen gradually asserting itself on these coins. Solitary Brāhmī letters like *sha*, *cha*, and *thai* make their appearance, as also distinctly Brahmanical symbols like conch and

40 *NC*, 1894, pp. 251-252.

41 *JASB*, 1913, pp. 481-3; pls. X and XI; *NC*, 1894, p. 279.

42 *JASB*, 1913, pp. 48-83; pls. X and XI.

43 *NC*, 1894, pp. 276; A. R. Gobl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Indischen Humnen n Baktrien und Indien*, Vol. III, p. II, 14f; A. Biswas, *The Political History of the Hūṇas in India*, pp. 200f.

wheel, which appear behind the king's head. These coins also show the so-called Ephthalite symbol.

The earliest Hūṇa invader, whose identity can be reasonably presumed! is Toramāṇa, and he has left us a fairly numerous coinage. As the title *Shāhi* and *Jauvla* are given to this ruler in his Salt-range inscription, it is very probable, but by no means certain, that the following two types of large and thin silver coins should be attributed to him.

1. Obverse:—bust of the king, Brāhmī legend, *Shāhi Jabuvlah.*
Reverse:—Faint traces of a fire-altar with attendants.

2. Obverse:—King riding on horse to r.; discus and conch in the field. Ephthalite symbol behind the horseman. Legend in Gupta characters, *Shāhi Jabula.*
Reverse:—As in No. 1 above. In some cases there is a *chakra.*[44] The legend *Shao Zobol* (or its variants) in sursve Greek characters may be noticed on silver coins bearing these devices.[45]

If we assume that Jabula was not a personal title of Toramāṇa, but an epithet shared by him with other Hūṇa rulers, we cannot attribute these coins to Toramāna alone. Some of them may have been issued by his contemporary generals and some by his successors.[46]

There is no such uncertainty about the attribution of the third silver type of Toramāṇa, because its legend contains his name. This type is in close imitation of the Gupta silver coinage of the Madhyadeśa variety in size, weight, and device. The obverse shows the bust of the king closely similar to that on the coins of Budha-gupta, only its direction is changed from the right to left. The reverse has the fan-tailed peacock with the legend *vijitāvanir-avanipatiś-śrī-Toramāṇo divaṁ jayati.* The coins are dated in the year 52 (?) and it would be least objectionable to assume that 52 stands for the year (1) 52 of the Gupta Era, corresponding to A.D. 471.[47] It is suggested by some scholars that the year 52 may refer to a Hūṇa era founded in *c.* A.D. 450. But one cannot then explain why the years in the Hūṇa era should not be found on other coins of Toramāṇa and those of his successors, or in any of their inscriptions.

Toramāṇa issued no gold coins. His silver coins are also rare. However, he issued copious copper currency. The obverse of one type shows the king standing and offering oblations as on Kushāṇa

44 *NC*, 1894, p. 278.

45 *NC*, 1894, p. 276; R. Göbl, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 53-54.

46 In this connection see also *NC*, 1894, pp. 276-278.

47 B. N. Mukherjee reads 82 and 87 on two coins in the British Museum, the dates on which were read earlier as 82 by E. J. Thomas and 52 by A Cunningham. Mukherjee thinks that 82 and 87 stand respectively for (1) 82 and (1) 87. He refers both the dates to the Gupta era (*NC*, 1965, pp. 206-207).

coins; the reverse shows the field divided into two parts, as on the Gupta copper pieces; the upper part has the discus, and the lower the legend *Śrī-Tora*. In some cases, the seated goddess occupies the whole of the reverse as on the gold Gupta coins. These coins may be called Kushāṇa-Gupta types. One of the types of Toramāṇa shows the bust on the obverse as on the Sasanian coins, and *chakra* and the legend *Śrī-Tora* on the reverse. This may be described as Sasano-Gupta type.

Mihirakula, the son and successor of Toramāṇa, issued no gold coinage. His silver coinage is more scarce even than that of his father. It is interesting to note that no silver coin of his, resembling the Madhyadeśa silver currency of the Guptas, has been found. It is, therefore, likely that he did not hold for long any of the provinces of the Gupta empire where that currency was in vogue.

The silver coinage of Mihirakula is Sasanian in its inspiration. The obverse shows a bust to right with a beardless face. Mihirakula was a staunch Śaiva, and so we find on the obverse of his silver coins both the trident and bull-standard. The circular legend is either *jayatu Mihirakula* or *jayatu vrishadhvaja*. A fire altar with attendants can be noticed on the reverse. The silver coins are thin and broad pieces. They are generally 1″ in diameter and about 50 grains in weight.

The following are the three important copper coin-types of Mihirakula:—

(1) Horseman type: Obverse:—King riding to r.; Brāhmī legend *Mihirakula*.

Reverse:— Goddess seated on throne.

(2) Standing king type: Obverse:— King standing and offering sacrifice. Legend *Shāhi* or śrī-*Mihirakula*.

Reverse:—Seated goddess with cornucopia. (Coins of this type are usually found in the Western Panjab, where the Kushāṇa numismatic traditions still held the field).

(3) Bust type: Obverse:—A bust, with the legend *jayatu Mihirakula*.

Reverse: A bull in the upper half and the legend *jayatu vṛisha* in the lower half. (Coins of this type usually hail from the Eastern Panjab. They show the Gupta and Sasanian influence).

We have seen above how *chakra* appears as a symbol on some of the copper coins of Toramāṇa, and bull on those of his son Mihirakula We get a large number of copper-coins showing the *chakra*, the symbol of Toramāṇa, counterstruck on bull, the symbol of his son and successor Mihirakula. In 1945 one coin of Mihirakula was found showing faint traces of *Śrī-Tora* below the bust of Mihirakula. This bust itself, however, is counterstruck by *chakra*, which was originally the symbol of Toramāṇa.

As the history of the period is obscure, a proper interpretation of these counterstruck coins is still difficult. On one counterstruck coin, we see both *chakra* and *Śrī-Tora* superimposed on the face of Mihirakula. This would suggest that Mihirakula had a son Toramāṇa II, who adopted the symbol *chakra* of his grandfather, after whom he was named, and counterstruck his father's coins with it. Whether the counter-striking shows any enmity between Mihirakula and Toramāṇa II, we do not know.

There are, however, some coins where *chakra* alone is counterstruck on the face of Mihirakula; the legend *Śrī-Tora* has not been counterstruck. These coins may have been issued by the younger brother of Mihirakula who, according to Hsuan-tsang usurped his brother's throne during his absence in Magadha. In the beginning, the younger brother may have shown the prudence of counterstriking Mihirakula's coins with *chakra,* the symbol of their father; later, he may have issued coins bearing his own name. Some of the copper coins bearing the name of Toramāṇa may have been issued by the younger brother of Mihirakula, who may have had the nace of Toramāṇa.

The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* informs us that a king named Toramāṇa was kept in long imprisonment by his elder brother Hiraṇya for presuming to issue coins in his own name. Hoernle has suggested that the counterstruck coins, we are discussing, may support this tradition as recorded by Kalhaṇa. The main difficulty in agreeing with Hoernle is the absence of the name of Hiraṇya on any of the coins counterstruck by Toramāṇa.

The independent accounts of Hsüan-tsang and Kalhaṇa show that there was some usurpation in the Hūṇa house soon after the time of Toramāṇa or Mihirakula, which was eventually reflected in coinage. The counterstruck coins appear to refer to this incident though its precise nature cannot be made out.

The numismatic evidence makes it quite clear that the Panjab continued to be a Hūṇa stronghold even after the overthrow of Mihirakula in *c.* A.D. 530. Two Hūṇa families were ruling there, one in the South-eastern and the other in the Western Panjab. Kings Bugo or Buto, Khiṅgila, Lakhāna Udayāditya, Bhāraṇa (or Jāraṇa), Triloka, Pūrvvāditya, Narendra, and others who belonged to the latter family, are so far known (with the exception of Khingila[48] from their coinage only. Their relative chronology cannot yet be determined; but we may presume that they ruled from *c.* A.D. 550 to 675. As may be expected, their coinage follows the Sasanian model, the pieces being thin and large and weighing about 50 to 55 grains. The obverse shows the

48 Mahāvināyaka image inscription, dated in the year 8, refers to Shāhi Khiṅgala (i.e. Khiṅgila).

typical bust with symbols like conch, trident, flower, altar, etc. The legend (in Brāhmī) begins with *Shāhi* followed by the name of the issuer. The reverse shows a fire-altar with attendants.[49]

The Hūṇa family ruling in the South-Eastern Panjab is known as yet from its coinage only.[50] So far the names of only four kings of the house are known; they are Mihiradatta, Jishṇu, Prakāśāditya, and Udayāditya. But the dynasty must have included some more rulers, for, we get many coins where the names of the rulers are too fragmentary to be completely made out. The coins of this dynasty show sometimes the bust (as on the Sasanian pieces) and sometimes the standing king (as on the Kushāṇa coins). The reverse has sometimes the fire-altar as on the Sasanian coins, and sometimes a *chakra* as on the coins of Toramāṇa. Some coins are round and some are square. The Hūṇa ruler, against whom Rājya-vardhana was sent in *c.* A.D. 605 by his father, was probably a member of this dynasty.

It will be convenient to refer here to the coins of Napki Malka, Shāhi Tigin, Vāsudeva and Vahi Tigin. We do not know whether they were of Hūṇa origin; they, however, imitate the Sasanian prototype and most probably belonged to the Hūṇa stock.

The coins of Napki Malka, who ruled sometime in the seventh century, were found in large number at Begram and in several *stūpas* of Afghanistan.[51] In his head-dress there is buffalo's head; we may, therefore, reasonably identify him with the king of Ki-pin referred to by Chinese historians as wearing the head-dress of a buffalo's head surmounted by a royal tiara. His coins may be described as follows: Obverse: Within dotted border, bust of king to right, face beardless; head surmounted by wings and buffalo's head. In front of the head, Pahlavi legend *Napki Malka.*

Reverse:—A fire Altar with attendants; isolated Brāhmī letters like *la, ha, na,* etc. appear on different coins.

The coins of Vāsudeva are in silver and copper (or billon?). Several of his coins are similar to those of Napki Malka, but there is no buffalo's head in the head-dress. The circular legend is not yet completely read, but *Vakhu* (or *su*) *deva*[52] can be made out. As this ruler issued another coin type closely imitating one of the types of Khusru II (A.D. 591-628), we may place him in *c.* A.D. 650. On its reverse, there is the sun-god(?) with flames rising to a point at the top. There was a famous temple of the Sun at Multan, and we can well understand why this deity was selected for the reverse motif

49. *NC*, 1894, pp. 282f.
50 *JRAS*, 1907, pp. 99.
51 *NC*, 1894, p. 267; R. Gobl, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pls. 43f.
52 R. Göbl, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pl. 66, no. 244.

by Vāsudeva, whose dominions probably included that city. (See also the appendix on Numismatic Art). Legends on Vāsudeva's coins are in Brāhmī and Pahlavi and sometimes also in cursive Greek characters (used for writing Bactrian). It appears from his coin-legends that he was the king of Zabulistan (Ghazni area), Taki (in the Panjab), Hi(n)du (Sindhu), Ga(n)dhāra, Bahmanabad, Multan and Sapādalaksha (Rajputana). Vāsudeva obviously was a powerful ruler.

Shāhi Tigin, who may be placed even before Vāsudeva, is known to have issued coins in silver and copper ,or billon?). His coin-types are "bust: fire-altar with attendants", and "bust: an uncertain object". We can notice on his coins inscriptions in Brāhmī, Pahlavi and cursive Greek characters (used for writing Bactrian).

Some coins bearing a bust on one side and the Sun-god(?) on the other were attributed to Shāhi Tigin by Cunningham. These have now been attributed to Vahi Tigin.[52a] His silver and copper (or billon?) coins are known. Legends in Brāhmī and Pahlavi characters can be noticed on his coins.

We shall now briefly refer to some other coin types which show considerable Sasanian influence. A large number of coins are found in Western Rajasthan closely imitating the Sasanian prototype. Some of these are anonymous and were issued as early as *c.* A.D. 450. A hoard of these coins, found somewhere in Marwar, contained about 75 thin and large silver pieces, closely imitating the coin type of Phiroz (A.D. 458-484).[53] On their obverse, there is the bust of the king bearing tiara, flanked by two eagle's wings and surmounted by a crescent enfolding a globe and a star. The reverse shows Fire-altar with two attendants, with a crescent on one's head and a stai on that of the other. These coins were probably issued by early Hūṇa invaders of the Rajasthan area.

When the Hūṇa power disappeared, the Indo-Sasanian type introduced by the Hūṇas continued to hold the field for a long time. Coins of this class are usually uninscribed, but some of them bear short and cryptic legends on the obverse like *Śrī-Ha, Śrī-Vara, Śrī-Haka,* etc., which probably give the names of the issuers in an abbreviated form.

The coins of the above type are mostly in silver, and as large as 1″ diameter; but India was not accustomed to a silver currency so large in size. There arose, therefore, a tendency to reduce the size of thes coins to about 0.5″ or 0.6″, which was the diameter of the Kshatrapa and Gupta coins, with which Malwa and Central India were long familiar. The reduction in size took place gradually, so that

52a *Ibid.,* Vol. I, p. 142.

53 *PrASB,* 1889, pp. 228-231; *JASB,* 1890, pp. 168-9 and pl. V.

we can clearly distinguish three stages. The weight of the coins, however, was retained at 60 grains and not reduced to about 30 grains, which was the usual weight of the Kshatrapa and Gupta silver coins.

The Sasanian motifs, a bust on the obverse and a fire-altar and attendants on the reverse, were continued on these pieces, but successive generations of mint-masters began to show greater and greater ignorance of their original significance. The bust of the king begins to become more and more narrow-headed and long-nosed; cheeks become narrower and longer. The grotesqueness of the resulting figure, which looks not unlike the face of an ass, is further enhanced by the dots indicating chin and lips being confused with, and made a continuation of, the pearls of the necklace, which further passed over the ear, separating it completely from the head.[54] There is a similar degeneration on the reverse. The Fire-altar is indicated by a cross perched on a stepped platform which begins to look like a *gaddi;* the pile of dots converging to a point, which takes the place of the flame of the fire on the altar, appears like the ornamental back of the throne or the *gaddi.* The attendants degenerate merely into two lines.

These uninscribed silver coins are known as Gādhiyā coins. The derivation of the name is uncertain. It may be partly due to the ass-like appearance of the face on the obverse; but it is also possible that the coins may have been originally called *gaddia* coins, due to the *gaddi* like appearance of the altar on the reverse; later on *gaddia* may have been deliberately changed into *gadhiya* on account of the poor artistic merit of the pieces.

These coins were current in Rajasthan and Central India from *c.* A.D. 700 to 1200. Who their exact issuers were is not known, as they are uninscribed. It is not unlikely that the Guhilots, the Paramāras, and the Chaulukyas issued some of them. A hoard of these coins was found in Poona district in 1944; it has, therefore, been suggested that the Gādhiyā coins may have been issued in Maharashtra as well by the Rāshṭrakūtas.[55] This view, however, requires further evidence in its support.

Another variety of Gādhiyā coins may be referred to here. The obverse is the usual one, but the reverse shows a horseman, attacking foot soldiers.[56] These coins were found somewhere in Indore area and their attribution is uncertain.

54 *JNSI,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 172.
55 *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, pp. 21-22.
56 *Ibid.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 66-71; pl. VA.

VI. THE COINAGE OF KASHMIR

At the beginning of our period the predominant coin-type in the north-western part of the Indian subcontinent consisted of "king at altar" and "enthroned goddess" devices. These Kushāṇa devices were adopted by the successors of the Imperial Kushāṇas in the land of the five rivers[57] and also by the rulers of the group of Kidara Kushāṇa.[58] The coins of Kidara Kushāṇa formed the prototype of the Hūṇa coinage of Toramāṇa in Kāsmīra.[59]

Kalhaṇa's account of the Hūṇa kings of Kāśmīra is obscure and their chronology, as given by him, is very confused. Among the Hūṇa rulers mentioned by him, Toramāṇa, Mihirakula, Khiṅgila, Narendrāditya, and Lakhāna Narendrāditya (= Lakhāna Udayāditya) have left us their coinage. Their coins have been briefly discussed in the preceding pages. It will be sufficient here to refer to the Kāśmīra coinage of Toramāṇa, which stands at the beginning of the medieval coinage of Kāśmīra.

The Kāśmīra coinage of Toramāṇa is all in copper; the pieces are 0.8″ in diameter and about 100 grains in weight. They closely follow the Kidāra Kushāṇa prototype. The obverse shows the standing king offering sacrifice at an altar; the reverse has the seated goddess with a crude lotus in her hand. On the obverse, there is the king's name Toramāṇa in the upper left quardant; it has to be read from outside. On the reverse there is the legend *Kidāra*, in mechanical imitation of the legend on the earlier coins current in Kashmir.

It is very probable, but by no means certain, that Toramāṇa of the Kāśmīra coins is identical with the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa, whose coins have been discussed above. His coins are found in large quantity in Kāśmīra and adjoining territory, and they show considerable difference in style, execution and palaeography. It is, therefore, certain that coins bearing the name of Toramāṇa were issued for several centuries after the death of that ruler. Śrīvara, a fifteenth century chronicler of Kāśmīra, expressly states that the type was revived by Hassan Shah of Kashmir (A.D. 1472-85), on account of its popularity.[60]

Pravarasena (II), Gokarṇa, and Narendrāditya, who figure in Kalhaṇa's narrative, have left us their coinage, but as we do not know their precise chronological place, we need not consider it here in detail. Suffice it is to say that they continue the type popularised by Toramāṇa, but in a very degraded form.

57 B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, pp. 47-49.

58 *Ibid.*, pp. 48 and 64-65 *NC*, 1893, p. 199f.

59 For a catalogue of coins of Kāśmīra, see L. Gopal, *Early Coin Types of Northern India*, p. 57 f. In Chapter XVIII the section on the Little Kushāṇas include some rulers who are regarded here as Hūṇas.

60 M. A. Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, II, p. 315.

With the rise of the Karkoṭa or Nāga dynasty in the seventh century, we stand on surer ground. Kalhaṇa mentions 17 kings of this dynasty, but we know the coinage of only four of them, viz. Durlabhavardhana, Durlabhaka, Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa and Jayapīḍa. The type is the same as the old Kushāṇa one, popularised by Toramāṇa, viz. standing king on the obverse and seated goddess on the reverse. But it becomes degraded beyond recognition. In many cases the so-called human figures have no heads or hands and appear like fish or altar. The head, when shown, often looks like a potato with eyes in it; often it is indicated by three dots or circles. Under these circumstances, it is but natural that we should find it difficult to distinguish the male from the female or the standing from the seated figure.

Kings of the Karkoṭa dynasty issued coins in gold and copper. Gold coins are, however, heavily debased, and ther weight varies between 100 and 120 grains. The weight of the copper coins is sometimes 110 grains, sometimes 100, and sometimes 90. As centuries rolled by, the weight tended to diminish.

The founder of the Karkoṭa dynasty is known from several gold coins. Lalitāditya Muktāpida, the youngest son of Pratāpāditya was the most powerful conqueror of the Kashmir history. After his conquests he assumed another title Pratāpāditya, as stated by Kalhaṇa (IV. 134) and the numerous coinage bearing that title has to be attributed to this ruler.

The all-India conquest attributed to Lalitāditya Muktāpīḍa-Pratāpāditya by Kalhaṇa is more poetic than historical. But Kalhaṇa's statement that the kingdom of Kānyakubja (Kanauj) up to the bank of the Yamuna was as completely under the control of the Kāśmīra ruler as the courtyard of his own palace, is confirmed by the discovery in 1926 of a large hoard of 16, 448 coins of Pratapāditya in the Banda district of the Uttar Pradesh. Some of these coins may have been of Pratāpāditya, the father of Muktāpīḍa, but the vast majority of them must have been of Muktāpīḍa himself sent to the Banda district, most probably for the payment to the members of the Kāśmīra expeditionary force. Some of these coins have the letter *ja* added to the name, the legend reading *śrī-ja-pratāpa.* It is probable that these coins were issued by *Jayāpīḍa,* the grandson of the conqueror, who may have acted as a temporary viceroy of the conquered provinces.[61] Jayāpīḍa has left us extensive coinage issued in his

61 Another theory in this connection is that these coins may have been issued by Jajja, the brother-in-law of Jayāpīḍa, who had usurped the throne of Kāśmīra while the latter was out on an expeditionary force (*JASBNS*, 1928, pp. 6-7). There are serious difficulties in accepting this theory, which cannot be discussed here for want of space.

own name also; on their reverse they bear the king's *biruda* Vinayāditya, the obverse having *Jaya* under the arm.

The Kāśmīra coinage records some improvement with the rise of the Utpala dynasty (A.D. 855). The figures, both of the standing king and the seated goddess, are crude no doubt, but they are better than those on the coins of the Nāga dynasty. The male can be distinguished from the female, the seated from the standing figure. The king's costume, however, appears curious and grotesque, and often resembles the flowing drawers of women. His waist is supported by a cross band.

On the coins of the Karkoṭa dynasty, the names of kings were written on one side only; on the coins of the new dynasty, the spelling of the names is spread over both the obverse and the reverse. Thus, on the coins of Śaṅkaravarman, *Śaṅka* is written to the left of the seated goddess, *ra* to the right of the standing king, and *varmadeva* to his left. An uninitiated person finds it very difficult to read the names of the issuers.

A large number of the kings of the Utpala dynasty have left us their coinage. The coins of the founder Avantivarman are copious so are those of his successor Śaṅkaravarman. Śaṅkaravarman's successor Gopālavarman had a short reign (902-904); so his coinage is scanty. Queen Sugandhā, who also ruled for two years (A.D. 904-906) is one of the few Indian queens who have left us their coins. Her successor Partha ruled for 15 years (906-921), but his coinage is comparatively scarce. As noted above, many kings rose and fell during the next 18 years but only a few of them, Nirjitavarman, Chakravarman and Unmattavanti have left us their coinage. The legend on the coins of the last mentioned ruler has been abridged into *śrī-Unma* of the family of Yaśaskara, he left some coins of the usual type, but we have no coins of his son Saṁgrāmadeva, who was murdered by his ambitious minister Parvagupta. The usurping minister ruled for a year and half only, but his coins have come down to our time.

Parvagupta's son and successor Kshemagupta had a short reign of eight years; but his coinage is numerous. His coins divide themselves into two classes, class I bearing his own name Kshemagupta, and Class II, having the legend *Di-Kshemagupta,* the first letter being the initial of his favourite queen Diddā. This curious coin legend supports Kalhaṇa's account about how this king was gven the nickname of Diddākshema by his contemporaries on account of his excessive passion for the queen. It is interesting to note that the coins of the latter class are very numerous, while those of the former are rare—again a proof of the ascendancy of the queen over her husband.

Abhimanyu and Nandigupta, the son and grandson of Kshemagupta, issued coins of the usual type. The next two rulers Tribhūvana and Bhīmagupta lived in troubled times; but they did not neglect to issue coins. Bhīmagupta was succeeded in A.D. 981 by his grand mother, the widowed queen Diddā. On her coins a part of that legend (*Śrī*) is to the right of the seated goddess and another part (*Diddā*) to her left, while the third part (*devyā*) is on the reverse and to the left of the standing king.

VII. THE COINAGE OF THE SHĀHIS OF THE PANJAB AND KABUL VALLEY

Coins bearing (i) "lion" and "peacock" (ii) "elephant" and "lion", (iii) "lion" and "goose(?)" and (iv) "bull" and "horseman" devices were issued by the Shāhis of the Panjab and Kabul Valley who ruled from *c.* A.D. 850 to 1026. Of these types, the Bull and Horseman type was the latest to be used by the Shāhis and was first introduced by Spalapatideva.[61a] This was, however the commonly used type, after its introduction. The Elephant and Lion type was less common, and the Lion and Peacock and Lion and Goose (?) types were used only by Kamara (or Kamala). It may be argued that Kamara may be placed earlier than all other rulers, as his type is most archaic. It has been suggested that Kamara may be identical with Kallara, the Brahmana minister, who according to Al-Bīrūnī, founded a new dynasty. There is some phonetic resemblance between the names Kallara and Kamara, but that alone cannot decide the point. It is more likely that Kamara (or Kamala) was one of the later Shāhi rulers. He can be identified with Kamaluka, (=Toramāṇa), the son of Shāhi Lalliya, mentioned by Kalhaṇa (*Rājataraṅginī*, V, 233).

Vakkadeva, Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva issued coins of the Lion and the Elephant type. Numismatic considerations would suggest that Vakkadeva was the earliest of the three rulers. Most of his coins bear the archaic "Elephant and Lion" type, though he is also known to have used the Bull and Horseman type. The coinage of Sāmantadeva, on the other hand, is mostly in the Bull and Horseman type, his coins in the Elephant and Lion type being relatively fewer.

The Elephant and Lion type coins of Vakkadeva, which are all in copper, show Elephant on the obverse facing left with the king's name inscribed above the animal. The reverse shows Lion springing to right. The Bull and Horseman type coin of this king, published by Cunningham, is very small in size; its obverse shows a recumbent bull to left with the legend *Sri Va (k) ka* above the animal. The reverse shows a horseman charging to right.

61a For a detailed study of the Bull and Horseman type coins of the Shāhis, see NC, 1968, p. 189f. See also the appendix or Numismatic Art, fn. 48.

The Bull and Horseman type, initiated by Spalapatideva, was destined to become popular over the greater part of Northern India. Nay, we find this type occasionally initiated even at Baghdad, in spite of the religious taboo of Islam prohibiting all pictorial representations. Some dirhams of the Caliph Al Muqtadir Billah Ja'afar (A.D. 927-952) have been found imitating this coin-type.[62]

The Bull and Horseman type coins bearing the name of Spalapatideva, are in silver, base silver. billon(?) and copper The legend *śrī-Spalapatideva* appears on the obverse. A cursive legend is noticeable on the reverse.[63] Some additional letters (mint-marks?) may be noticed on the reverse. Differences in stylistic treatment of the devices on the coins concerned suggest that the pieces betraying inferior style and technique of minting may include imitations. Such imitation are in *inter alia* base silver and billon (?). The genuine and imitation pieces are found in Afghanistan, the Panjab, etc.

The coins of Sāmantadeva, of the Bull and Horseman type, are found in the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent, parts of northern India and Afghanistan. They have been discovered even in Europe. They are in silver, base silver, billon and copper. Their size varies from .7″ to .8″ and weight from 45 to 55 grains. The obverse shows Recumbent Bull with trappings facing left. Above the animal is the circular legend *śrī-Sāmantadeva.* The reverse shows the king riding a spirited horse gallopping to right. Behind the horseman there is the letter *bhi*, whose significance is not yet known with certainty. It may be the initial of the name of the governor or of the mint city.[64]

The silver coins of the Shāhis indicate three denominations, the highest weighing about 55-58 grains. The weights of three are in the ratio of 1: 2: 3. It has been suggested that the copper coins allude to five denominations in weight.[64a]

The coins of Khudavayaka are relatively rare, and they are found in silver (and also in billon and copper?). They are of the Bull and Horseman type, but both the obverse and reverse show marked deterioration in execution. Behind the horseman's head there are a number of solitary letters. Round the head of the horse, there are some letters or figures which have not yet been properly read or interpreted. The name of the king, which occurs as usual above the bull, has been read as *Khudavayaka* by Stein and Smith. *Khva-*

62 *JNSI*, VIII, p. 75.

63 *NC*, 1968, pp. 212-213.

64 Numismatic evidence has been used to suggest two periods of the Samantadeva (D. B. Pandey, *The Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab*, pp. 85-86; see also *NC*, 1968, pp. 213-214).

64a D. B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-194.

davayaka by Bayley and Rodgers, and *Khamarayaka* or *Khamaradaka* by Cunningham. The difference in reading is due to the carelessness in engraving; different letters, as engraved on different coins, seem to justify each one of the above readings for the particular coins concerned. *Khudavayaka,* however, appears to be the most probable reading; it seems to be a corruption of *Kshudravayaska.* a nickname that may have been given to the king on account of his being a minor at the time of his accession.

According to Al-Bīrūnī, Kamalu (=Kamaluka=Kamara or Kamala of coins) was succeeded by king Bhīma.[65] His silver coinage is of the Bull and Horseman type, but the representation of both the animals is very crude. On the obverse above the bull there is the legend *śrī-Bhīmadeva;* on the reverse, behind the Horseman, there is the letter *na,* and in front of him there are three symbols of letters, not yet properly interpreted. The copper coins of Bhīmadeva have elephant and lion devices.

Bhīmadeva also struck gold. One of his gold coins, published by A. Ghosh, displays the seated king and a standing female on the obverse and the figures of seated king and queen (or Lakshmī) on the reverse. The obverse legend is *Shāhi śrī-Bhīmadeva.* On the reverse appears the legend *śrīmada-(gata)-Sāmantadeva.* The coin concerned weighs 68.0 grains.[66]

The rest of the Shāhi rulers (including Jayapāla, Ānandapāla, Trilochanapāla, and Bhīmapāla, who ruled from *c.* A.D. 960 to 1926) did not strike coins. Some of these were powerful rulers, and we cannot explain satisfactorily the absence of their coins.[67]

VIII. THE COINAGE OF THE DECCAN AND SOUTH INDIA

The coinage of the Deccan and South India, during the period covered by the volume, is shrouded in considerable obscurity. We have seen how the states in Northern India were issuing fairly numerous currencies, most of which were inscribed and bore the names of the issuers. In the Deccan and South India, however, the case was different. During the earlier period, a number of Roman coins were circulating in South India and they generally bore the effigy and the name of the issuers. The Sātavāhanas also issued coins,

65 E. C. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II, p. 13.

66 *NC*, 1952, pp. 133-135; pl. VI, no. 1.

67 The name of the striker of some crude copper coins of the Bull and Horseman type was read as Ashatapāla or Aśatapāla. He was identified with Ishṭapāla, referred to as the father Jayapāla in the *Tarikh-i-Firishta.* But the correct reading of the name of the ruler concerned is *Amṛitapāla* (L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 32). For critical assessments of the Shahi coinage, see D. W. MacDowall's article in *NC*, 1968, (p. 18), nd D. B. Pandey's book *Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Punjab* (p. 179 f).

inscribed with the names of the issuers. These coinages could not have been unknown to the governments of the Pallavas, the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas, the Cheras, the Chālukyas, and the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Under the auspices of these dynasties, the Deccan and South India witnessed striking progress in sculpture, architecture and literature; on several occasions, as under the Chalukya Pulakeśin II and Rashṭrakūṭa Govinda III, mighty empires were built up, which successfully challenged the great powers of Northern India. But, strangely enough, these well organised and cultured governments took no steps to issue artistic and inscribed currency to compete with that of Northern India. It appears that only occasionally some of the governments took a fleeting interest in currency, and when they did so. they issued coins stamped either with their dynastic *lāñchhanas* (emblems) or with traditional symbols. It is only rarely that inscribed coins were issued. The question, therefore, of the attribution of the early coin types of South India to the different dynasties of the period is fraught with difficulties. The known *lāñchhanas* of the dynasties help us to some extent, but their guidance is not always reliable. Sometimes the *lāñchhanas* of the earlier dynasties, e.g. the boar (*varāha*), were continued by their successors on account of their popularity. Sometimes the conqueror accommodated the *lāñchhanas* of the dynasties they had conquered on their coinage along with their own emblems. We have, therefore, to proceed very cautiously in our attribution.[68]

1. THE SĀLAṄKĀYANAS

Chaṇḍavarman (*c.* A.D. 395-450) issued inscribed cast copper coins. These bear a couchant bull on the obverse and the legend *śrī-Chaṇḍava* (*rman*) on the reverse.[69]

68 Our main sources of information are the following :

(a) Elliot, *Coins of South India* (referred to below as *CSI*), pp. 36-45.

(b) T. Desekachari, *South Indian Coins*, pp. 34-36.

(c) M. Rama Rao, *Vishṇukuṇḍin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum; Eastern Chālukya Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum.*

(d) *Annual Report of the Mysore Archaeological Survey* (abbreviated hencefor-ward as *MAR*) 1937, p. 87; 1940, p. 75.

(e) A. S. Altekar. "The Coinage of the Deccan", in *The Early History of the Deccan*, edited by G. Yazdani, Vol. II, p. 783 f.

(f) V. Prakash, *Coinage of South India* (*An Introductory Survey*), p. 25 f.

(g) B. D. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*. p. 191f.

(h) R. Nagaswamy, *Tamil Coins—A Study*, p. 1 f.

(i) V. Narasimha Murty, *The Coins of Karnatka.*

69 B. D. Chaṭṭopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 191.

2. THE VISHṆUKUṆḌINS

The coins attributed to the Vishṇukuṇḍins (*c.* A.D. 450-610) are of copper. The types attributed to them consist of (a) standing bull: sun with rays; (b) couchant or standing bull: trident with lampstands, (sometimes inscribed), (c) standing bull: conch or vase and lampstands (sometimes inscribed), (d) standing bull: wheel and crescent (inscribed), (e) lion: vase and lampstands (sometimes inscribed), (f) lion: conch and (g) lion: wheel and crescent.[70] The legend *Vikrama* on some "bull: conch or vase and lampstands" coins may refer to Vikramendravarman I.[71]

3. THE KALABHRAS

It has been claimed that the Kalabhras struck coins in certain areas of the far South for sometime between *c.* A.D. 300 and 600. These coins are in silver and copper and of various shapes (square, rectangular, round, oval, etc). Of these, several thin pieces weigh 5 or 6 grains, while many of the heavy dumpy pieces weigh over 100 grains. While the great majority of these pieces bear only inscriptions on both sides, the rest bear a variety of devices. The legend *Achuvikanta Kalabhara* has been read on many of these coins.[72]

4. THE PALLAVAS

Bull was the emblem of the dynasty and can be seen on some of its copper-plates. The Ratha temples that were constructed under Pallava auspices have got peculiar pillars, having bases representing lions.[73] It is, therefore, suggested that early coins which have either the bull or the lion emblem may be attributed to the Pallava dynasty. This is a probable conjecture and derives support from some other circumstances also. The coins of Bull type are usually found on the eastern coast from Nellore to Pondicherry, and this territory is known to be included in the Pallava dominion. In their general appearance and fabric, the coins resemble the latest Sātavāhana issues and borrow some of their striking emblems like the ship with double mast. Some of them have fragmentary legends, whose characters resemble the Brāhmī script of the fourth or the fifth century A.D.

The Bull type coins of the Pallavas are generally in copper, but a few are in base silver. They are all die-struck. On the obverse they have within a circular border the bull standing to right or left. The

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 191-195.

71 *Ibid.*, 193; *JNSI*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 66f.

72 *JNSI*, Vol. XXXV, p. 146 f.

73 J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, p. 332, woodcut no. 188.

reverse shows diverse symbols like Solar wheel, cross, fish, ship with double mast, etc. One striking symbol on the reverse consists of the Roman capital letter X capped by the inverted capital letter V. This symbol occurs on some punch-marked coins found in Pāṇḍya country, and the coins which bear it on the reverse may well be among the earliest issues of the Pallavas.

Some of the Bull type coins have fragmentary inscriptions. Hultzsch read some of these legends as *Śrībhara* and *Śrīnidhi*. These are known to have been the *birudas* of Mahendravarman and Rājasiṁha, and these coins may have been their issues.

The Lion type coins are all uninscribed. The obverse shows the lion within an enclosed circular border; the reverse has a vase on a stand flanked by two lamp-stands or a wheel, or an elephant, or four dots, etc.

5. THE CHĀLUKYAS

The Chālukyas—Early, Later, and Eastern—had Varāha or Boar as their insignia on their copper-plates, and gold coins having this animal on one side have been attributed to them, no doubt with full justification. We should note that some of the later rulers like the kings of Vijayanagar and even the East India Company issued some coins with the boar on one side; but they can be easily distinguished from the Chālukya *varāha* coins, by their fabric and palaeography.

As *varāha* continued on the Chālukya coinage for a very long time and was adopted by some later rulers, gold coins of South India issued by later dynasties were also known by the generic name *varāha*, though they had no longer this emblem upon them.

There can be no doubt that the *varāhas* of the Early, Later, and Eastern Chālukyas must have been in wide circulation; very few of them have, however, been found. This is rather inexplicable. If, in spite of the frequent wars in the U.P., Gupta gold coins are found in large quantity, it is difficult to understand why the Chālukya coins should be relatively so rare.

The gold coins of the Chālukyas are usually thin large pieces, about 1.5″ in diameter and 65 grains in weight. Their reverse is plain. The obverse has a boar in the centre with an umbrella above and two chowris on its either side. There is usually one lamp-stand in front of the animal and another behind it. Along the edge of the coin there is a circular legend each letter of which is imprinted by a separate punch. The legend is in old Canarese characters and gives the name of the issuer[74] Uninscribed god coins of the dynasty are smaller in size, the boar in the centre being surrounded by several

74 Elliot, *CSI*, pp. 79-80.

symbols like *śaṅkha*, *chakra*, etc.[75] Some of these coins have the emblem of lotus on the reverse. As their reverse thus resembles the Padmaṭankas, attributed to the early Gangas, these coins are believed to have preceded the inscribed coins of the thinner fabric.

Copper coins of the dynasty are small in size being about .4" to .5" in diameter. They are usually uninscribed, and attributed to the Chālukya dynasty because of the presence of the boar on the obverse. Above the animal we usually have the Sun and the Moon.The reverse has several symbols like *śaṅkha*, etc.

A few coins of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmī have been found, indicating the name of the issuer. M. H. Krishna ascribed small gold coins having the boar on the obverse and a lotus on the reverse to Pulakeśin I.[76] These coins are, however, uninscribed and the attribution can at best be regarded as only conjectural.

However, S. Ramayya seems to have successfully attributed to Vikramāditya I a gold piece and three electrum coins bearing *inter-alia* a boar on the obverse and a standing male figure on the reverse and the inscription *śri-Vikrama* on both sides (the electrum coins carrying also the legend *śri-Vikramarāja* on the obverse and the legend *śri-Vikrama-mahārāja* on the reverse,.[76a]

The Chālukyas of Veṅgī have left us their coinage of an early period. Several gold, silver, and copper coins have been found with the legend *vishamasiddhi* or its abbreviation *siddhi* inscribed upon them. These are usually attributed to Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, who bore this epithet. We should not, however, forget that several later kings named Vishṇuvardhana also adopted this epithet, and it is not unlikely that some of these later rulers also issued some of the coins with the legend *vishamasiddhi* or *siddhi*.

On gold coins the legend *vishamasiddhi* is usually in Nāgarī characters, and it is often abbreviated into *siddhi*. On coins in base silver, the legend is in Telugu characters, and on copper pieces it is in Kannada. This variety in the script need not surprise us. Nāgarī was the usual script on gold coinage. Telugu was current in the dominions of Vishṇuvardhana, and Kannada was his native script.

The copper and silver coins have a lion in place of the boar. Their reverse shows various symbols including a double trident surmounted by a crescent and flanked by two lamps.

We possess no coins of any other king of the dynasty who ruled during the period under review. The next king who has left us his inscribed coinage, is Śaktivarman, who began to rule in A.D. 999

75 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl V, p. 17.

76. *MAR*, 1933, p. 98.

76a *JNSI*, Vol. XXVI, p. 244, Vol XXVII, p. 46 f. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *The Coins of Karnataka*, p. 67 f.

The reign of Taila II (A.D. 973/74-997), the founder of the Chālukya house of Kalyāṇā, fell just within this period. M. H. Krishna attributed to this ruler a coin bearing the figures of five lions punched on it.[77] Its legend is, however, only *para*, and Krishna himself admitted that the coin in question could have been issued by a later ruler as well.

6. THE RASHTRAKŪTAS

The Chālukyas of Bādāmī were supplanted by the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Malkhed. They no doubt eclipsed their predecessors in the glory and might of their empire. But their numismatic record is even poorer than that of the Chālukyas.. The Rāshṭrakuṭa records refer to golden coins, which were given in charity in lacs on the occasion of the coronation of some emperors like Govinda IV. No Rāshṭrakūṭa inscribed coins, however, have been found, either in gold, silver, or in copper. References have been made above to the silver coins with the name of *Krishṇarāja* and to those of the Gādhiyā type discovered in the Poona district, and also to the unwarranted suggestion that they may have been issued by the Rāshṭrakūṭas. M. H. Krishna described eight coins which have the figures of four lions hunched around a tank on the obverse, and elaborate floral design on the reverse. He first attributed these coins to Kadambas and then suggested that they might have been issued by the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[78] There is hardly any reason to support this attribution.

7. THE GANGAS

Coins with an elephant on the obverse and floral design on the reverse were most probably issued by the Ganga rulers during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Since these coins have one and the same type, they may be presumed to have been issued by one dynasty, and as they are found in Karnataka state, that dynasty may be presumed to be the Western Gangas. Some of these coins have solitary Kannada letters, whose palaeography shows that they were issued in the tenth or eleventh century, and not in the fifth or sixth, as was supposed earlier. It has been suggested that the coins with the letter *ha* may have been issued by Hastimalla or Prithvīpati II, with the letter *ka* by Krishṇavarman or Kangavarman and with the word *Bhuja* by Bhujabala.[79] These are, however, merely plausible conjectures. It must also be added that the photographs of the coins, which are said to have these letters above the 'elephant', are very indistinct.[80] This coin type

77 *MAR*, 1933, p. 99.
78 *MAR*, 1939, p. 87, and 1940, p. 75.
79 *MAR*, 1939, pp. 98-99.
80 *Ibid.* pl. XXVII, nos. 6, 10 and 11. See also B. D. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.* p. 46.

might have been borrowed by king Harsha of Kashmir in the eleventh century.

8. THE PĀṆḌYAS

A gold coin, bearing two fish shown vertically on one side and the legend *śrī-Varaguṇah* in Grantha characters on the other, has been assigned to the Pāṇḍya ruler Varaguṇ II (3.?. 862-880).[80a] A number of copper coins of the Bull and Fish type have been attributed to the Pāṇḍyas.[80b] Some rare gold pieces, having two fish on the obverse, can probably be ascribed to the Pāṇḍyas, and may have been issued during the ninth or tenth century A.D. The larger of these gold coins which are 0.6″ in diameter and about 57 grains in weight, have on the obverse, besides the two fish in centre, a lamp in their front and a *chaurī* and the Sun and the Moon behind. There is a legend on the reverse, which has not been so far deciphered. Smaller gold coins weigh only about 6.5 grains and are uninscribed. Their symbols are fewer, but the fish is always present.[81]

9. THE CHERAS

Villavan (or Bowman) is the Tamil designation of the Chera kings, and the *lāñchhana* of their dynasty was a stringed bow. It is, therefore, very likely that uninscribed coins, having *inter alia* a stringed bow on one side, may have been issued by Chera rulers.[82]

10. THE CHOLAS

The Cholas began to rise into prominence with the accession of Parāntaka, who ruled from *c.* A.D. 907 to 953. Though he had a long reign, he left no inscribed coinage. His son Gaṇḍarāditya also did not issue any coins. But the latter's brother Ariñjaya struck silver coins bearing a lion on the obverse and the legend Ari-jaya on the reverse.[83] Gaṇḍarāditya's son Madhurāntaka Uttama Chola (*c.* A.D. 973-985) issued gold coins, known as gold *māḍai*, bearing the legend *Uttama-śolan* in Grantha characters.[84] The tiger, the dynastic emblem of the Cholas, naturally appears on these coins. But they also show the fish, the emblem of the Pāṇḍyas, in front of the tiger, probably as a memento of the conquest of the Pāṇḍya capital Madurai, on account of which event, Uttama Chola had assumed the title *Madhurāntaka*.

80a *JNSI*, Vol. XXXII, p. 85.

80b B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

81 Elliot, *CSI*, pp. 119-130.

82 *MAR*, 1939, p. 87, and 1940, p. 75; Elliot, *CSI*, pl. III, nos. 121-128; Vidya Prakash, *op. cit.* pp. 100-101.

83 *JNSI*, Vol. XXXI, pl. II, no. 1; B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 249,

84 Desikachari, *Coins of South India*, pp. 64-66; B .D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

Some gold coins indeed carry the legend *Maitrāntakaṇ* (=*Madhurāntakaṇ*).[85] *Madhurāntakaṇ-māḍai* coins are referred to in Chola records.

A few silver and copper coins of Uttama-Chola are also known, having the Nāgarī legend *Uttama-Cholaḥ* in two lines on the reverse.[86] Rājarāja, the successor of Uttama-Chola, is known from this abundant inscribed coinage; but it falls outside the period of the volume.

11. THE KADAMBAS

Elliot had assigned some *padmaṭaṅka* coins to the early Kadamba rulers. But it appears more probable that these coins should be attributed to a considerably later period.[87] Attempts have also been made to associate several varieties of inscribed gold coins with the early Kadambas. But all these attributions are doubtful.[88] Later Kadamba rulers issued inscribed coins; but they fall outside our period.

IX. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The post-Gupta coinages indicate the use of a number of weight standards.[89] A large number of coin-denominations and coin-names occur in epigraphs and literature.[90] One of the most important coin denominations in northern India was *dramma*.[91] The same name might have been used in certain cases to denote coins of different metals. In Kāśmīra gold, silver and also copper pieces were probably known as *dīnāra*.[92] It is interesting to note that certain coin-names

85 *Damilica*, no. I, 1970, pp. 101-103; B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

86 B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241.

87 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 38; Elliot, *CSI*. pp. 64-67.

88 B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 38 f; A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

89 See L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India*, c. A.D. 700-1200, p. 179 f. and B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 152 f. For the reasons for paucity of gold coins in north India during the post-Gupta period in question, see L. Gopal, *The Economic Life in Northern India*, c. A.D. 700-1200, p. 215 f.

90 For coin denominations prevalent in north India, see L. Gopal, op. *cit.*, p. 192 f. For coin-names mentioned in the epigraphs of peninsular India, see G. Yazdani (editor), *op. cit.*, p. 801 f. and B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 163 f.

91 Epigraphs speak of different types of dramma including those known by the names of rulers. For an example we can refer to Vigrahapāla-dramma (L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 192 f).

92 A. Stein, *Kalhana's Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Vol. II, p. 308 f; see also Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 950 (with reference to the reign of Harshadeva, who ruled some

in epigraphs probably denoted units of value and not actual metalic pieces.[93]

Though we know of a very large number of coins of the post-Gupta age, all of them might not have been products of government mints. In fact, several important dynasties did not at all strike coins. Again, all members of many ruling families having their own mints did not strike coins (at least) in their names Coins bearing old types and sometimes also names of dead kings were continued to be minted officially and also by private moneyers.[94]

Cowries were used at least in certain areas as a medium of exchange.[95] Barter-system was also practised.[96] On the ther hand, coins of certain rulers (including the Bull and Horseman tvpe coins of Shāhi Sāmantadeva) were used not only for commercial transactions in their respective areas or in contiguous regions of the Indian subcontinent,[97] but also for trade with foreign countries.[98]

It was perhaps not impossible for an area to be familiar simultaneously with new coins, old specie[99] and cowries and also with a barter-system. Thus, a complex system or systems of exchange prevailed in different parts of the Indian subcontinent.[100]

time later than our period). Following the example of Gāngeyadeva, who ruled slightly after our period, gold coins were struck on dramma standard. The name *drammo* (Greek *drachmā*) originally denoted a class of silver coins.

93 For example, we can refer to the name *Kārshāpaṇa* occuring in a Gayā inscription of A.D. 1175. There is an indication that here the name *Kārshāpaṇa*, which generally means a type of coin, stands for a unit of value equal to a number of Kapardakas, or cowrie-shells (D. C. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphic Studies*, pp. 51-53). Similarly *purāṇa* and *Kapardaka-purāṇa* in several Sena records denote a unit of value (equal to that of a purāṇa) counted in cowries (*ibid.*).

94 For examples, we can refer to the Pālas (the rulers of the family of Gopāla I), the Senas (the dynasty of Vijayasena), the Rāshtrakūṭas.

95 L. Gopal, *Coin-Types of Northern India*, p. 2 f; See also appendix on *Numismatic Art*.

96 See D. C. Sircar. *op. cit.*, pp. 49-53; L. Gopal, *op. cit.*. p. 213 f. *India, c.* A.D. *700-1200*, pp. 213 f.

97 L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

98 D. B. Pandev, *op. cit.*, p. 207.

99 *Ibid.*, pp. 208-210.

100 The Siyadoni inscription indicates simultaneous use of coins struck in the name of rulers of different dates (*EI*, Vol. I, p. 169).

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER THIRTY-FIVE

NUMISMATIC ART

A

A COIN IS a piece of metal of prescribed weight, embellished with designs and/or legends and produced under the direction of an authority (private or public) for its use as a medium of exchange. A design or designs, conceived of by an artist or artists, can be transferred to the surface of the metal (i) by punching its one side or two sides with the relevant design (engraved in negative on a die) or designs (apparently typologically unrelated to one another and engraved in negative on equal number of dies), or (ii) by stamping one or both faces of the blank with the help of a die or two dies engraved with the design or designs (in negative), or (iii) by casting a regulated quantity of molten metal in a mould or moulds bearing the design or designs (in negative) or (iv) by following the repoussé technique.

The transformation of the piece of metal called coin into an object of art is facilitated by the artistry of its obverse and reverse devices, excellence of the relevant die or mould(s), purity and/or suitability of the rquired metal and efficiency in the technique of minting. Highly sophisticated and largely mechanised process of manufacturing followed in a modern organised mint can maintain a uniform standard in production on a mass scale, the like of which could not have been witnessed in a manually operated mint of early or medieval age. Moreover, ill-organised unofficial and sometimes also official mints were often not interested in turning out coins of artistic quality. Thus, a vast number of pieces of coined metal of early and medieval periods do not interest students of the history of fine arts. However, the number of quality products of these ages is not negligible. Many of such coins, produced in well organised mints (under the supervision of appreciating as well as exacting authorities) and from dies prepared by highly skilled and talented artists, can be classed as masterpieces of visual art. These indicate traits of numismatic art and its relationship with other media of plastic art.

B

Looked at from these points of view, the most important series of Indian coins of the period under review (c. A.D. 300-985) is formed by the pieces minted by the Imperial Guptas.

Gliding linearism and a subtle sense of movement characterise the figures appearing on the coins of the Imperial Guptas, particularly on their gold coins.[1] Well-proportioned human figures, are shown as sitting or standing in various postures.[2] The royal male figures, with sheath of muscles rippling under skin, exude strength, robustness and vitality.[3] The royal or divine female figures have soft graceful slender forms and refined (often sensuous) contours.[4] Divine figures on gold pieces sometimes radiate spiritual sublimity.[5]

All these characteristics are discernible in well executed stone (and also in some stucco and terracotta) sculptures of the Gupta empire and/or age, particularly in those produced following the Sarnath or Mathura idioms.[6] Many of the female figures on the gold coins do reflect the classical idea of feminine beauty.[7]

We may find resemblance between the poses or postures of figures appearing on coins and in sculptures. For an example, we may compare the standing posture of Gaṅgā on "Tiger-slayer" type coins of Samudra-gupta with that of the divine figure in a sculpture from Besnagar (c. A.D. 500).[8] There is a striking correspondance between the scheme of representation of Gaṅgā, on "Rhinoceros-slayer" type coins of Kumāra-gupta I (which show her as standing in a *dvibhaṅga* pose with an attendant holding a parasol over her head) and that of the same deity on a door jamb found at Buxar (Bihar).[9]

The figures of animal on well produced coins have life-like appearance with facile contours defining their volume. They often exhibit their characteristic qualities. The king of beasts appears

1 *CGD*, pl. IIf, especially, pl. Vf.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, pl. VI, no. 15; IX, no. 10; pl. X, no. 9; pl. XIV, no. 2; pl. XIX, no. 13, etc.

4 *Ibid.*, pl. VIII, no. 10; pl. IX, no. 14; pl. XIII, no. 8, etc.

5 *Ibid.*, pl. VI, no. 11; pl. XV, no. 15.

6 S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, 2nd edition, p. 133f.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 124f.

8 *CGD*, pl. II, no. 14; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. XLVII, no. 177.

9 A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire*. pl. XIII, no. 5. There is notable similarity between the appearances of Garuḍa on the copper coins of Chandra-gupta II and on royal seals of the Guptas (*CGD*, pl. XI, nos. 1-4; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*. revised by D. R. Bhandarkar, pl. XLV). However, Garuḍa on silver and lead coins is somewhat stylised (*CGD*), pl. X, no. 15; *Numismatic Digest*, 1981, Vol. V, pp. 24-26).

majestically as the mount of a goddess on numerous pieces. The same animal exhibits its power to struggle on "Lion-slayer" type coins Standing or prancing horses on several coins are, with their well-built muscular bodies, pictures of robust vitality. The elephant and rhinoceros on a number of pieces exude strength. The tiger on "Tiger-slayer" type coins appears to be ferocious. On the other hand, the peacock on the "Kārtikeya" type coins has a charming appearance. It appears with Kārtikeya also in Gupta sculpture.

Figures on early Gupta gold pieces are in fairly high relief, apparently as a result of the use of well-intagliated dies. However, sometimes they lack physiognomical details, due to defect in sculpting the relevant dies or in striking the coins or owing to "a deliberate taste for the unfinished" (as betrayed by several figures on Kushāṇa coins).[10]

Differences between physiognomical details of the early kings represented on gold coins suggest that they bear royal portraits. However, on silver coins we perhaps witness only conventional busts.[11] On the other hand, representations of Chandragupta II on his copper coins are often more life-like.[12]

Typologically as well as metrologically Gupta gold pieces betray impact of coinages of the Imperial Kushāṇas and their immediate successors in the North-Western section of the Indian subcontinent. For examples, we can refer to such devices as "the king sacrificing at an altar", "elephant rider", "goddess on lion", "goddess on throne" (Ardokhsho), "three standing figures", etc.[13] In the obverse device of the "Chakravikrama" type of Chandra-gupta II, showing the king receiving certain objects and so some kind of favour from a deity (Chakrapurusha), one may discern influence of an idea reflected in a coin-type of Huvishka, portraying him as kneeling before Nanā, and also in a seal displaying a royal Yüeh-chih personage receiving a diademed fillet from Manao Bago.[14]

The inspiration for displaying royal bust on silver coins of the Guptas must have been received from the Kshtrapa coinage of

10 *CGD*, pl. III, no. 10, pl. XII, no. 6, etc., B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*. p. 18 and pl. XIX, nos. 1, 7, etc.

11 *CGD*, pl. X, nos. 14f; pl. XVI, no. 1f, pl. XXI, nos. 1f.

12 *Ibid.*, pl. XI, nos. 1f.

13 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 15 f; B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 16 f; pl. V, 1 f; pl. VI, nos. 1 f, pl. VII, nos. 1 f; pl. XXIII, nos. 14 and 17, etc.

14 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, no. 9; B. N. Mukherjee, *Nanā on Lion — A Study in Kushāṇa Numismatic* Art, pl. IX, nos. 32 and 36. Chakrapurusha, shown as a male deity with a wheel behind him, appears as an independent figure on the capital of the Eran stone pillar carrying an inscription of the time of Budha-gupta (G. Harle. *Gupta Sculpture*, fig. 23).

Western India. The "Altar" type on the Gupta silver and copper coins may betray the die-cutters' knowledge of the early Sasanian pieces carrying the same type.

The Gupta artists gradually Indianised or replaced foreign devices, attributes and, to some extent, dresses and ornaments. The enthroned goddess of fortune (Ardokhsho) of non-Indian origin was gradually replaced by the Indian goddess of prosperity, Lakshmī or Śrī, seated on lotus.[15] The Goddess on Lion began to appear (as Durgā Siṁhavāhinī) in various postures.[16]

In choosing the devices for the bewildering varieties of coins the mint-masters appear to have been often motivated by the desire to project the valour and skill of the kings, and to commemorate important events. For examples, we can refer to "Chandragupta-Kumāradevi" type of Chandra-gupta I, "Battle-axe" type of Samudra-gupta and Kumāra-gupta I, "Tiger-slayer" type of Samudra-gupta and Kumaragupta I", "Lion-slayer" type of Chandragupta II and Kumāra-gupta I, "Elephant-river-Lion-slayer" type of Kumāra-gupta I, "Rhinoceros-slayer" type of Kumāra-gupta I, "Aśvamedha" type of Samudra-gupta and Kumāra-gupta I, etc.

The royal achievements depicted in these devices are referred to in the accompanying legends. In fact, legends on Gupta coins show inclination to allude to the supernatural strength, character and performances of the kings and to their authority over earth (and even heaven). A few of these inscriptions connect or compare them with gods and even deify the monarchs. The obverse legend on the "Couch" type coins of Chandra-gupta II refers to him as *deva*. The legend *Chakravikramaḥ* on the reverse of the coins of the "Chakravikrama" type of Chandra-gupta II (showing him as receiving certain objects from Chakrapurusha) may mean that the king's valour was like that of Chakrapurusha or that his valour was received from the latter. In the obverse and also reverse legends on the "Kārtikeya" type coins, displaying Kumāra-gupta I feeding a peacock on one side and Kārtikeya (also called Kumāra) riding a peacock on the other, refer to the sovereign as *Mahendrakumāra*.[16a] In the inscription on a variety of "Lion-slayer" type coins the same king is imagined as Narasiṁha (or Nṛisiṁha), an incarnation of Vishṇu.[16b] One

15 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pl. V, no. 8.

16 *Ibid.*, pl. VI, nos. 1f; pl. XII, nos. 1f.

16a Kārtikeya is shown as offering some objects by his right hand held in *varada* pose (*CGD*, pl. XV, no. 14). Does this feature indicate that the god is shown as bestowing some boon or favour on Kumāra (gupta Mahendrāditya) ? (In this connection see also J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd edition, p. 144; *JNSI*, 1977, vol. XXXIX, p. 124 f).

16b See *JNSI*, 1979, Vol. XLI, p. 51 f, for a hypothesis that the "Horseman" type coins of Chandra-gupta II, displaying his figure on a prancing horse, indicates his identification with the horse rider Kalki, another incarnation of Vishṇu.

may wonder whether Kumāra-gupta I's "Apratigha" type coins, showing him in the garb of a (Buddhist) monk and referring to him as *apratigha* (invincible) (which can be an appropriate epithet for the Buddha himself), compare or identify the king with the great Master.

In their attempts to stress the divine character of the Gupta kingship the mint-masters concerned were really reflecting an idea well-known to literature (*Manu-smriti*, VII, 8; *Mahābhārata, Śāntiparvan*, 59, 128-35; 68, 40f; etc.) and epigraphs. The famous *praśasti*, composed by Harishena describes Samudra-gupta as "God dwelling on earth" (*lokadhāmadevaḥ*).

These considerations indicate that the Imperial Guptas, like the Imperial Kushānas, used coins as a medium of propaganda. The mint-masters did not remain content with displaying the portrait of the kings only. Some of the types display also the queens.[17]

The deities (like Nanā or Durgā on lion, Chakrapurusha, goddess of prosperity or good fortune, Kārtikeya, Gaṅgā and others), who appear on Gupta coins, are also represented in sculptures of the Gupta age. It is interesting to note that though the Guptas allowed different faiths to flourish in their empire, they were selective in choosing the deities to be represented on their coins. It is perhaps not without significance that the river Gaṅgā (and not the Yamunā or any other river) is deified on their coins. Perhaps the representation of this river, easily the most important one in the Gupta empire, indicated the Gupta territory itself as situated *inter alia* along the Ganges. Similarly the goddess of prosperity or Śrī appearing on the Gupta coins might have been looked upon also as the goddess of the prosperity of the kingdom (Rājyaśrī or Rājyalakshmī). Such a hypothesis finds support in the statement of the Junāgadh inscription of Skanda-gupta that he became the emperor as he was chosen (as husband) by Lakshmī herself after discarding all other princes (*vapetya sarvān = manujendraputrāṁ = lakshmi svayaṁ yaṁ varayāṁ-chakāra*). This epigraphic claim is beautifully corroborated by the appearance of *Rājyalakshmī* holding (like seated *Lakshmī*) a lotus and a noose(?), by the side of Skanda-gupta on a variety of his coins.[18]

Syncretism, a feature of Indian iconography, was not altogether unknown to the die-cutters employed by the Guptas. In the appearance of a female deity standing on *makara* and feeding a peacock on

17 A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pl. I, no. 11; pl. IX, no.6; pl. XIV, no. 41, etc. The seated figures on a class of coins of Chandra-gupta II, generally considered to represent the king and the (chief) queen, have been sought to be identified as Nārāyana and Lakshmī by P. L. Gupta and S. Srivastava (*Gupta Gold Coins in Bhārat Kalā Bhavan*, pp. 19 and 46-47; pl. IV, nos. 60-61).

18 *Ibid.*, pl. XIV, nos. 12-14.

the reverse of the "Tiger-slayer" type coins of Kumāra-gupta I we may discern a fusion of the concept of Gaṅgā with that of the consort of Kārtikeya, whose mount is peacock. Or does this coin-type represent Gaṅgā, the goddess of the most important and beneficial river of the empire, as nourishing the mount of Kumāra, meaning the emperor as well as the god Kārtikeya?

Not only peacock or makara, but also mounts of other deities appear on Gupta coins. Garuḍa, the mount of Vishṇu, can be seen on several varieties of Gupta specie as well as seals. Bull, the mount of Śiva, is noticeable on a class of silver coins of Skanda-gupta. Trident on a variety of Kumāra-gupta I's silver pieces may also allude to Śaivism.

Of the different symbols on the Gupta coins we can refer especially to lunar symbol or cresent. It appears sometimes on a standard which can be called *Chandradhvaja* (like *Chakradhvaja* and *Garuḍadhvaja*). One may imagine that here the representation of chandra (moon) may have an allusion to Chandra-gupta I, the real founder of the Gupta empire, or to the royal family of which Chandra-gupta I was the first emperor.

The varieties of the Gupta coins decreased from the reign of Skanda-gupta. Gold coinage of his successors is known from their coins showing the king as an archer on one side and a seated goddess on the other. Both the devices, particularly the latter, influenced coin-types of later periods. Similarly, devices on silver coins of the Guptas (at least one variety of which was struck by Buddha-gupta even sometime after Skanda-gupta) made impact on post-Gupta coinages.

The coinage of the Imperial Guptas, particularly of the earlier ones, forms an independent medium of art. Several stylistic features betrayed by well executed figures on coins correspond to those of the Gupta sculpture. Nevertheless, the Gupta die-cutters had their own technique for hewing out in negative the relevant figures on the die in such a way as to impart a sense of three dimensions to them in their positive impressions on the flat flans of the coins. Some of the deities on these coins are also interesting iconographically. The coin-types illustrating the valour, skill and achievements of the kings are accompanied by well-composed legends, mostly metrical, alluding to their identical qualifications. Here we have a novel blending of literary compositions with visual art. Epigraphic references to royal skill and achievements sometimes find corroboration from coin-types. For example, we can refer to the "Lyrist" type of Samudra-gupta, which displays him as playing a lyre or lute and thereby translates into visual art the subject matter of a part of an epigraph (or a piece of epigraphic literature, viz. Allahabad *praśasti* of Harisheṇa), referring to the musical accomplishments of the king.

It appears that the coins of the Gupta empire formed an important medium of art having intimate relationship with other branches of creative activities. The variety in type continued to increase up to the reign of Kumāra-gupta I. The stylistic excellence of Gupta art was reflected in coinage at least up to the reign of period of Skanda-gupta, or perhaps up to the time of Buddha-gupta and Vainya-gupta. Then due to use of debased metal in gold coinage and perhaps also due to employment of die-cutters of comparatively inferior skill, the standard of numismatic art slightly declined.

Like the coinage of the Imperial Guptas, some classes of tribal coins, datable to the third-fourth century A.D., may betray Kushāṇa influence. Several large copper coins, carrying on one side a male figure (Śiva) and on the other a number of devices (including the figure of a deer) mostly resembling those on other known varieties of the coinage of the Kuṇindas, are attributed to them.[18a] The module of these pieces, palaeographically datable to the second or third century A.D., might have been suggested by Kushāṇa copper ones. The obverse type, showing Śiva holding a trident with an axe (or a shaft) in his right hand and a deer-skin by the left hand is certainly comparable with the representation of the same deity on a large number of Kushāṇa coins.[18b] Kushāṇa impact is discernible also in a series of copper coins of the Yaudheya tribe, datable to the third-fourth century A.D. The posture of the standing deity on the reverse of these coins, with one hand on the hip and the other held out, reminds us of that of Mao on several Kushāṇa copper coins.[18c] The appearance of Kārtikeya on the reverse with his left hand on his hip and his right hand holding a spear having a peacock on his left, has a general resemblance to that of Mahāsena on Kushāṇa coins, where however he is shown as carrying a staff mounted by a bird.[18d]

The figures on these tribal coins betray the artists' ability to infuse in them a sense of volume. The male figures exude robust vitality, while the female figure on the Yaudheya pieces is rendered with "a charm and beauty" and posture "foreshadowing the daintier female figures of the Gupta art".[18e] Nevertheless, the artistic quality of the pieces concerned cannot stand comparison with that of the best products of the Gupta mints.[18f]

18a J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. ciii and 167; pl. XXIII, no. 12; K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, pp. 93 and 104; B.N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, p. 12; pl. X, no. 1, pl. XI, nos. 5-10.

18b K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-212; B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; pl. X, no. 5; pl. XI. nos. 1-4.

18c See above n. 18b.

18d *Ibid.*

18e K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

18f For a detailed study of art in tribal coinage, see K. K. Dasgupta, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

C

The lingering of the Gupta idiom is discernible in some Post-Gupta coinages. Lakshmī seated on a lotus on the reverse of a class of gold coins of Samāchāradeva of Vaṅga (?) (sixth century A.D.) reminds us of the appearance of this deity on the Gupta coins. The same may be said of the obverse type carrying the representation of the king as an archer—a type coined by the Imperial Guptas till the end of their rule. Here, however, the die-cutters employed by Samāchāradeva show some originality by replacing the Garuḍa standard on the obverse by a bull standard.[19] The creative power of the relevant artists is more manifest in another class of Samāchāradeva's specie in gold. The obverse displays the well formed figure of the king seated on a couch and being attended by two females. All of these apparently static figures betray a sense of lithy movement. This feature is also discernible in the figure of a female on the reverse. She stands to front in a *dvibhaṅga* pose with her head turned to her right. Her left hand rests on her hip, while the half-raised right one holds the stalk of a lotus. The facing of different limbs of the body in different directions impart to the figure a sense of movement. The figure itself has a soft and sensuous modelling of the body. The appearance of a goose (*haṁsa*) by the side of the figure may identify her as Sarasvatī.[20]

The dancing bull carrying a seated figure of Śiva on one side of coins of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa (late sixth century and/or the first half of the seventh century A.D.) has a graceful as well as strong figure. The volume of the body is indicated by its flowing contour.[21] In comparison to this the treatment of the figure of seated Lakshmī (with two elephants consecrating her) on the other side of these coins is somewhat angular.[22]

The gliding linearism and soft modelling of the body, two characteristics of Gupta idiom, is absent from the figures on a class of debased gold coins displaying an archer and a four- or six- or eight-handed goddess. These coins are datable to the seventh-eighth

19 *CGD*, pl. XXIV, no. 4.

20 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV, no. 5.

21 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII, nos 15-16. If the circular object appearing by the side of Śiva and in the upper left field of the obverse of Śaśāṅka's coins stands for full moon, here we may have an allusion to his name which literally means "moon". However, Śiva himself is also known as *śaśāṅka-śekhara* ("moon-crested"). Both the deity and the king may have been imaginatively alluded to by the object in question.

22 *Ibid.*, pl. XXIII, nos. 15-16; pl. XXIV, nos. 1-2. Some coins of Śaśāṅka, carrying the devices of his gold coins, are so debased and contain so much of silver that they appear as silver pieces (for two such pieces see *JRAS*, 1979, pp. 152-153).

century A.D. and (at least partly) attributable to Samataṭa (including Comilla and Noakhali districts of Bangladesh).[23]

The figure of a couchant bull is gracelly treated on at least some pieces of the first series of coins of Harikela (*c.* 7th century A.D.) and Paṭṭikedā (*c.* 8th century A.D.).[24] However, due to defect in die-cutting and minting, the same animal often looks grotesque on a great number of pieces of the second series of Harikela coinage and some associated series (9th—12th or 13th centuries A.D.).[25]

D

Like the "Archer" type gold coins of the Guptas, the "Peacock" type silver pieces made an impact on several series of Post-Gupta coinages[26] including those of the Hūṇas and the Maukharis and the family of Pushpabhūti. But the appearance of the fan-tailed peacock is perhaps not always as lively on coins of these series as on a large number of the relevant Gupta coins.[27] Several of these coins, indicating the issuer's name or title as Śīlāditya, have been attributed to Harshavardhana of the family of Pushpabhūti. To him is also attributed a gold coin bearing the name of Harshadeva and displaying Śiva and Pārvatī seated on a bull (*nandin*).[28] Here the composition (showing Pārvatī as sitting on the left of Śiva) has some resemblance to that of several representations of Śiva and Pārvatī in sculptural art. But the style of execution is rather crude and the treatment of the figures is flat and angular.

The Imperial Gupta coinage felt the impact of the Kushāṇa coin devices like "the king sacrificing at an altar" and "an enthroned goddess (Ardokhsho)". These types also indirectly influenced the coinage of another part of the subcontinent, viz. Kāśmīra. The types of the gold, silver billon and copper coins of Kāśmīra, display-

23 *Bangladesh Lalitkalā*, 1975, vol. I, no. 1, p. 51 f; *Desh* (in Bengali), 24th April, 1982, p. 17 f.

24 *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, 1976, p. 99 f and pl. facing p. 69; *Bangladesh Lalitkalā*, 1975, Vol. I, no. 2, p. 115 f and pl. XXXVII; *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, 1975-76, Vol. IV, p. 219 f and pl. I.

25 *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. X, 1976-77, p. 166 f. P. L. Gupta has stated that "to the eighth century may be assigned a gold coin", struck following the Gupta idiom. On the obverse "Avalokiteśvara, a Buddhist deity, is shown seated and before him is sitting a crowned figure with folded hands. The reverse bears an elephant-standard with a flying pennon. The name Śrī-Vindhya-śakti is inscribed on it. But no king of this name is known so far in the eastern region (P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 63).

26 The "bust : trident" and "bust : humped bull" silver coins of the Guptas also influenced some Post-Gupta coinages.

27 *CGD*, pl. XVIII, no. 1; E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, pl. IV, nos. 13-14.

28 K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, p. 155; pl. VII, no. 8.

ing "the king at altar" and "a seated goddess" can indeed be traced through the specie of the group of Kidāra (or Kidarites) bearing similar devices[29] to the coins of the Imperial Kushāṇas (and their successors in the land of five rivers), showing a royal figure at altar on one side and the enthroned Ardokhsho on the other.[30] Extremely crude and degenerate copies of these devices in very high relief appear on the specie of the Kārkoṭa dynasty (*c.* A.D. 627-855/36).[31] Somewhat better executed figure of a seated goddess can be noticed in a coin-type of Srīpratāpa (= Pratāpaditya I or Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya II ?). Here the enthroned female has a sensuous and facile contour. She holds the stalk of a lotus and has her feet on a

29 *NC*, 1893, p. 202. Coinage of Kidāra Kushāṇa himself consists of three main classes. Class I includes gold coins displaying the king at altar on the obverse and Oesho with bull on the reverse. Typologically the coins are related to the Kushāṇo-Sasanian pieces of Kushanshahr (including Balkh), which had been ultimately based on a class of coinage of the Imperial Kushāṇa monarch Vāsudeva II. (R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, p. 72, pl. VI, nos. 5-6; R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan*, pp. 119-120; pl. XIII, no. 2). Class II consists of silver pieces displaying a royal bust on the obverse and an altar flanked by two attendants on the reverse. These devices are based on well-known Sasanian types (*Numismatic Supplement*, no. XLVII, p. 39; pl. 1, 1f). To class III we may attribute debased gold pieces showing a royal figure at altar and an enthroned goddess. These devices may be traced to the coinage of the Imperial Kushāṇas. These were adopted by the successors of the Imperial Kushāṇas in the land of five rivers (*NC*, 1893, pl. VIII, nos. 1f; pl. IX, nos. 2f). The royal head-dress on the coins of first two classes seem to be copies of the crown of the Sasanian ruler Shāhpūr II (A.D. 309-379) or Shāhpūr III (A.D. 383-388) (R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, pl. VI, nos. 88 f; pl. VIII, nos. 125f). So Kidāra Kushāṇa cannot be placed before the 4th century A.D. His coin types indicate his success in north-western section of the Indian subcontinent and also in that part of old Kushanshahr which may be considered to have been then in Sasanian empire and now in Afghanistan. The *Pei-shih* (ch. 97) speaks of success of Chi-to-lo (=Kidāra) in North T'ien-chu (India) and alludes to his group's conquest of Po-lo (=Balkh ?).

Members of Kidāra's group used his coin-types of class II and class III. Coins of Class III or their imitations formed the proto-type of a long series of Kāśmīra coinage.

It may be added here that though Kidāra is referred to as a Kushāṇa in his coin-legends and Chi-to-lo (= Kidāra) is called Yüeh-chih in the *Pei-shih* (ch. 97) (and also in the *Wei-shu*, ch. 102), it is not certain whether he was a genuine Kushāṇa or Yüeh-chih ruler. As a king of the territory known as Kushanshahr (or the territory of the Great Yüeh-chih, which tribe included the Kushāṇas), he could have been known as a Kushāṇa and also as an Yüeh-chih monarch. If the name *Kidāra* is connected with the *Ounnoi oi Kidāritai*, referred to by Priscus, it will indeed be difficult to accept the members of the group of Kidāra as genuine Kushāṇas (and not as Hūnas). So it is better, in the present state of our knowledge, to call them only as Kīdārites (B. N. Mukherjee, *The Kusshāna Genealogy*, p. 92, n. 1).

30. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushāna Coins of the Land of Five Rivers*, pls. VI-VII.

31 L. Gopal, *Early Mediaeval Coin-Types of Northern India*, pl. I, no. 9f; pl. II, nos. 2-7.

lotus. These features may betray influence of the Gupta coinage.[32] Such influence is discernible also in another coin device of early Kāśmīra (viz. goddess on lion).

On the coins of the Utpalas (up to A.D. 939) and the dynasties of Yaśaskara and Parvagupta (A.D. 939-1003) much improved versions of the devices are shown in somewhat normal relief.[33] Sometimes, however, stress is given only on the outlines of the draped figures and comparatively low areas are left untraced. Moreover, the figures on both sides wear new types of loose upper and lower garments. The goddess wears big ear-rings and often a top hat, though the nimbus behind her head continues to appear (sometimes in a modified form, looking almost like a trefoil arch). The garments and ornaments probably betray local influence.

The artistic merit of the coins of the Hūṇas in the Indian sub-continent is not considered to be of high order. Their coin-devices are known to have been based mostly on types earlier used by other ruling families.[34] Nevertheless, we have remarkable representations of the Hūṇa rulers on their "bust : altar" coins, which were typologically based on Sasanian coinage. These representations on coins of the rulers like Lakhāna, Khiṅgila, Jārana, Triloka and Pūrvvāditya are not copies of Sasanian busts, but actual portraits of the rulers concerned betraying personal features.[35] The same may be said of the busts on the coins of Toramāṇa (bust: solar symbol) and Mihirakula (bust: humped bull).[36] The auspicious symbols and devices and cognizances in front of the bust on Hūṇa coins and the appearance of a standing deity in front of the royal bust on a variety of Pūrvvādiyta's "bust: fire altar" coins[37] add a novel iconic feature to coinage concerned.

Another interesting icon appears on the reverse of a class of silver coins of the family of Shāhi Tigin, Vakhu (or Vasu) deva and Vāhi Tigin. The device concerned consists of a fairly well-drawn bust of a male with flame issuing out of his head.[38] A. Cunningham identified the icon as that of the Sun god of Multan, referred to by Arab

32 A Cunningham, *Coinage of Mediaeval India*, pl. III, no. 9.

33 L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pl. II, nos. 8f; pl. III, nos. 1f;

34 A. Biswas, *Political History of the Hūṇas in India*, p. 180f.

35 R. Göbl, *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Iranischen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien*, Vol. III, pl. XV, nos. 39, 40, 41, etc; pl. XVI, no. 44; pl. XXV, nos. 79 and 89; *NC*, 1894, pl. XI, no. 1f.

36 *NC*, 1894, pl. IX, no. 16; pl. X, no. 1.

37 *Ibid.*, nos. 3f; R. Göbl, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVII, nos. 89f; The same deity may not appear on all coins.

38 *NC*, 1894, pp. 290-292; pl. XII, nos. 9-11; R, Göbl, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVI, no. 206, pl. XLVII, nos. 208f; pl. LI, no. 213,

historians and geographers.[39] On the other hand, R. B. Whitehead took the icon as representing the Iranian fire deity.[40]

Imitations of "bust: fire altar with attendants" coins of the Sasanian family (most probably of Peroz, A.D. 457/59-484) developed into a regular Indo-Sasanian series from about A.D. 500. The series became current on different dates in different areas including parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Western Deccan, Malwa, U.P. and Bihar.[41] The artistic merit of the relevant coins which may have been imitated by private moneyers as well as official mint-masters, is generally poor. It is, however, interesting to note that members of the ruling dynasties of these regions occasionally made use of the obverse device and/or reverse device to strike in their names.[42]

The influence of the reverse device is noticeable on one side of a series of coins (struck mainly in base silver, but also in billon and copper), which also bears a stylised or corrupt version of the fire altar and two attendants and the legend *Śrīmadādivarāha*.[43] The legend is taken to refer to the Imperial Pratīhāra king Bhoja (*c.* A.D. 836-885 or 890). Though a large number of pieces belonging to this class of specie may be considered as imitations, at least some of the most well produced silver coins should be accepted as products of the mint of Bhoja. One side of such pieces (other than the side mentioned above) appears a boar with such attributes which distinguish the figure as the boar incarnation of Vishṇu. The Varāha, wearing *vanamālā*, stands astride to right, i.e. to proper left. His right hand is on the right hip and the left hand is half-raised, with the elbow turned upward and palm resting on the half-raised left thigh or knee. The left foot rests on a lotus. A wheel, a mace and a few indeterminate objects can be noticed on these pieces. Two circular objects, one in front of the snout and the other near the left hand, may stand for dharitrī (the earth), known to have been held by the snout or by the left arm (and hand) or partly by the snout and partly by the left arm (and hand) in the sculptural representation of the Varāha. In fact, the scheme of representation of the Varāha closely corresponds to that of the same incarnation in plastic art of the Gupta age as well as of the early medieval period. The strength and vigour exuded by the figure of the Varāha on the coins concerned betray the die-engravers' knowledge of the dynamic re-

39 *NC*, 1894, p. 268.

40 *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, pp. 326-329. This deity is noticeable also on some coins of the Sasanian ruler Khusro II (591-628) (R. Göbl, *Sasanian Numismatics*, pl. XIV, no. 218). It has been suggested that the deity is a "city goddes", personifying the glory of Khurasan (P. L. Gupta, *Coins*, p. 66).

41 *Numismatic Supplement*, 1904, pp. 368f; L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 2 f.

42 L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, p. 4 f.

43 *Ibid.*, pl. VII, no. 10.

presentation of the same incarnation in the sculptural art of the early medieval age, examples of which have been found at various sites (including Phaphamau in the Allahabad district). Like the sculptors, the die-cutters boldly and effectively translated into a form of plastic art the well-known legend about the rescue of the earth by the Varāha.

A very interesting gold coin[44] in the State Museum, Lucknow. shows on the obverse the Varāha in the same manner as described above, but also with some additional details. For an example, the deity is shown here as being worshipped by Ādiśesha. Moreover, he is four-handed with his upper right clasping a disc, the lower left hand resting on the hip and the lower (or upper) left arm and hand holding a female figure identifiable as *dharitrī* (the earth). On the reverse a calf is sucking the udder of a cow and being licked by the latter. Above the cow is the legend (*Srī*) (*A**)*di Varāha*.[45]

The robust vitality exuded by the object on the obverse is beautifully harmonised with the tenderness oozing out of the reverse device. The Varāha on the gold and well produced silver coins and the animals on the gold coins are well-formed. They indicate the artists' ability to impart to the figures on flat flans a sense of volume and lithy movement. These coins are indeed among the best objects of numismatic art of early medieval age and are testimonies to the relationship between numismatic and sculptural art of the period concerned.[46]

The Brahmanical Shāhis of Afghanistan and the Panjab minted certain series of coins bearing interesting devices. For examples, we can refer to (i) "fan-tailed peacock" and "lion", (ii) "elephant" and "lion" and (iii) "lion" and "goose" (?) (*hamsa*) appearing on copper pieces and (iv) "humped bull" and "horseman" on coins struck in silver, copper and billon.[47] All these devices may be typologically related to earlier coin-types. But presentations of a few of them on the Shāhi coins are noteworthy. The lion on the reverse of "ele-

44 B.N. Mukherjee, *Art in Coinage—A Plea for Study of Numismatic Art of India*, pl. VII, no. 61 (to be published shortly).

45 It is interesting to note that the reverse type and perhaps also the obverse device were copied by a king called Vatsadāman, one of whose gold coins was noticed long ago by E. J. Rapson (*JRAS*, 1900, p. 32 and pl. I, no. 19).

46 On some coins of Ādi Varāha or rather on some of their imitations and on several pieces bearing the name of Vināyakapāla the face of the boar appears like that of an ass. This feature might have been among the factors responsible for naming the corrupt imitations of the "bust : altar and attendants" coins, with which the Adi Varaha series had been connected, as Gadahiyā or Gādhāiyā (Gardabhīya) coins [i.e. coins bearing a figure resembling an ass (*gardabha*)].

47 L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, nos. VIII, nos. 7f; pl. IX, nos. 1-3; D. B. Pandey. *The Shāhis of Afghanistan and Panjab*, p. 177 f.

phant : lion" coins of Vakkadeva, Sāmantadeva and Bhīmadeva stands to left with its front leg raised and tongue thrusting out of its mouth. This form of representation of the king of the beasts, can be noticed also architectural sculptures of medieval north Indian and appears to be somewhat conventional or conceptual.

More interesting, from the point of view of numismatic art, are the coins bearing a humped bull and a horseman, first minted by Spalapatideva (in the sixties of the ninth century A.D.). The obverse of the well-executed silver coins of Spalapatideva displays a recumbent bull to left (partly draped with an ornamental cloth and stamped with the mark of a trident on its hind portion) and the legend *Spalapatideva.* On the reverse appears a male figure, wearing boots, trousers and a long coat and a headgear (betraying Sasanian influence ?) and riding on a prancing caprisoned horse. He holds a long spear in his right hand (fitted at the top with a banner ?). On some pieces traces of a legend can be noticed in the margin.[48]

All the figures on good silver pieces of Spalapatideva are very realistically treated. Their dimensional effect is remarkable. The bull appears to be a strong one and the prancing horse seems to be full of life and movement.[49]

The obverse device can be typologically traced to Indo-Sasanian or Hūṇa coinage (or even to the Scytho-Parthian and Indo-Greek pieces). Bull is known to have appeared on *inter alia* early coins of the north-western section of the Indian subcontinent. On the other hand, the types of Spalapatideva were adopted not only by his successors but also by several early medieval dynasties and even by some Muslim conquerors (including Muhammad bin Sam).

On several base silver, billon and copper pieces bearing the name of Spalapatideva and on a large number of coins of his successors and other rulers, who adopted the above types, an emphasis on delineating only the outlines of the figures in high relief is noticeable.[50] This technique of execution was probably necessitated due to use of poor and alloyed metal and of dies deeply sunk in the relevant places only.

Bhīmadeva of the Shāhi family (whose reign ended in *c.* A.D. 957)

48 D. W. MacDowall has tried to postulate, though rather unconvincingly, a pre-Brahmanical Shāhi origin of the coins bearing the legend referring to Spalapatideva. He further believes that "the legends Śrī Spalapati Deva, Śrī Vakka Deva, and Śrī Sāmanta Deva cannot be names of individual kings, but must be titles repeated continuously for a long range of kings throughout the dynasty" (NC, 1968, pp. 207 and 214). MacDowall's views are being refuted by us in one of our forthcoming publications.

49 L. Gopal, *op. cit.*, pl. VIII, no. 10.

50 D. B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pl. VII, nos. 1-3.

minted gold as well as silver and copper. A gold piece, published by A. Ghosh, bears on the obverse a (male) figure standing near a male figure seated on a throne in a half cross-legged fashion (with the soles of the feet touching or about to touch each other). The standing figure appears to receive something from the right hand of the sitting figure, whose left hand appears to hold a noose. A trident is noticeable in the back ground between the two figures. The presence of noose and trident may identify the seated figure as Śiva (and not as the king as is generally supposed by scholars). He seems to bestow something on the standing figure. In that case the latter can well be identified with Bhīmadeva (and so need not be considered, like some scholars, as a female attendant). The reverse displays a male figure (probably the king) seated in *arddha-paryaṅkāsana* with the left hand resting on the left thigh and the hand half-raised. On the left of the male figure appears a female figure (Lakshmī) seated cross-legged on a lotus and holding the stalk of a lotus in the left hand.[51]

Thematically the obverse and reverse devices can be compared with certain earlier types ("Huvishka and Nanā", type of Huvishka, "Chakravikrama" type of Chandra-gupta, "King and Lakshmī" type of Skanda-gupta, etc.). The figures on both sides of the coin concerned have sharp and incisive outlines, flattened and elongated texture and betray somewhat petrified treatment of their plastic content. The same characteristics are noticeable in contemporary sculpture of north-western sector of the Indian subcontinent.[52] Such similarities betray stylistic relationship between numismatic and sculptural art.

E

The Deccan and the Far South did not produce during the period concerned any series of coins of high artistic merit comparable with that of the coinage of the Imperial Guptas. Nevertheless, the variety and artistic quality of the Deccanese and South Indian coins are not negligible.

The couchant bull on the coins of the Śālaṅkāyana ruler Chaṇḍavarman (*c.* A.D. 395-420) has flowing contour indicating its volume.[53]

51 NC, 1952, p. 133 f; D. B. Pande, *op. cit.*, pp. 196 and 218; pl. VI, no. 1. The obverse legend of the coin concerned is *Shāhi-śrī-Bhīmadeva* and the reverse legend is *Śrīmad-(gata)-Sāmantadeva.*

52 S. K. Saraswati, *op. cit.*, p. 201; R. C. Majumdar (editor), *Struggle for Empire*, p. 664. For examples we can refer to a pot-stone sculpture showing Śiva and Pārvatī (now in the British Museum) (D. B. Pandey, *op. cit.*, pl. XIII) and a metal image of Vishṇu with Lakshmī from Chamba (*c.* 10th century A.D.) (M. Singh, *Himalayan Art*, p. 121).

53 B. D. Chattopadhyay, *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, p. 191; pl. I, no. 7.

The standing lion on the coins of the Vishṇukuṇḍins exudes strength and vigour, with its upraised tail and the tongue thrusting out of its mouth, though it has a somewhat stylised appearance.[54]

The silver coins of the Traikūṭakas (bust : chaitya) and silver specie bearing the name of Krishṇarāja (bust : humped bull), which had Western Deccan within the area of their circulation, betray impact of the Kshatrapa coinage and Gupta coinage respectively.[55] But neither the conventional busts nor the reverse objects are stylistically well executed.

The lion on the copper coins attributed to Vishṇuvardhana (c. A.D. 624-642) of the family of the Eastern Chālukyas has perhaps a stylised appearance.[56] Of the objects punched on the gold coins of the Chālukyas, the figure of boar has a well formed body.[57]

Silver and copper coins attributed to the Kalabhras are considered to have been minted for some time between c. A.D. 300 and 600 in *inter alia* parts of South India.[58] It has been claimed that several of these pieces display, among others, animals, marine creatures, god Skanda or Murugan (?) Śiva liṅga, Gaṇeśa (?), seated figures (sought to be identified as Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, and even shrines with dome-like superstructure.[59] The last noted device may betray the die-engravers' attempts to reproduce within a minute scale the visual traits of a form of contemporary architecture. However, the style of execution of the devices on the coins concerned is somewhat crude. At least there is nothing in the treatment of the figures to support the claim that "the die-cutters and mint-masters of the Kalabhras turned out some of the finest coins of ancient India which from artistic point of view can stand comparison with the best of the north ern Gupta issues".[60]

We can notice a variety of objects on coins attributed to the Pallavas.[61] Some of the figures on these coins are fairly well-formed. They betray the artists' ability to impart a sense of volume to these figures on flat flans.[62] A few of the types used by them, like

54 M. Rama Rao, *Vishṇukuṇḍin Coins in the Andhra Pradesh Government Museum*, pl. Ia, no. 10.

55 V. V. Mirashi, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. IV, *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era*, pp. CLXXIX-CLXXXII; pl. A, nos. 1-3.

56 B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 204; pl. I, no. 64; M. Rama Rao, *Eastern Chālukya Coins in the Andhra Prdesh Government Museum*, p. 6 f.

57 W. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, p. 152D; pl. III, nos. 79-80; B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206. The relevant coin-device was used by the Eastern Chālukya kings Saktivarman (c. A.D. 999-1011) and Rājarāja (c. A.D. 1018-1060).

58 *JNSI*, 1973, Vol. XXXV, pp. 146-147.

59 *Ibid.*, pp. 148-149 and 151-154; pl. XIII, nos. 1f; pl. XIV, nos. 1-4.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

61 B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, p. 196 f.

62 For examples, see *Ibid.*, pl. I, nos. 28 and 35.

"a vase with sprig rising from its mouth", etc., are well motifs in sculptural art of India.

The figure of lion on the silver coins of the Chola king Ariñjaya have a stylised appearance.[63] More interesting objects are noticeable on gold, silver, base silver and copper coins of Uttama Chola (A.D. 973-985).[64] His silver, base silver and a class of copper coins display a lamp-stand, a stringed bow, a tiger, two fish in vertical position, and another lamp-stand above a broad line and below a parasol, flanked by two flywhisks.[65] The composition of the devices has a general resemblance to that of the same figures (excepting the stringed bow ?) on the royal seals of the Cholas.[66] This type of evidence indicate familiarity on the part of the die-engravers of Chola mints with the seal-engraving art of the age and *vice versa*. There might have been close association and in some cases, identity, between artists engaged in two media of art.

F

The relationship between different media of art is evident from the products of the early Gupta age (Chandra-gupta I—Skanda-gupta), which undoubtedly produced the best objects of numismatic art of the period under review. These pieces may be taken as end-products of a series of operations like (a) the decision to issue coins regularly in the name of the reigning king, (b) the formulation of a policy to use coinage as a medium of propaganda for projecting the skill and valour of the emperor, (c) employment of skilled and imaginative sculptors for engraving dies for producing coins to serve as art objects as well as media of exchange, (d) use of fairly pure metal for preparing blanks (for gold, copper and at least the majority of silver pieces),[67] and (e) adoption of at least an adequately efficient process for striking coins in manually controlled mints.

63 *JNSI*, 1969, Vol. XXXI, p. 166; pl. II, no. 1.

64 B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-242; pl. IV, nos. 189 and 191.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 241; pl. IV, nos. 189 and 191.

66 For an example, we can refer to the seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chola (*EI*, vol. III, pl. facing p. 104). We may also note the evidence of the seal of the Karandai plates of Rājendra Chola I, who ruled not long after Uttama Chola.

67 Several silver-plated copper coins have been noticed by scholrs (*CGD*, pp. 232-233). There might have been also gold-plated coins. (For an example, see the *Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1970-71*, pl. XXVII, no. B). We also know of lead coins of Chandra-gupta II, Kumāra-gupta I and Skanda-gupta I (*Numismatic Digest*, 1981, Vol. V, pt. I, p. 19 f). The gold and silver plated coins may have been produced (i) at the time of financial crisis (forcing the mint-masters to issue coins of debased metal), or (ii) at the time of financial stability (giving opportunity to the mint-masters for minting coins of less than prescribed intrinsic value for the use of gullible public), or (iii) at counterfeiters' ateliers.

All of these points are not suggested regularly by coins of any single series of the post-Gupta specie. We do not know of coins of all members of all of the ruling families who are credited to have their own coinage.[68] There are reasons to believe that coins were used to be minted by rulers of at least certain dynasties only when there was demand for them in market and then also new pieces were struck often with old familiar types[69] and sometimes even with names of dead rulers[70] (whose coins had already become popular with the people). Private moneyers were also allowed to mint coins. They were understandably not at all keen to maintain the quality of coins and purity of metal. As a result, coins of a ruler might have continued to be imitated in debased metal and technique even long after his own period.[71]

Such circumstances were hardly propitious for producing a regular series of coinage of the standard set by the early Imperial Guptas. Nevertheless, as noted above, coins of good artistic merit, sometimes bearing novel types and new iconic traits, were not altogether unknown. Coins were also occasionally used as a medium of propaganda.[72] Coin devices, which form the basis of numismatic art, might have been sometimes used for naming a series in popular parlance.[73]

68 For an example, we can refer to the Imperial Pratīhāra family. Though the famous series of Ādivarāha dramma was inaugurated by Bhoja, not all members of his family minted coins (at least not in their names). On the other hand, this coin-type continued to be minted (officially and unofficially) even long after the reign of Bhoja. The Rāshṭrakūṭas, whose records refer to some coin-denominations, are not known to have minted coins carrying their names (G. Yazdani, editor, *The Early History of the Deccan,* p. 801). So also the Pālas (the members of family of Gopāla I) and the Senas (i.e. the members of the house of Vijayasena) did not strike coins. Karpakrdakas or cowries (and perhaps sometimes coins imported territories of other rulers) sevedr as media of exchange in thei dominions (see D. C. Sircar, *Numismatic and Epigraphical Studies,* pp. 49-50). The system of barter was also practised in different parts of the subcontinent (L. Gopal, *The Economic Life of Northern India, c.* A.D. 700-1200).

69 "Bull" and "Horseman" devices were used not only by different members of the Shāhi family, but also by rulers of other dynasties (L. Gopal, *The Coin-Types of Early Medieval Northern India,* pp. 70-72, 77, 79, etc.).

70 See above n. 68 and below n. 71.

71 Silver coins bearing the name of the early Kalachuri ruler Kṛishṇarāja were in circulation even more than 150 years after the end of his rule. (V. V. Mirashi, *op. cit.,* p. CLXXXI).

72 For an example, we can refer to the "fish" (of the Pāṇḍyas) and "bow" (of the Cheras) on the Chola coins. They are taken to indicate the supremacy of the Cholas over the Pāṇḍya and Chera territories (B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.,* p. 52).

73 Varāhakāya-viṁśohakas and Śrīmadādivarāha-drammas, mentioned in the Siyadoni inscription of the tenth century A.D. (*EI,* Vol. I, pp. 174-175), certainly refers to the series of coins bearing the image of the Varāha or the boar incarnation

No doubt, the number of known coins of good artistic quality is insignificant in comparison with the multitude of pieces minted officially or unofficially for serving only as media of exchange.[74] Nevertheless, among the comparatively small number of quality coins we can figure out objects of art, sometimes betraying awareness of contemporary sculptural style and occasionally representing the creative genius of the age.[75]

of Vishṇu. The series was inaugurated, as noted above, by the Pratīhāra king Bhoja. (See also L. Gopal, *Economic Life of Northern India, c.* A.D. 700-1200, p. 196). The name *Vṛisha-Viṁśopaka,* mentioned in the Arthuna inscription of 1136 V.S. or A.D. 1097 (*EI,* Vol. XIV, p. 295 f), may be associated with the coins bearing (i) "bull" and "horseman" device and/or (ii) "bull and Śiva" type. The name *Varāha,* which was used in several cases in peninsular India to denote gold coins in general, probably had the origin of its use as a coin-name in the "Boar" type coins of the Chālukyas (B. D. Chattopadhyay, *op. cit.,* p. 185; G. Yazdani, *op. cit.,* p. 801).

74 The number of known specimens of coins of the period under review, now preserved in different collections, is very large.

75 Well-executed gold coins of the Kalachuri king Gāṅgeyadeva, who ruled not long after the end of our period, bear a beautiful figure of a seated goddess. But the artistic value of this coin device declined in the imitations of his cons. Our study of this coin-type is being published elsewhere.

APPENDIX

Description of Plates

(RELATING TO CHAPTER XXXV (COINAGE) AND APPENDIX (NUMISMATIC-ART)

Plate No. 43

No. 1 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Chandra-gupta I (King and Queen type).
No. 2 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Samudra-gupta (Standard type).
No. 3 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Samudra-gupta (Battle-axe type).
No. 4 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Samudra-gupta (Lyrist type).
No. 5 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Samudra-gupta (Aśvamedha type).
No. 6 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Samudra-gupta (Tiger-slayer type).
No. 7 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Kācha.
No. 8 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Chandra-gupta II (Archer type).
No. 9 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Chandra-gupta II (Horseman type).
No. 10 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Chandra-gupta II (Lion-slayer type).
No. 11 : Obvese and reverse of a copper coin of Chandra-gupta II (Chhatra type).
No. 12 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Kumāra-gupta I (Kārtikeya type).
No. 13 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Kumāra-gupta I (Lion-slayer type).
No. 14 : Reverse and obverse of a gold coin of Kumāra-gupta I (Horseman type).
No. 15 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Kumāra-gupta I (Apratigha type).
No. 16 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Skanda-gupta (King and Lakshmī type).

Plate No. 44

No. 1 : Positive impression of a seal-matrix from Peshawar.
No. 2 : Reverse of a copper coin of Huvishka (enlarged).
No. 3 : Obverse of a gold coin of Chandra-gupta II (Chakravikrama type) (enlarged). (A royal personge is shown receiving something from a deity in each of nos. 1, 2 and 3).
No. 4 : Obverse and reverse of a silver coin of Chandra-gupta II (Garuda type).
No. 5 : Gaṅgā on a door-jamb (of a temple) found at Buxar (Bihar).
No. 6 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Kumāra-gupta I (Rhinoceros-slayer type) (enlarged). (There is striking similarity between the schema of representing Gaṅgā on the coins of this type and that of the same deity in the Buxar sculpture, i.e. no. 5).

No. 7 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Samāchāradeva (of Vaṅga ?) (Rājalīlā type).

No. 8 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa (Suvarṇa Standard type).

No. 9 : Obverse and reverse of a silver coin of Bhīmasena (Madhyadeśa or Peacock type).

No. 10 : Obverse and reverse of a silver coin of Harikela (First Series).

No. 11 : Obverse of a silver coin of Harikela (Second Series) (reverse is blank).

No. 12 : Obverse of a copper coin of Pratāpāditya II Durlabhaka (?) of Kāśmīra.

No. 13 : Obverse and reverse of a copper coin of Śaṅkaravarman of Kāśmīra.

Plate No. 45

No. 1 : Obverse and reverse of a copper coin of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa

No. 2 : Obverse and reverse of a silver coin of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula.

No. 3 : Obverse of a silver coin of the Hūṇa (?) ruler Khiṅgila.

No. 4 : Obverse of a silver coins of the Hūṇa (?) ruler Pūrvvāditya.

No. 5 : Obverse and reverse of a silver coin of the Brahmanical Shāhi ruler Spalapatideva.

No. 6 : Obverse and reverse of a (base ?) silver coin of the Brahmanical Shāhi ruler Sāmantadeva.

No. 7 : Obverse and reverse of a silver coin of Vahi Tigin.

No. 8 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of the Brahmanical Shāhi ruler Bhīmadeva.

No. 9 : Śiva and Pārvatī seated on the bull *nandin* in a pot-stone sculpture (now in the British Museum). (There is stylistic similarity between the figures in this sculptures and those on the gold coin of Bhīmadeva, i.e. no. 8).

No. 10 : Obverse and reverse of a copper coin of the Early Pallavas (slightly enlarged).

No. 11 : Obverse of a copper coin of the Vishṇukuṇḍins.

No. 12 : Obverse and reverse of a silver coin of Uttama Chola (enlarged).

No. 13 : Seal of the Madras Museum plates of Uttama Chola. (There is some similarity between the composition of the figures on the seal and that of the figures on *inter alia* silver coins of Uttama Chola, no. 12).

Plate No. 46

No. 1 : Obverse of a silver coin of Śrīmad=Ādivarāha (= Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Bhoja I) (enlarged).

No. 2 : Obverse of silver coin of Śrīmad=Ādivarāha (= Bhoja I) (enlarged).

No. 3 : Obverse and reverse of a gold coin of Śrī Ādivarāha (= Bhoja I).

No. 4 : The Boar incarnation of Vishṇu in an early medieval sculpture. (The schema of representation of Ādivarāha in this sculpture has strong affinity to that of the figures of Ādivarāha on the silver coins of Bhoja I, nos. 1-3).

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(B) BUDDHIST

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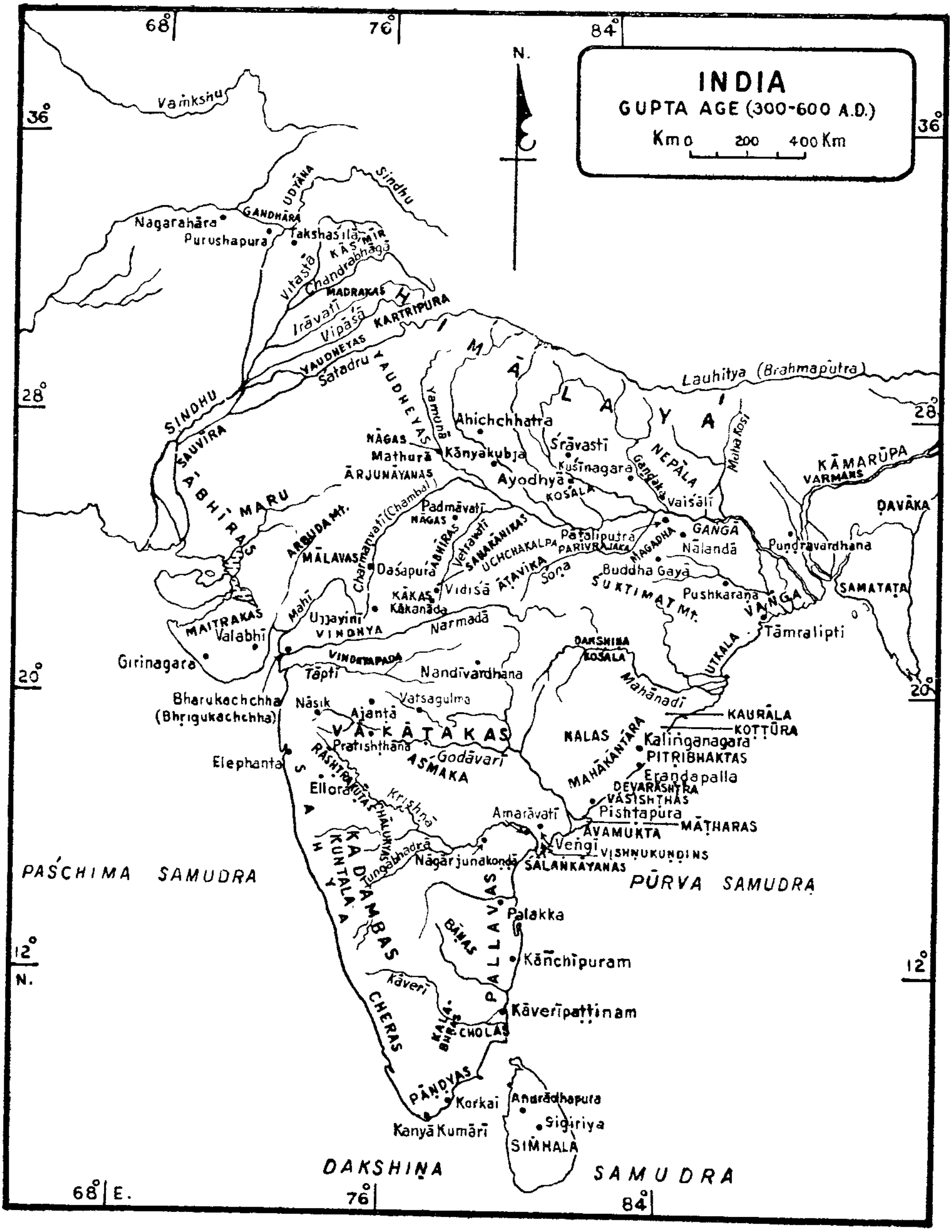
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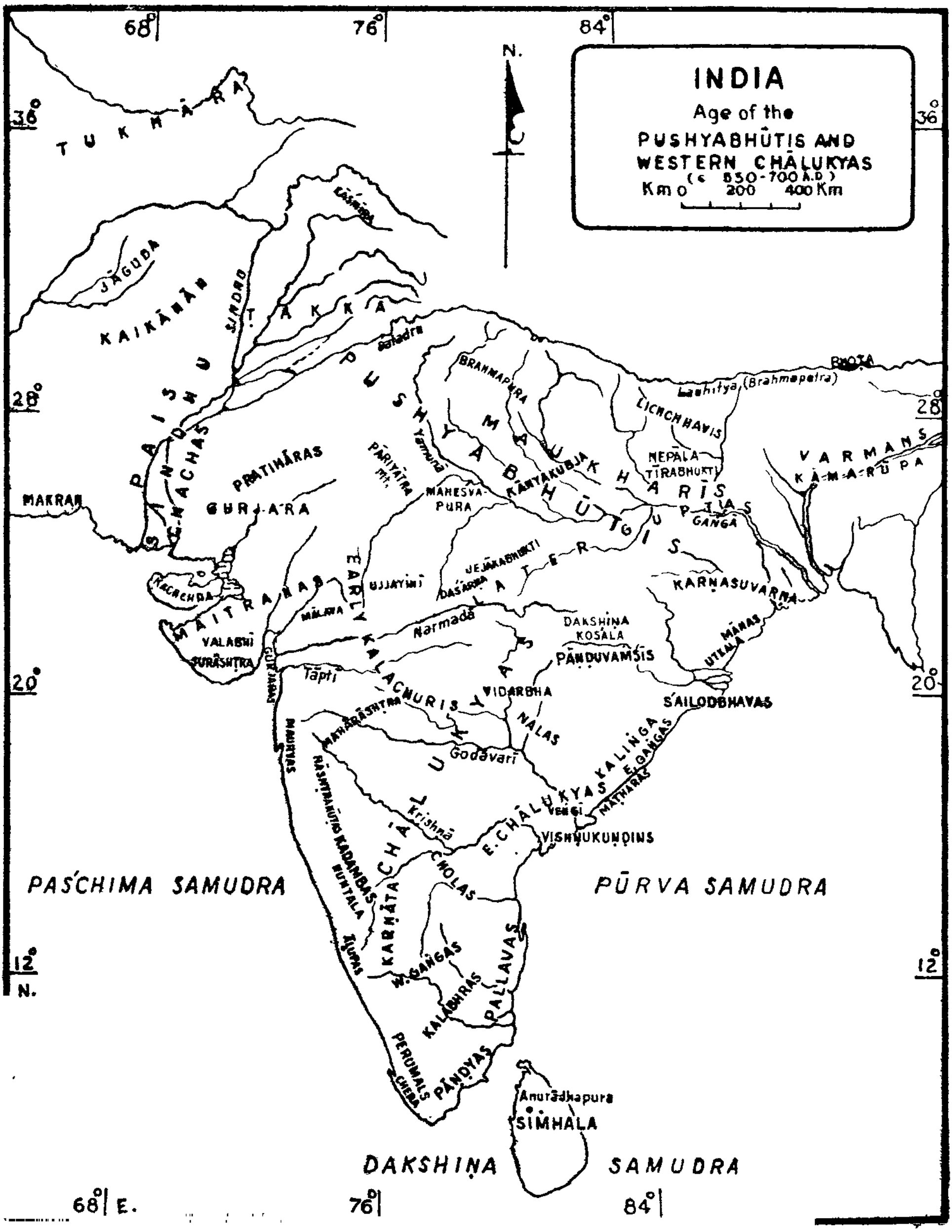
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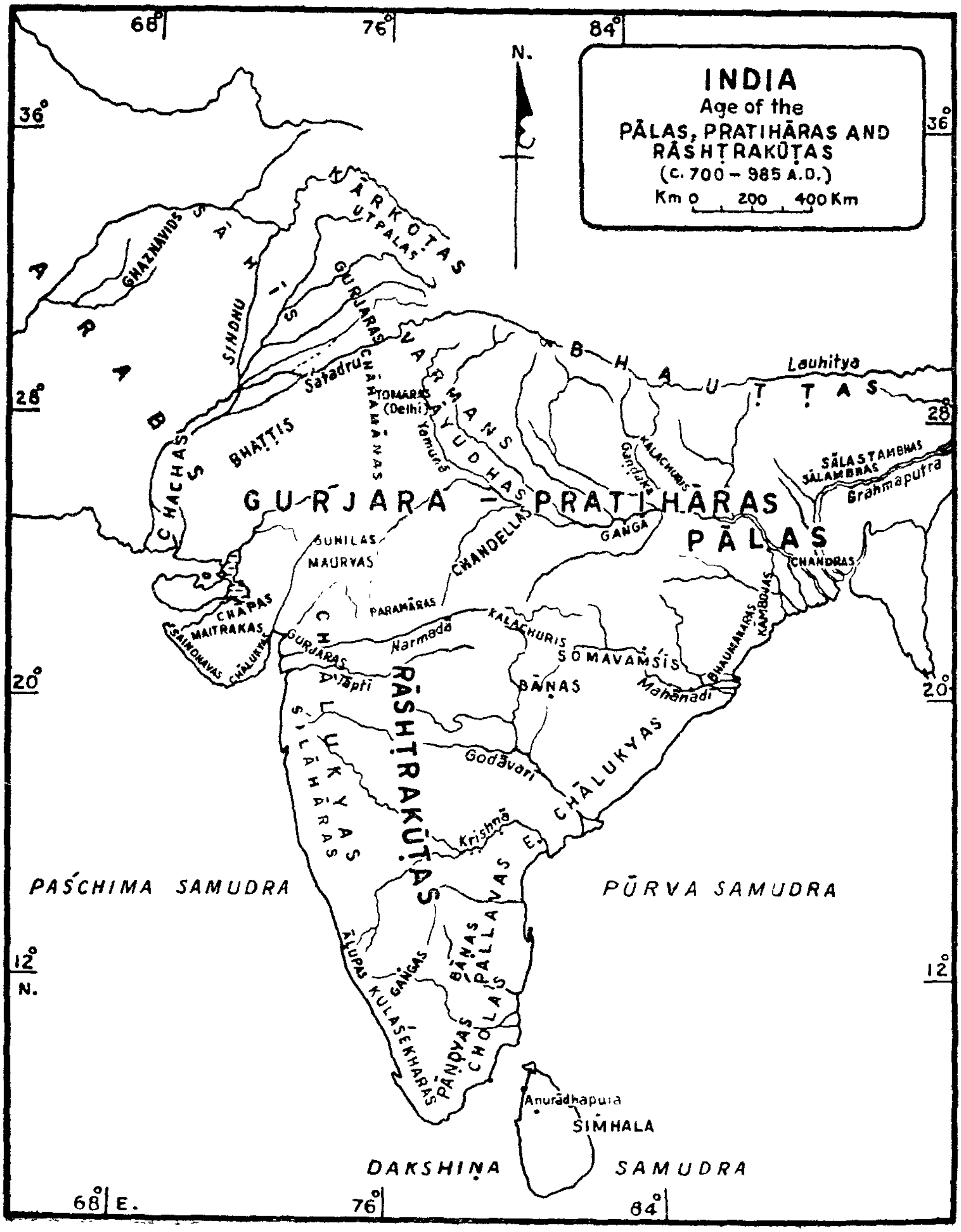
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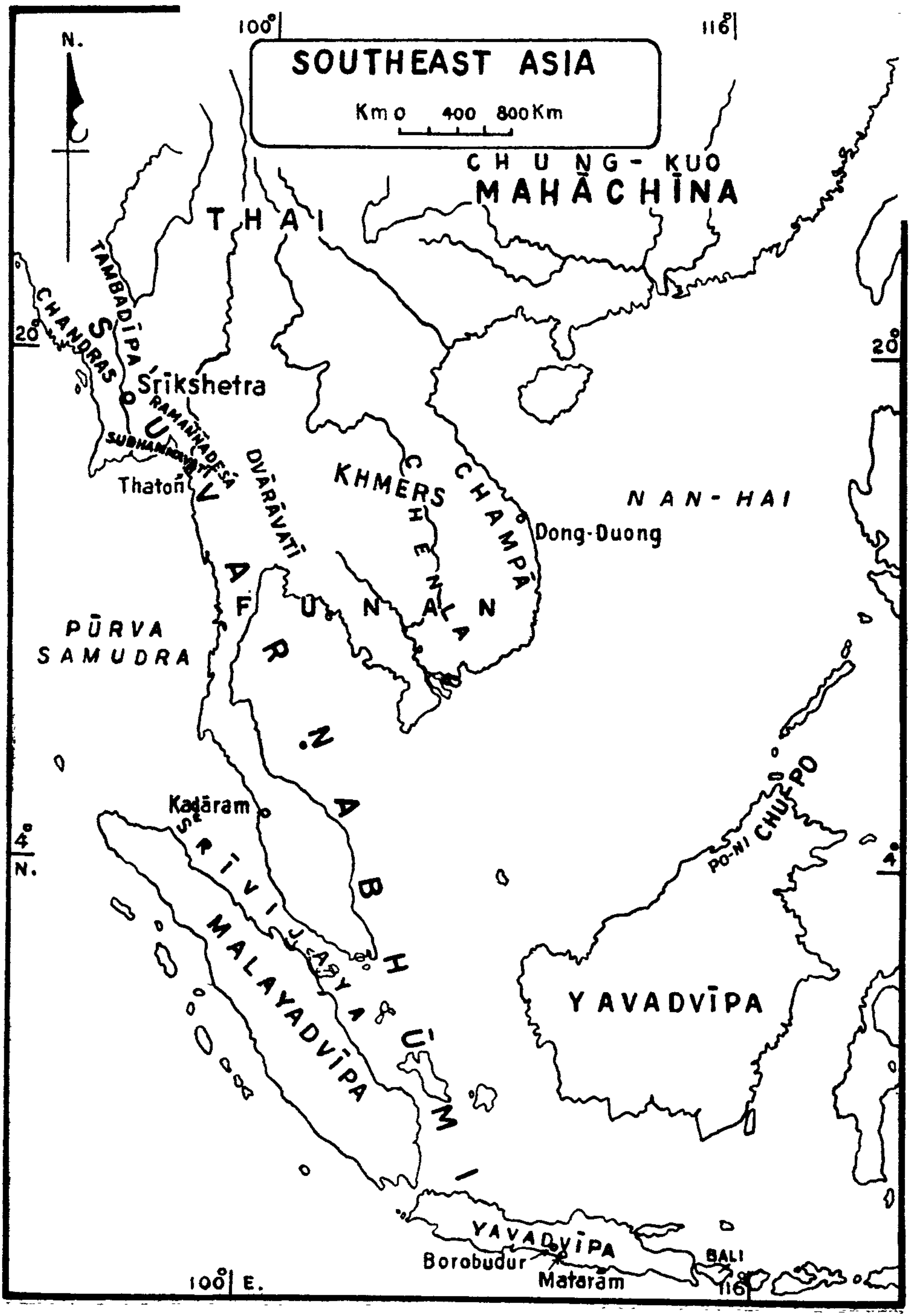
INDIA
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KARTRIPURA
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Lauhitya (Brahmaputra)
SINDHU
SAUVIRA
ĀBHĪRAS
MARU
Yamunā
NĀGAS
Mathurā
Ahichchhatra
Kānyakubja
Śrāvastī
Kuśīnagara
Ayodhyā
KOSALA
Gandak
NEPĀLA
Maha Kosi
Vaiśālī
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DAVĀKA
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SANAKANIKAS
Vetravatī
Pāṭaliputra
PARIVRĀJAKA
MAGADHA
GANGĀ
Nālandā
Puṇḍravardhana
MĀLAVAS
Daśapura
Charmaṇvatī
UCHCHAKALPA
ĀṬAVIKA
Śoṇa
Buddha Gayā
SUKTIMAT Mt.
Pushkaraṇa
VANGA
SAMATAṬA
KĀKAS
Vidiśā
Kākanāda
Mahī
Ujjayinī
VINDHYA
Narmadā
MAITRAKAS
Valabhī
Girinagara
VINDHYAPADA
Tāpti
Nandivardhana
UTKALA
Tāmralipti
DAKSHINA KOSALA
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KOṬṬŪRA
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VĀKĀṬAKAS
Pratishṭhāna
Godāvarī
AŚMAKA
NALAS
MAHĀKĀNTĀRA
Kaliṅganagara
PITṚIBHAKTAS
Elephanta
RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS
Ellora
Krishṇā
CHĀLUKYAS
Eraṇḍapalla
DEVARĀSHṬRA
VĀSISHṬHAS
Pishṭapura
Amarāvatī
AVAMUKTA
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VISHṆUKUṆḌINS
SALAṄKĀYANAS
Tuṅgabhadrā
Nāgārjunakoṇḍā
SAHYA
KADAMBAS
KUNTALA
PAŚCHIMA SAMUDRA
PŪRVA SAMUDRA
PALLAVAS
Palakka
BĀṆAS
Kāñchīpuram
Kāverī
KALABHRAS
Kāverīpaṭṭinam
CHOLAS
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Kanyā Kumārī
Anurādhapura
Sigiriya
SIMHALA
DAKSHIṆA
SAMUDRA


INDIA
Age of the
PUSHYABHŪTIS AND
WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS
(c 550-700 A.D.)
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VARMANS
KĀMARŪPA
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Lauhitya (Brahmaputra)
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SOUTH INDIA
(300 - 985 A.D.)
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RASHTRAKUTAS
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MĀTHARAS
VISHNUKUNDINS
ANDHRA
VAIDUMBAS
RENĀDU
DRAVIDA
TONDAI-MANDALA
NOLAMBAS
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MULAKA
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Kantha
Bhumilka
Valabhi
Khetaka
Ujjayinī
Vidiśā
PARAMĀRAS
Achalapura
Elapura
Pratisthāna
Sthānaka
Kanhagiri
Lattalura
Vemulavāda
Kalyānī
Mānyakheta
Vātāpi
Venkapura
Vaijayantī
Udayavara
Mahodayapuram
Kollam
Kanyā Kumārī
Talakād
Kānchī
Kālahasti
Uraiyūr
Nāgapattinum
Tānjāvur
Karavur
Mādurai
Rāmesvaram
Anurādapura
Srīsailam
Vengīpura
Chakrakuta
Vairagara
Yayātinagara
Khijjinga-Kotta
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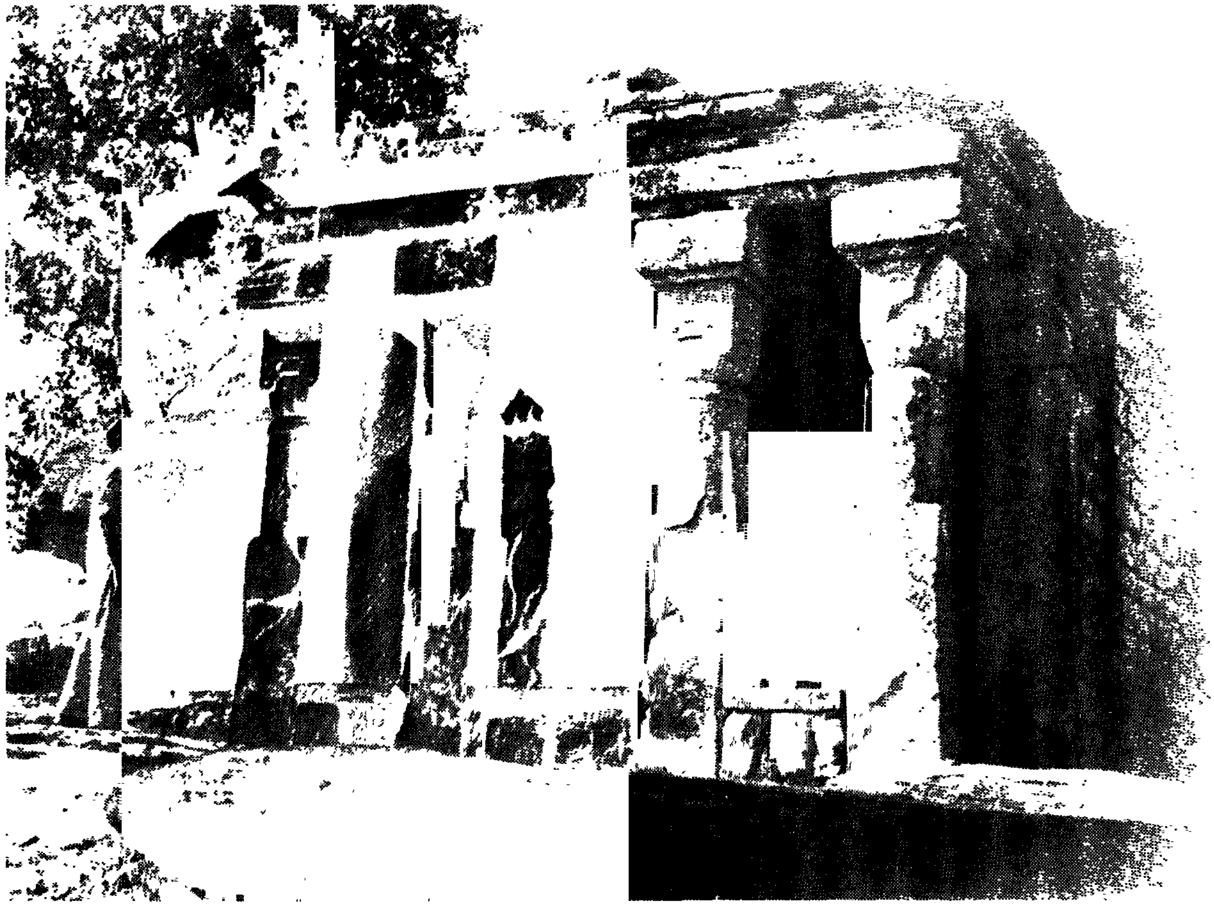


INDIA
Age of the
PĀLAS, PRATIHĀRAS AND
RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS
(c. 700 – 985 A.D.)
Km 0 200 400 Km
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UTPALAS
GURJARAS
SINDHU
Śatadru
VARMANS
CHĀHAMĀNAS
TOMARAS
(Delhi)
Yamunā
ĀYUDHAS
BHATTIS
CHACHAS
BHAUṬTAS
Lauhitya
Gaṇḍakī
KALACHURIS
SĀLASTAMBHAS
SĀLAMBHAS
Brahmaputra
GURJARA – PRATIHĀRAS
PĀLAS
GANGĀ
GUHILAS
MAURYAS
CHANDELLAS
CHANDRAS
CHAPAS
MAITRAKAS
SAINDHAVAS
CHĀLUKYAS
PARAMĀRAS
KALACHURIS
Narmadā
GURJARAS
Tāpti
SOMAVAMŚIS
BHAUMAKARAS
KĀMBOJAS
BĀṆAS
Mahānadi
RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS
CHĀLUKYAS
SILĀHĀRAS
Godāvari
E. CHĀLUKYAS
Krishṇā
PAŚCHIMA SAMUDRA
PŪRVA SAMUDRA
PALLAVAS
BĀṆAS
GANGAS
ĀLUPAS
KULAŚEKHARAS
PĀṆḌYAS
CHOLAS
Anurādhapura
SIMHALA
DAKSHIṆA SAMUDRA

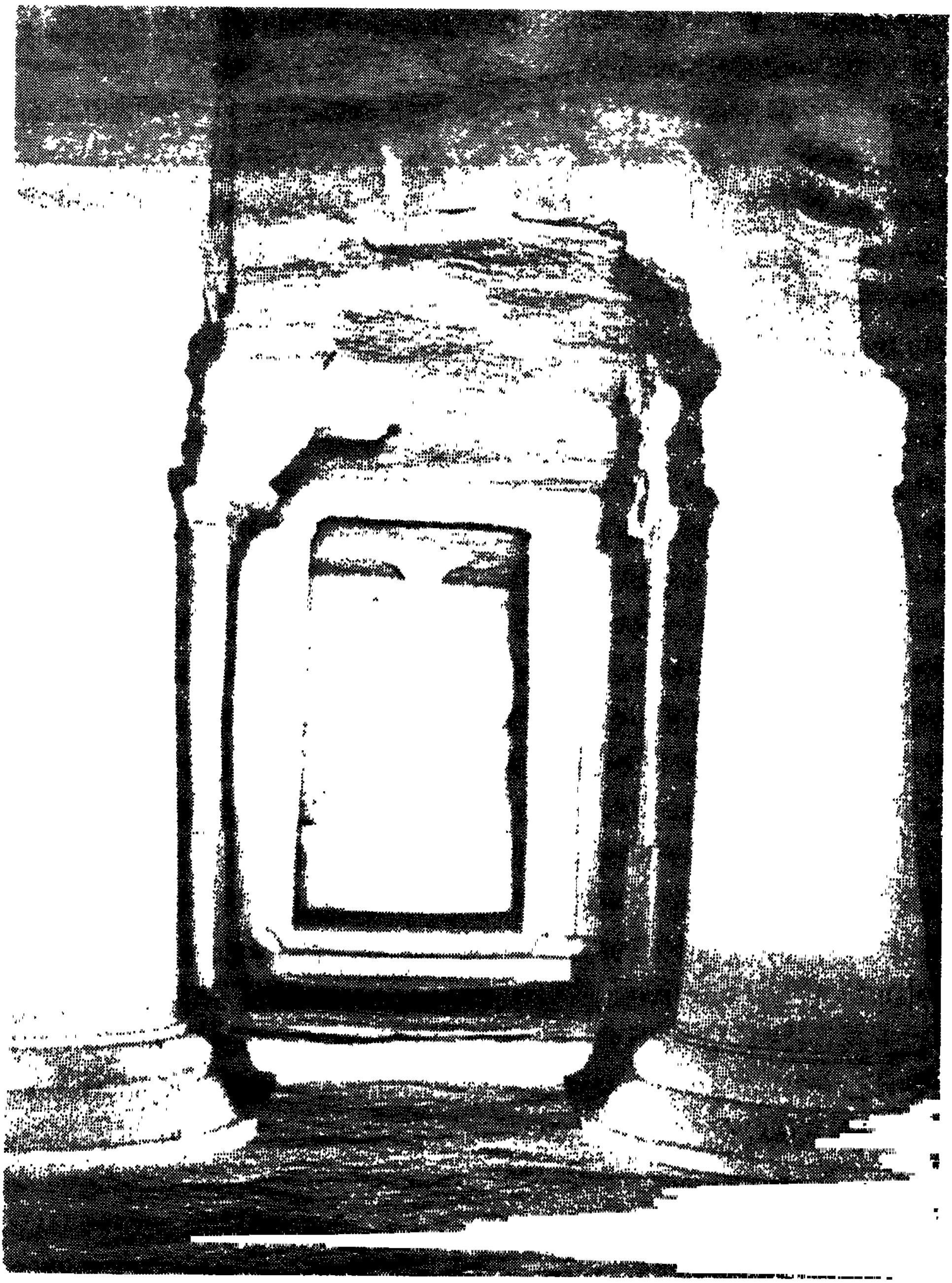

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116°
20°
4° N.
100° E.
CHUNG-KUO
MAHĀCHĪNA
THAI
TAMBADĪPA
CHANDRAS
SUVARNABHŪMI
Śrikshetra
RAMAÑÑADEŚA
SUDHAMMAVATI
Thatoṅ
DVĀRĀVATĪ
KHMERS
CHENLA
CHAMPĀ
Dong-Duong
NAN-HAI
FUNAN
PŪRVA SAMUDRA
Kadāram
ŚRĪVIJAYA
MALAYADVĪPA
PO-NI
CHU-PO
YAVADVĪPA
YAVADVĪPA
Borobudur
Mataram
BALI

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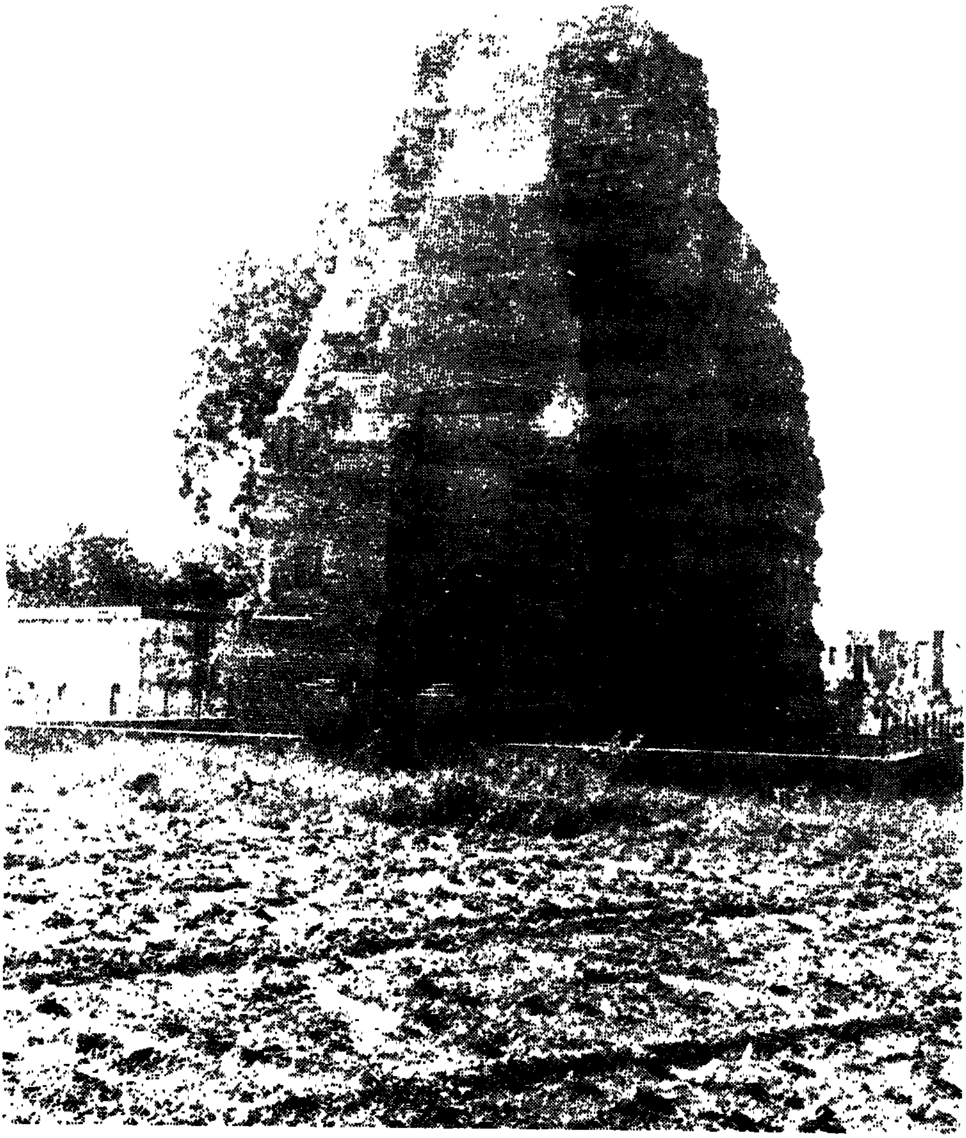
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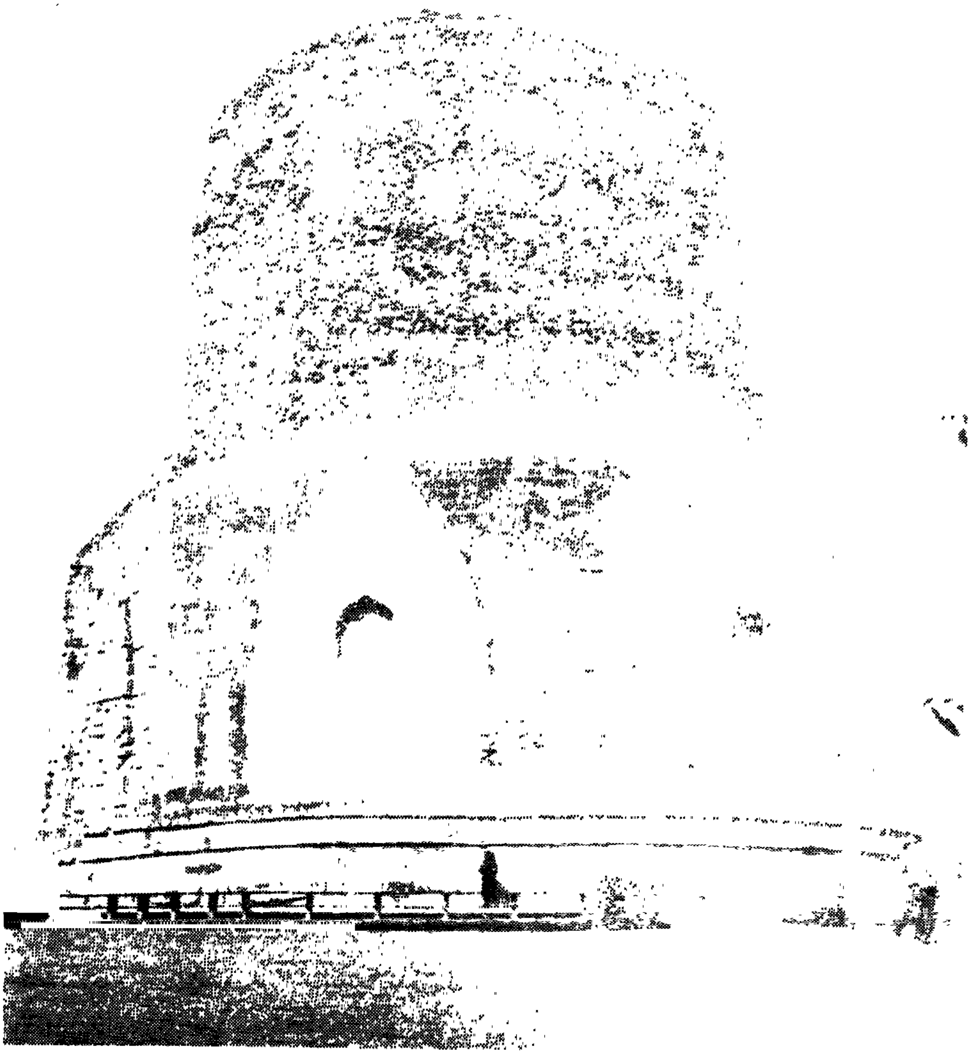
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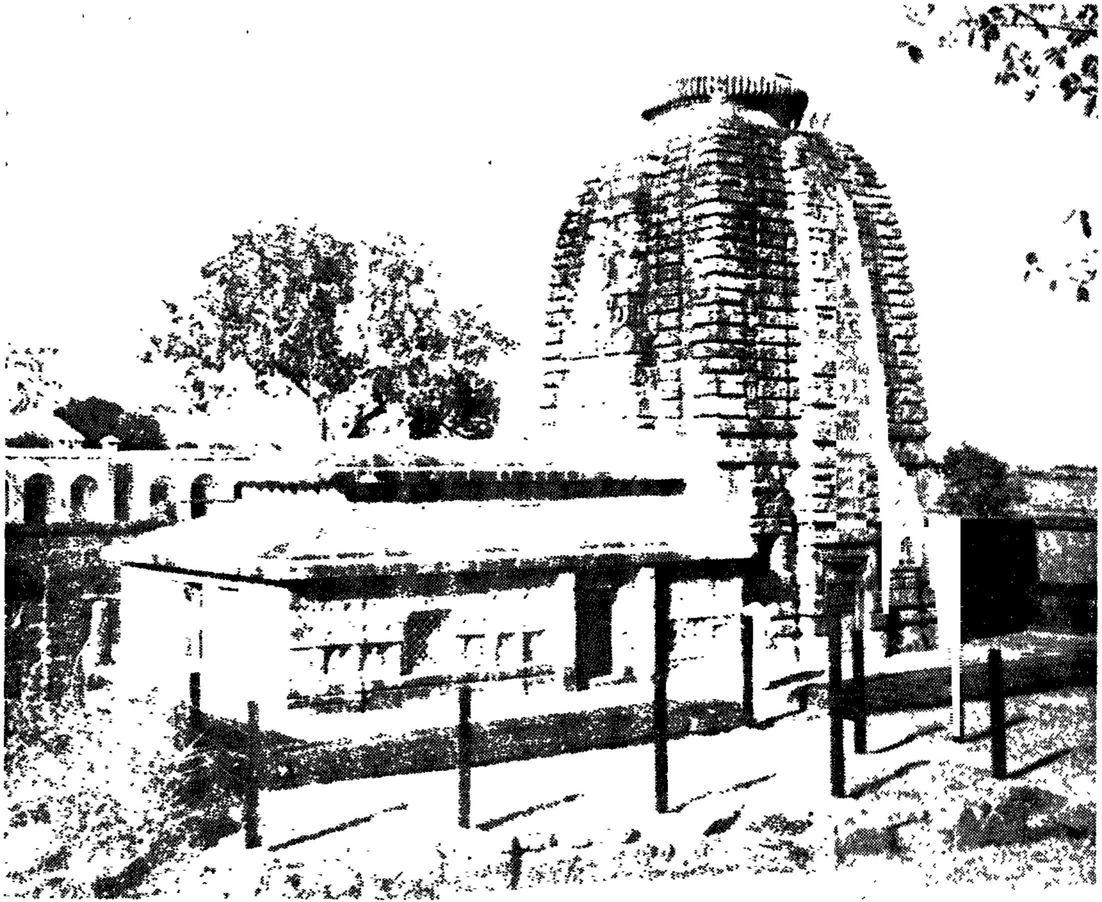
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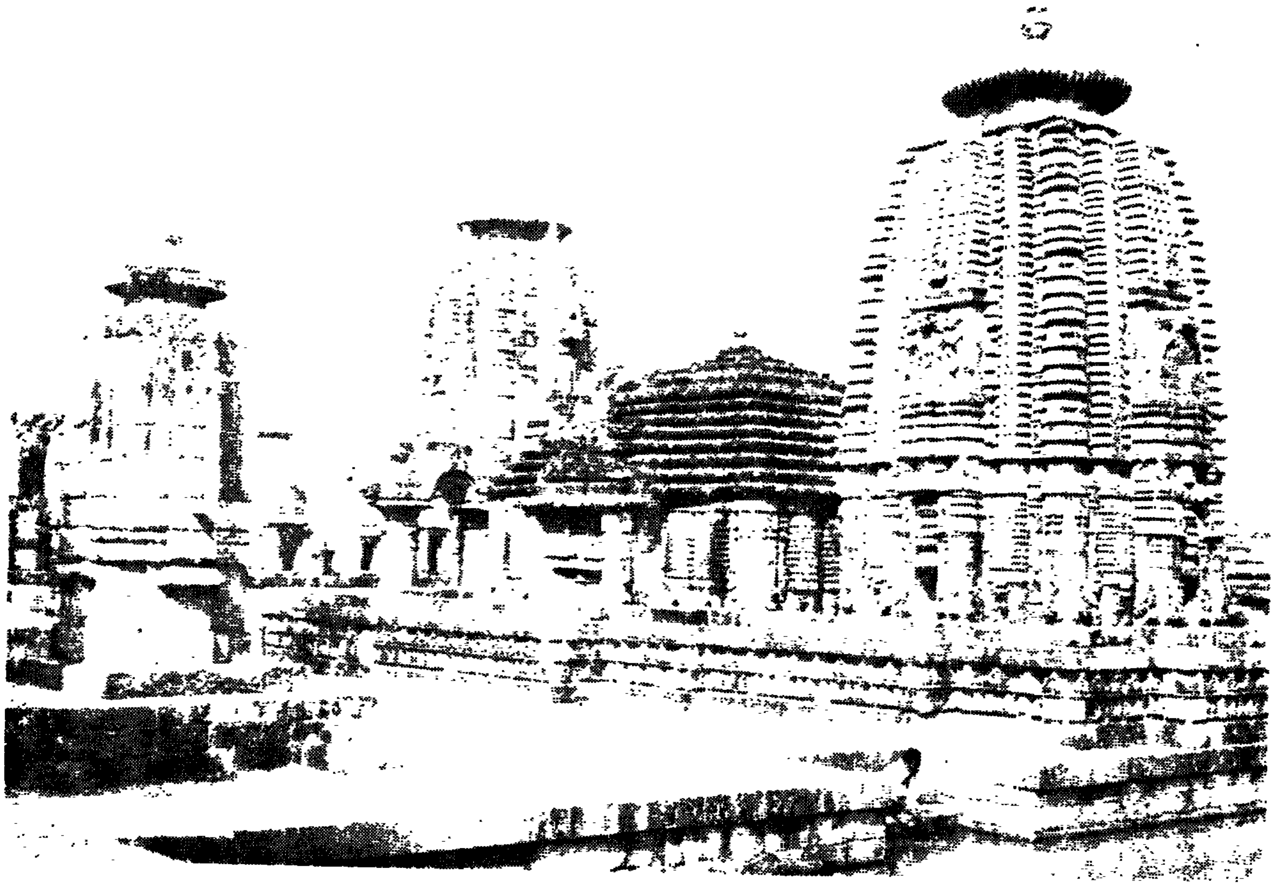
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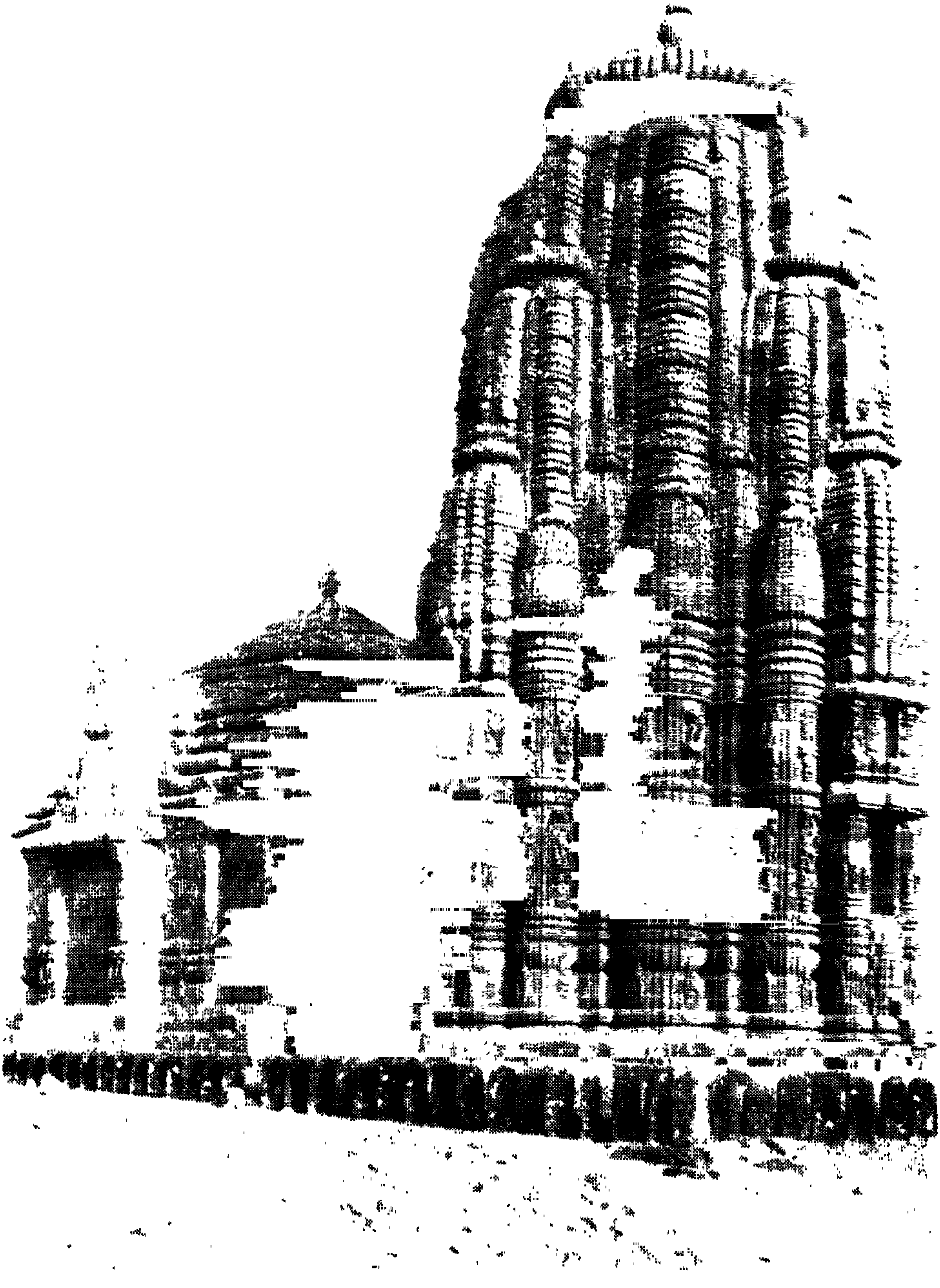
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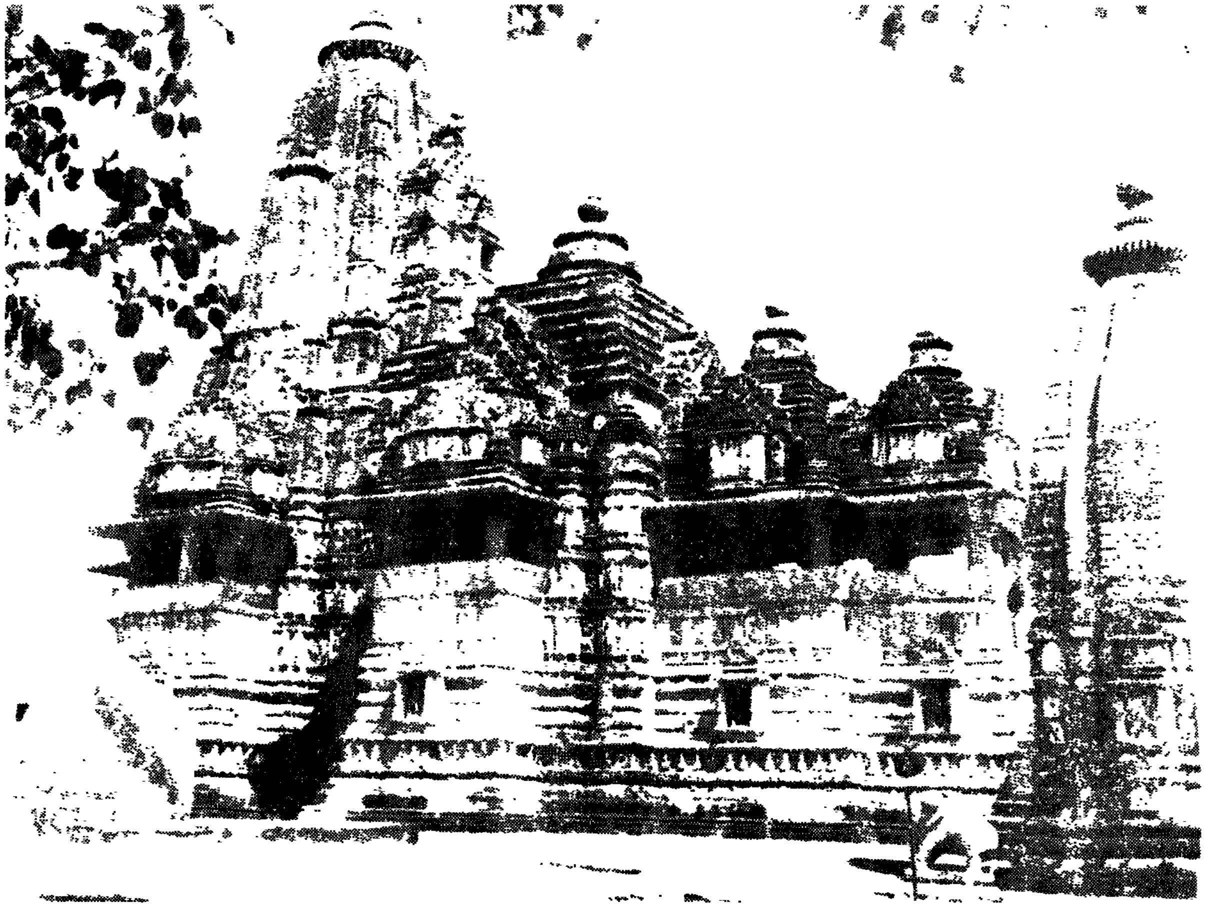
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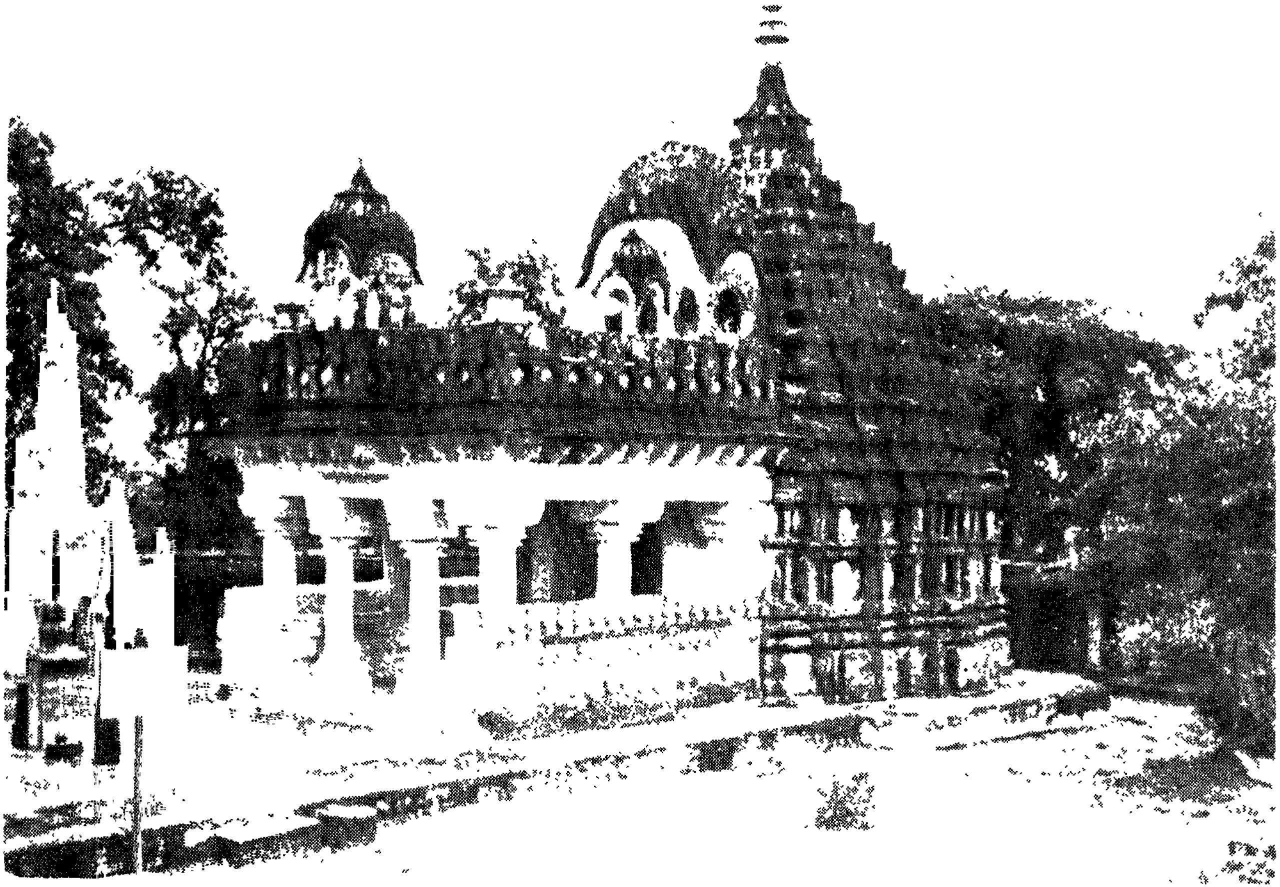
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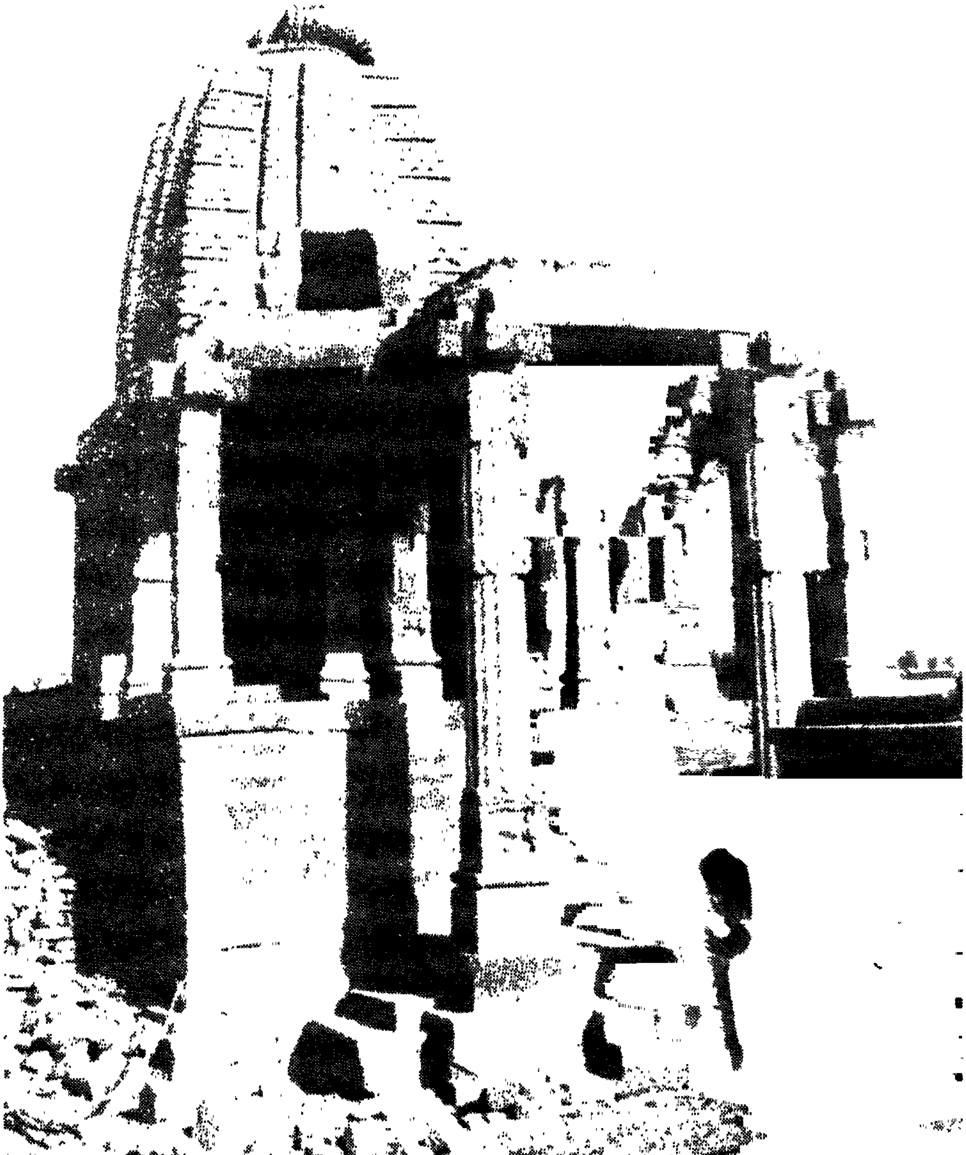
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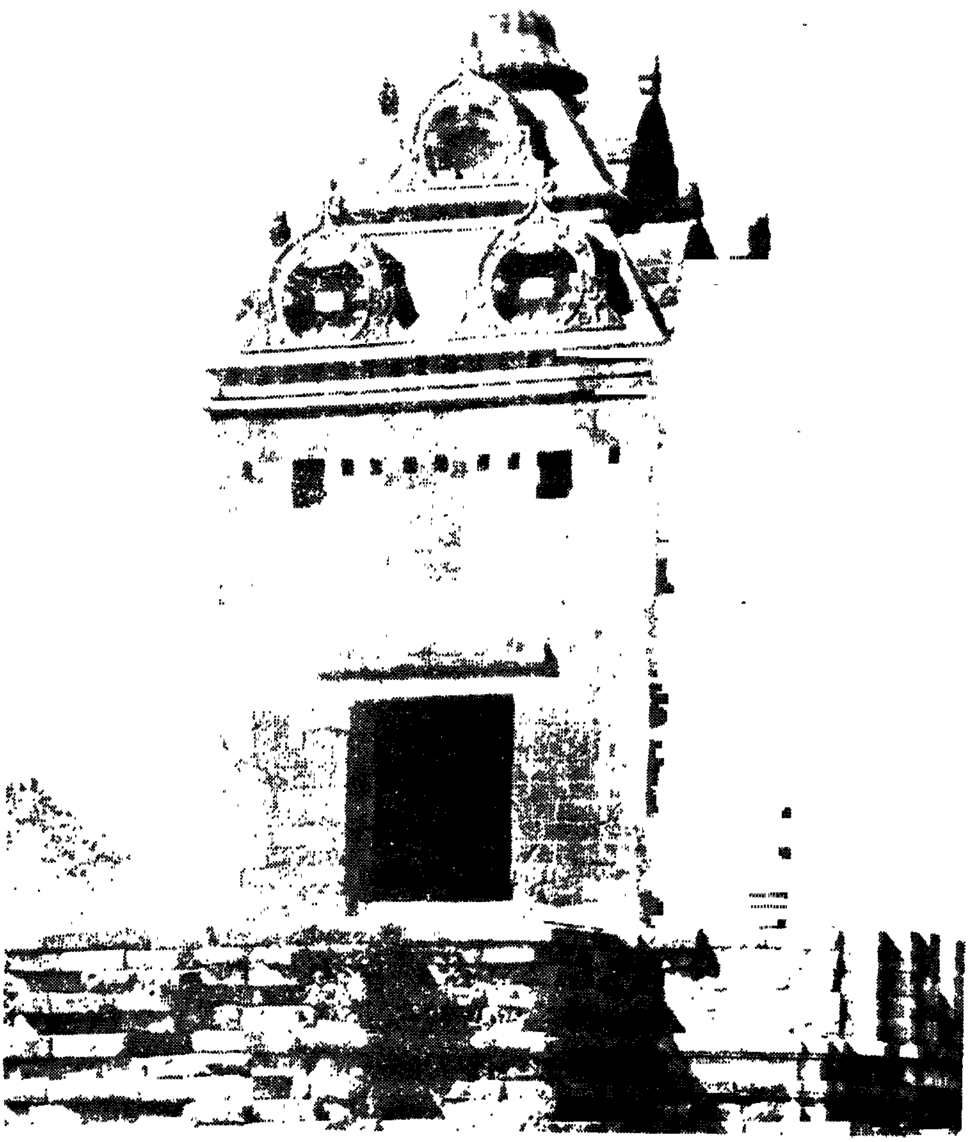
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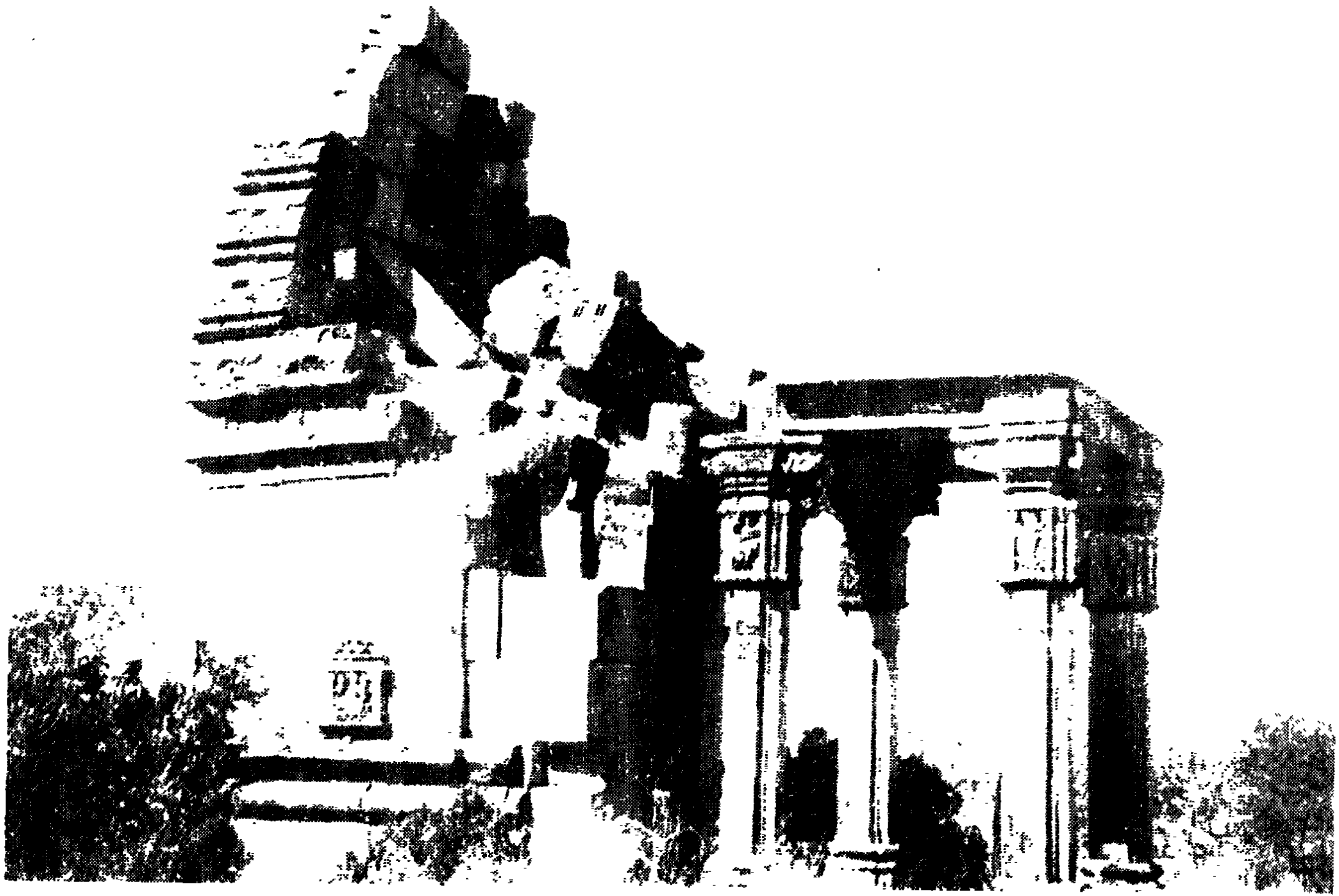
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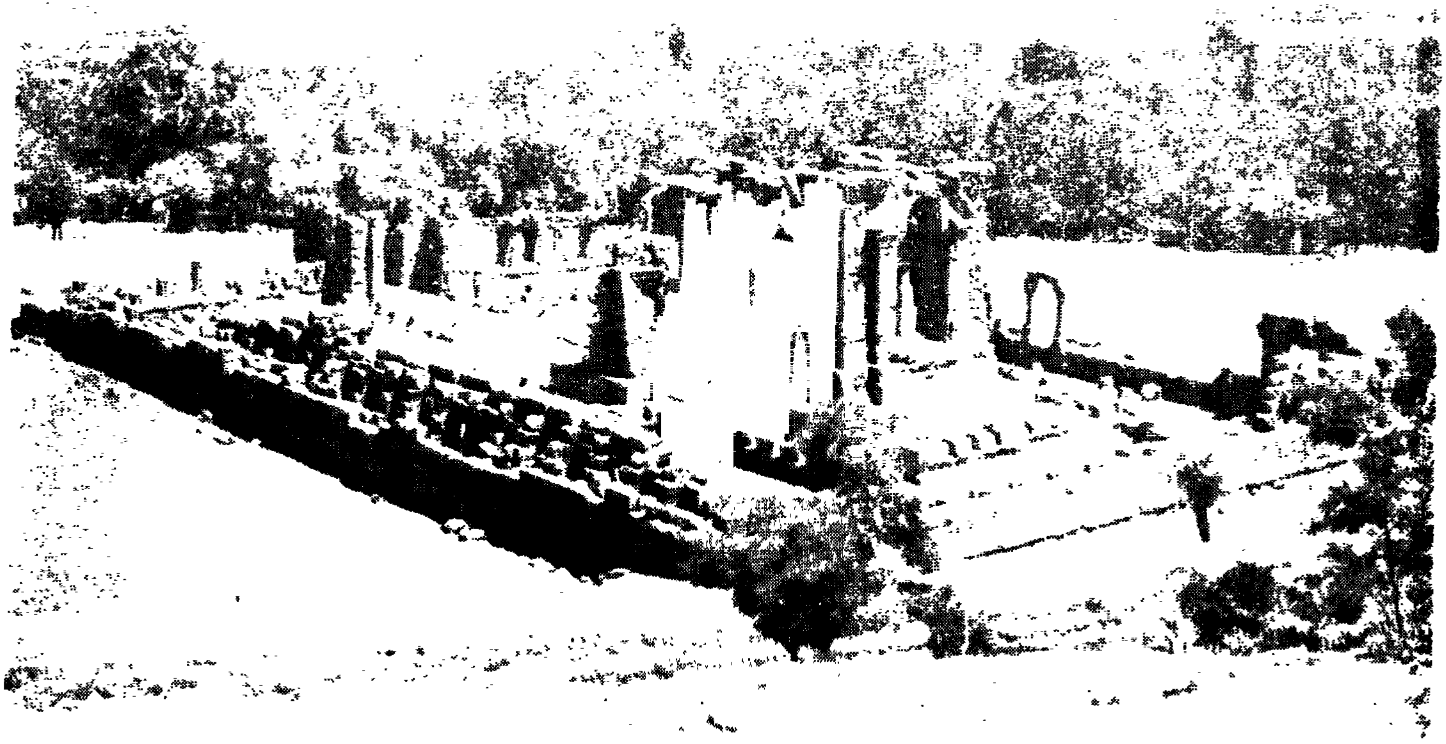
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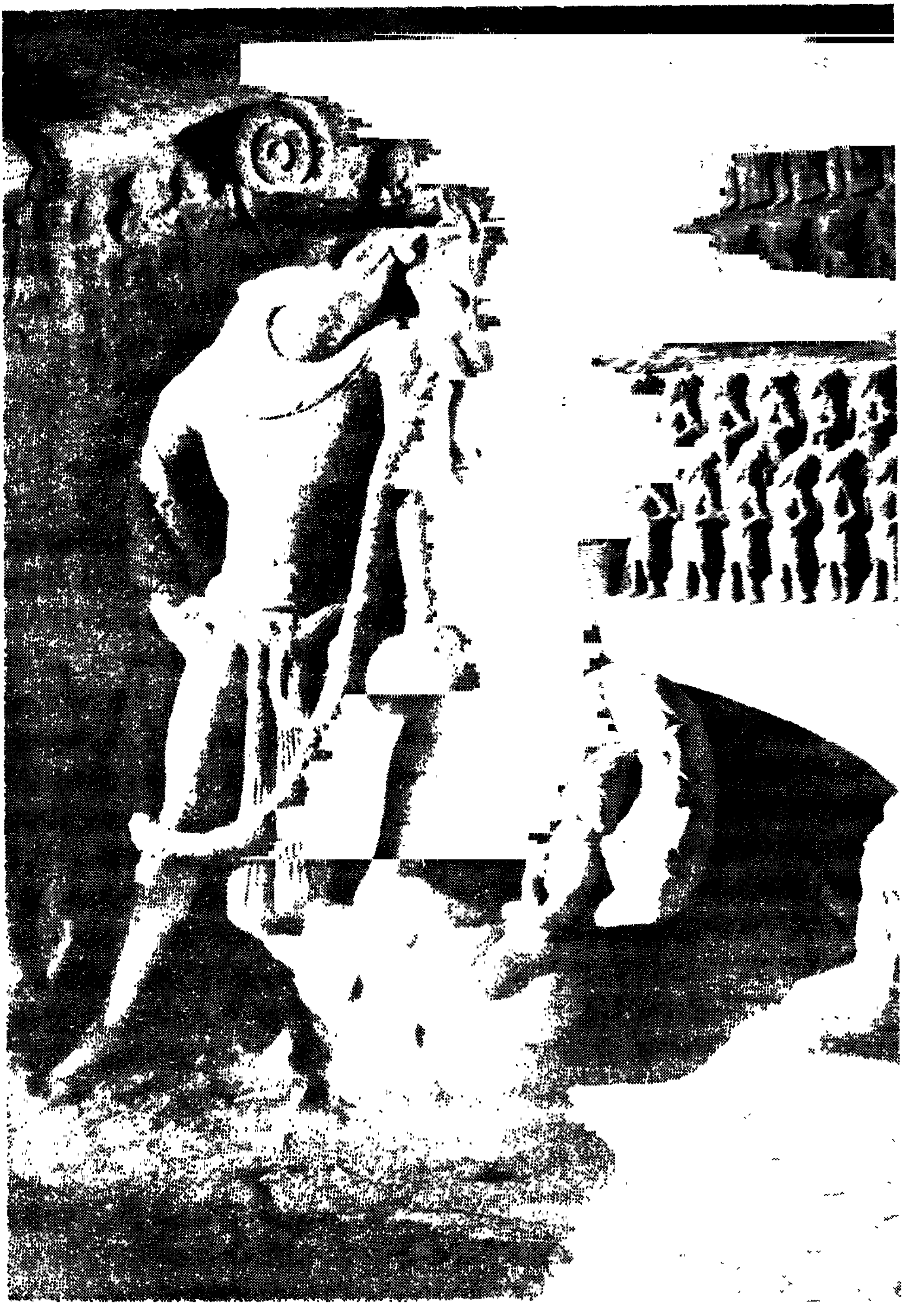
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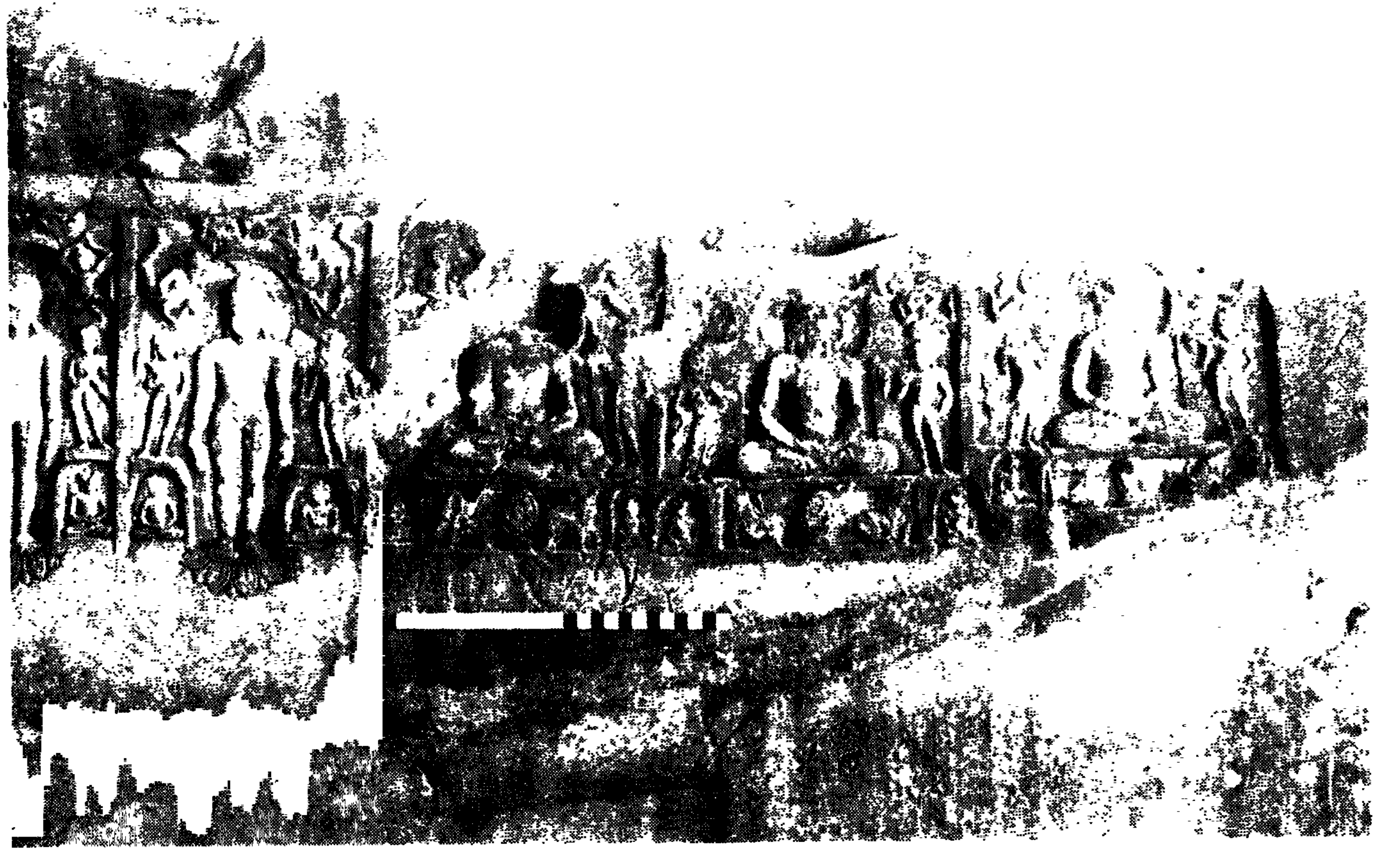
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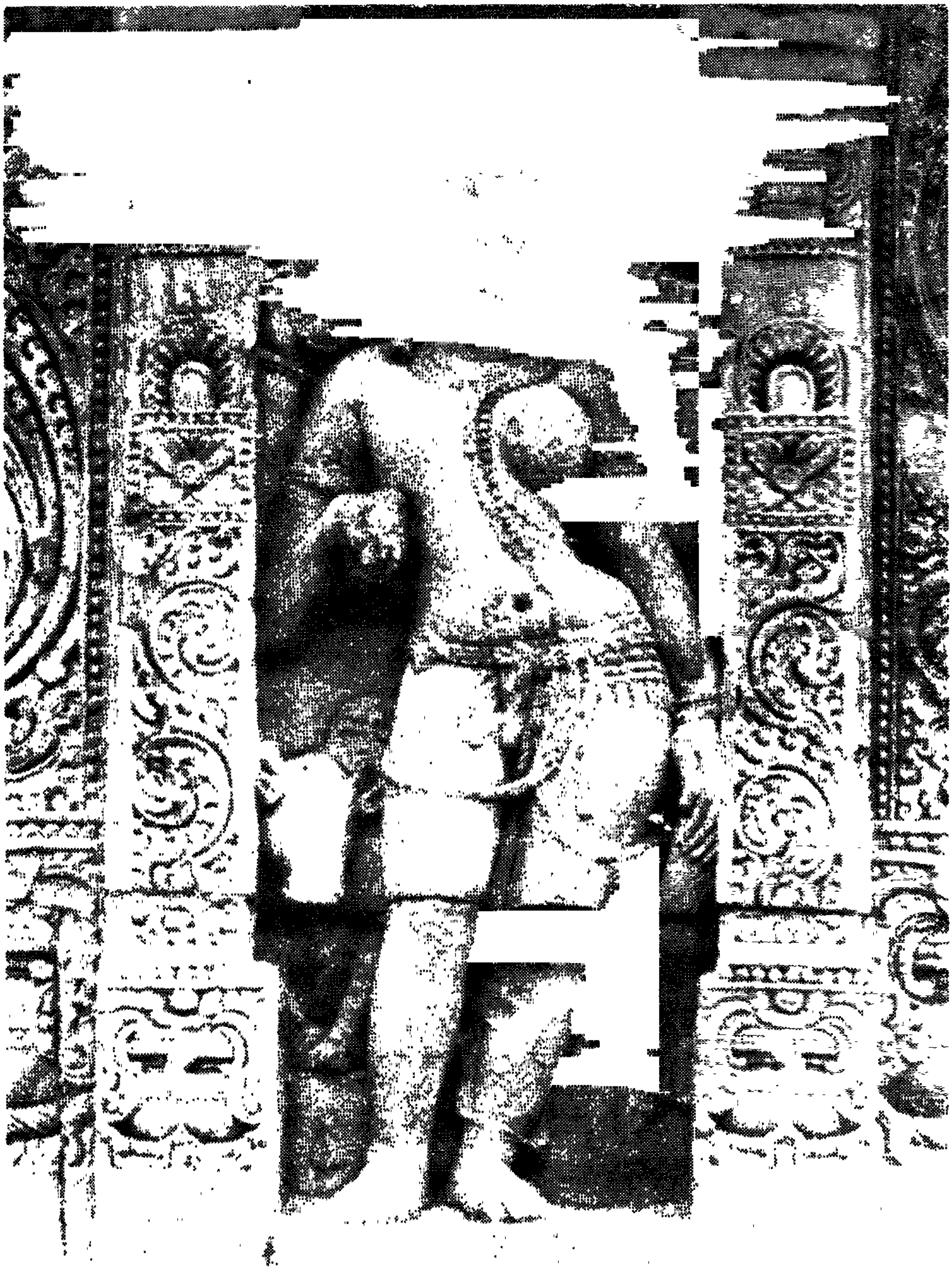
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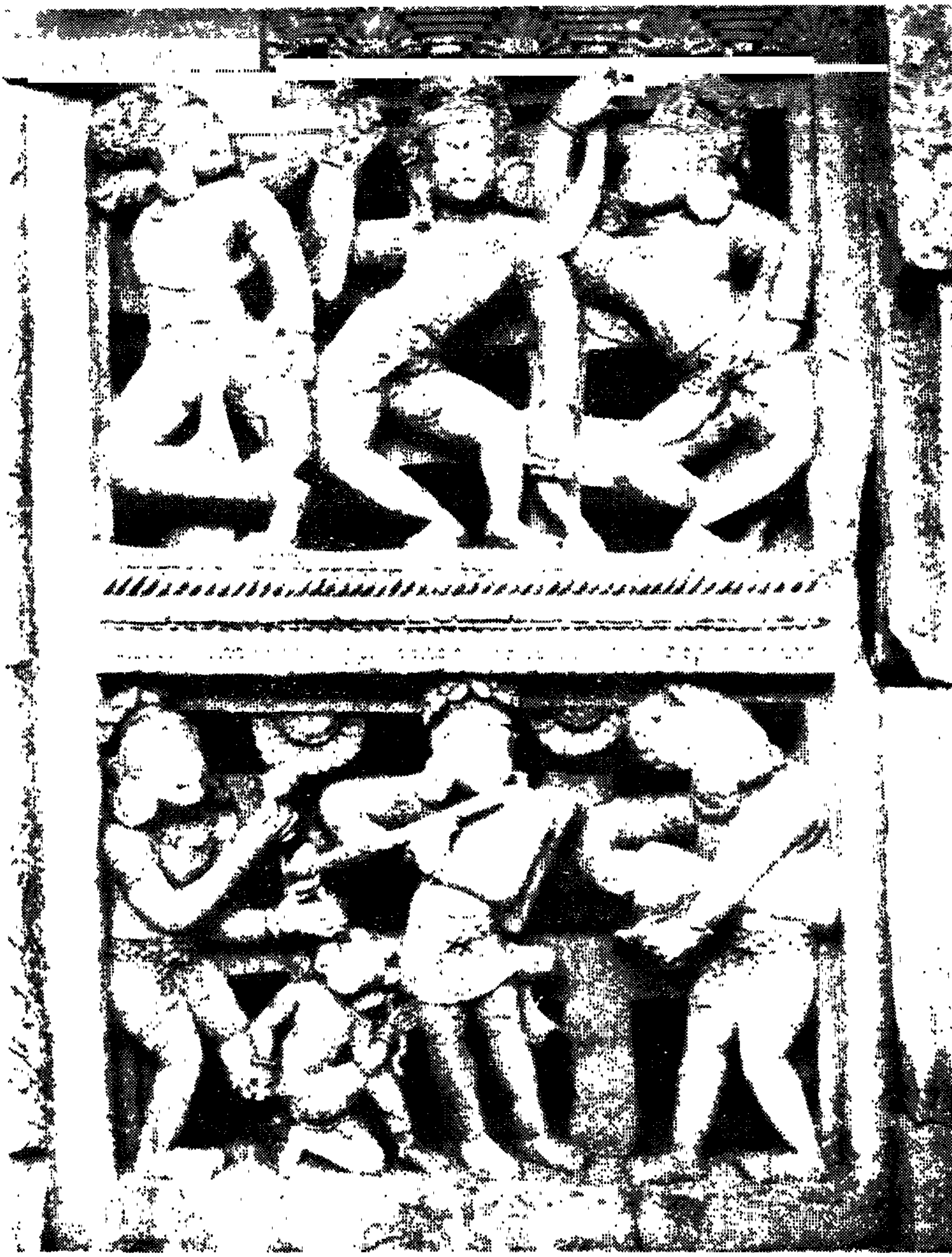
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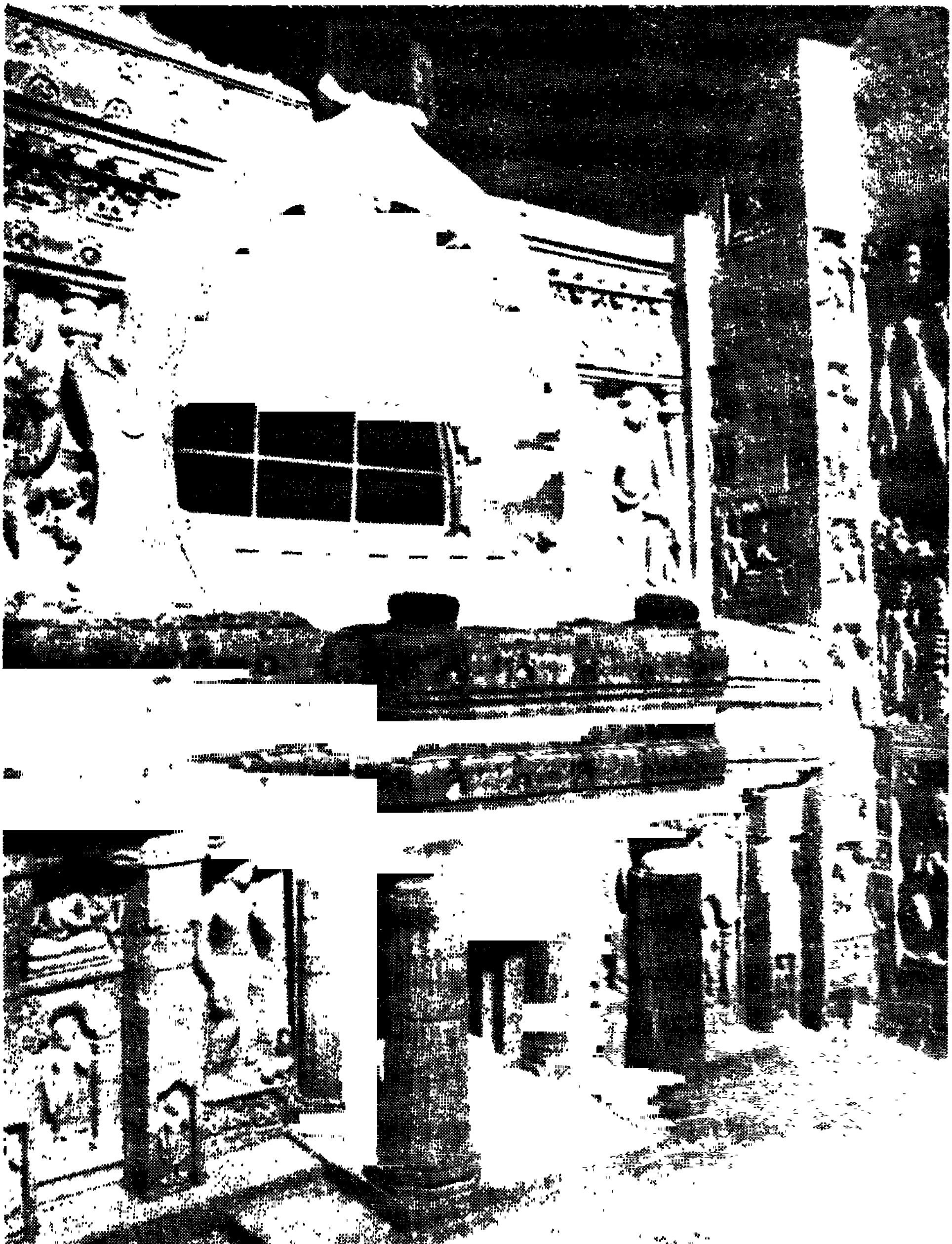
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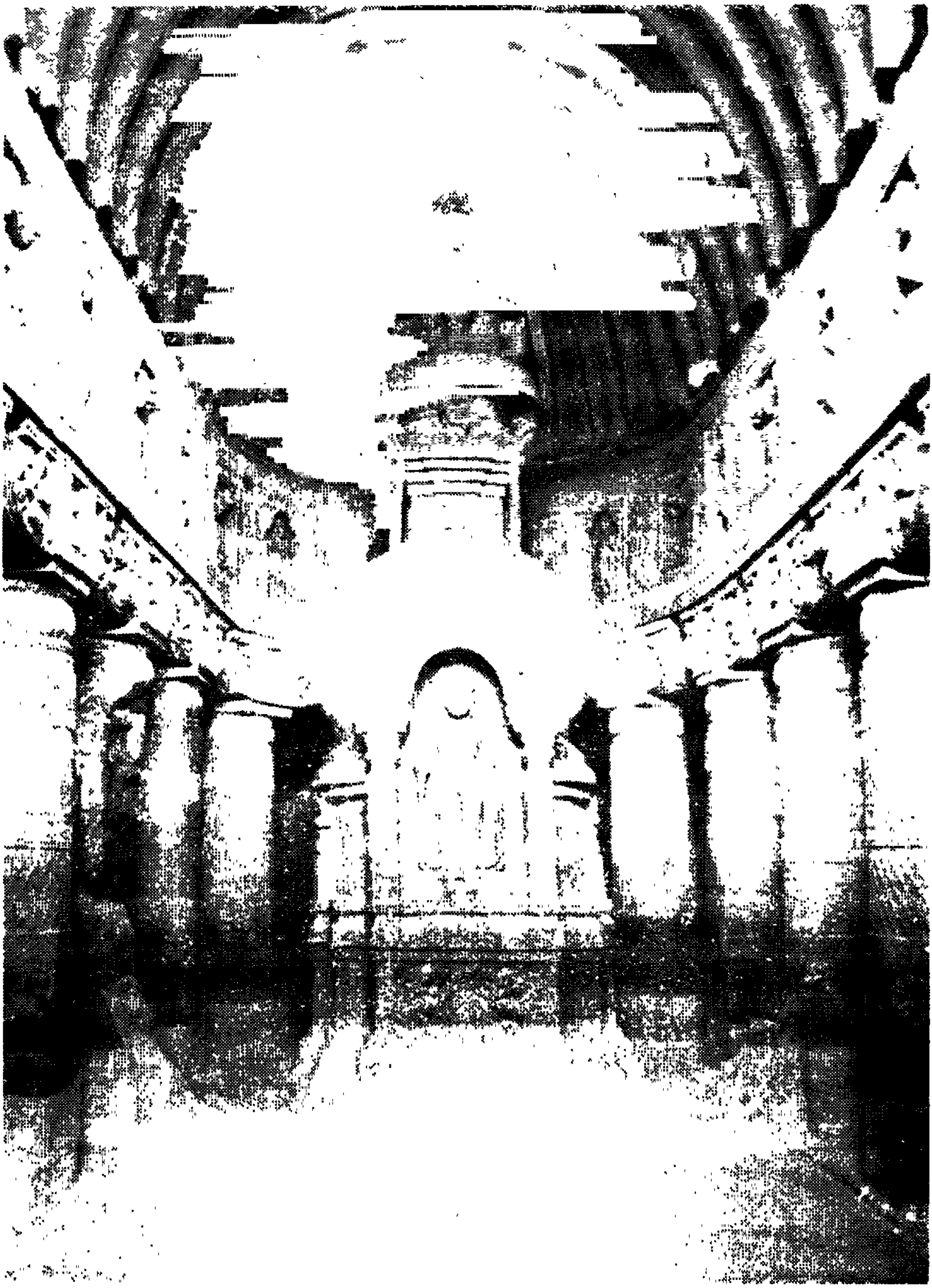
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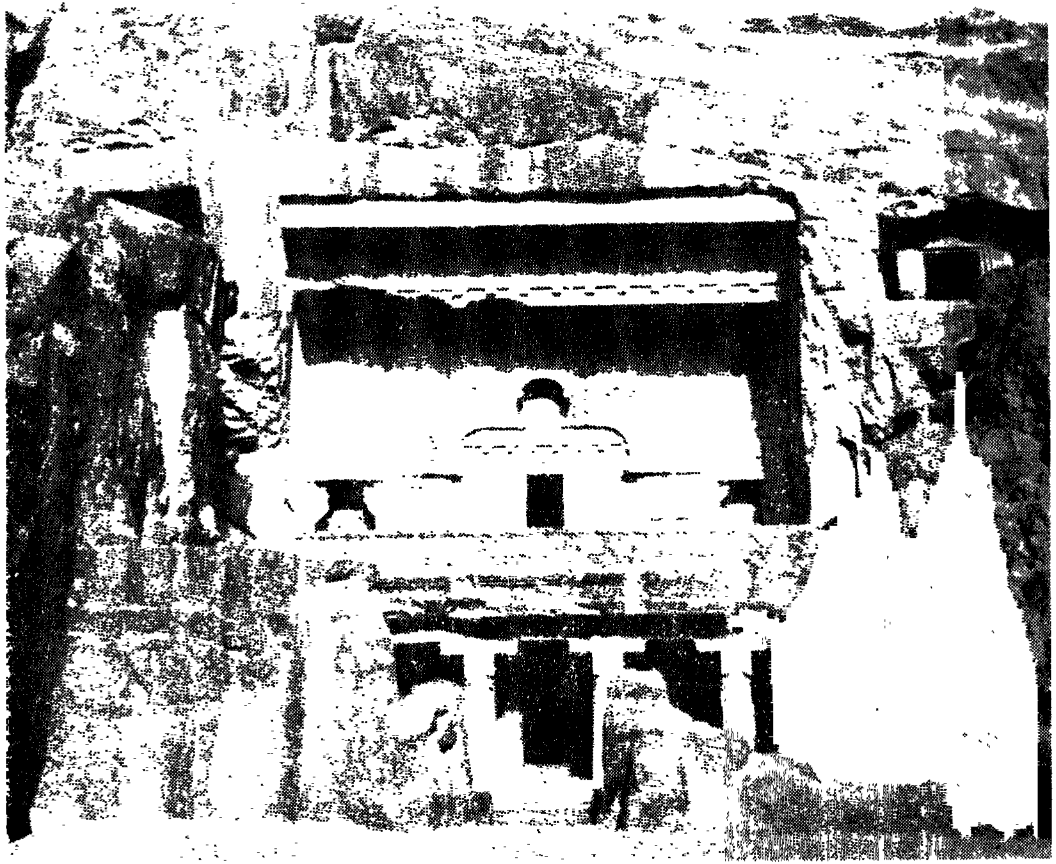
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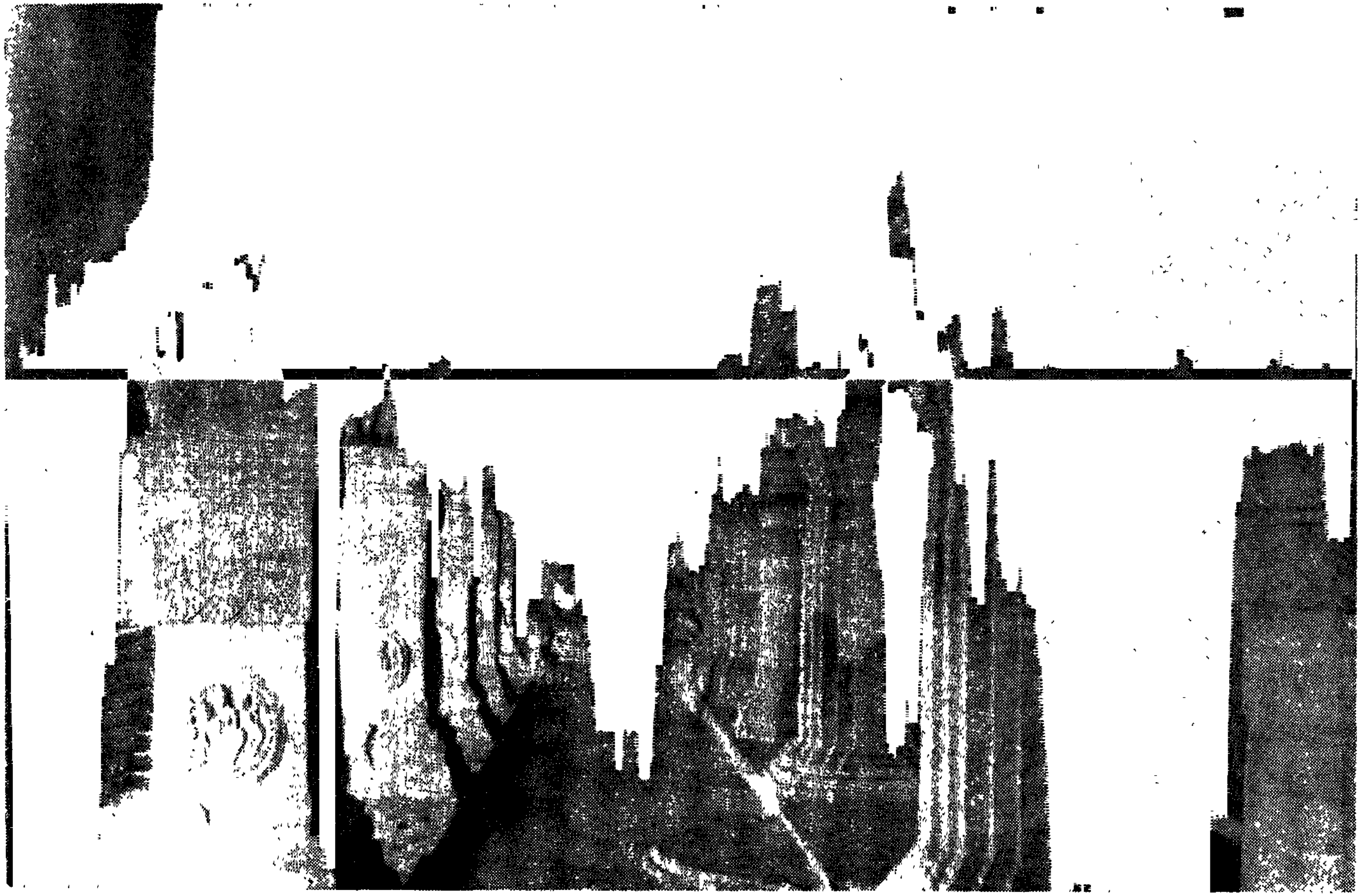
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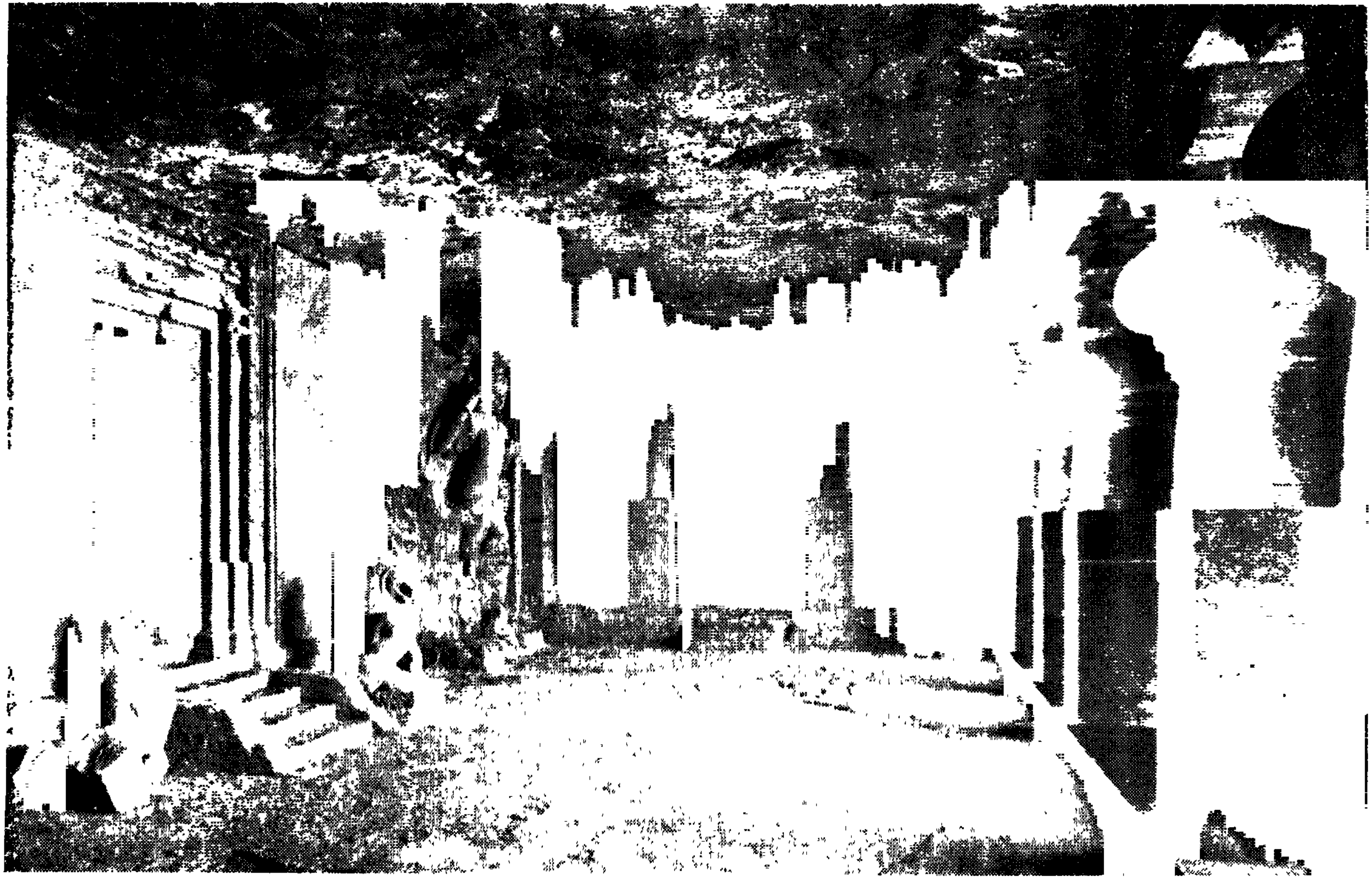
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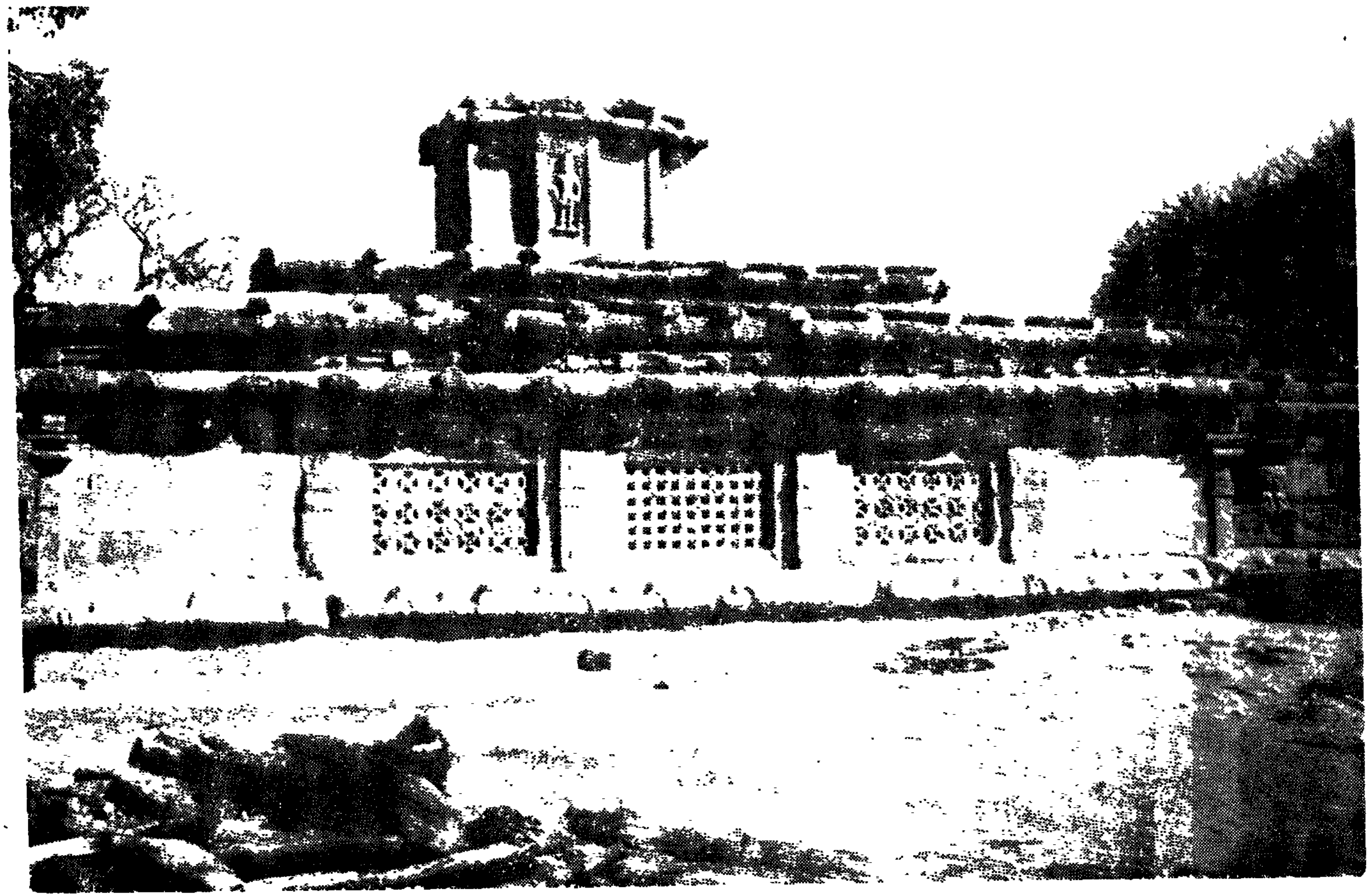
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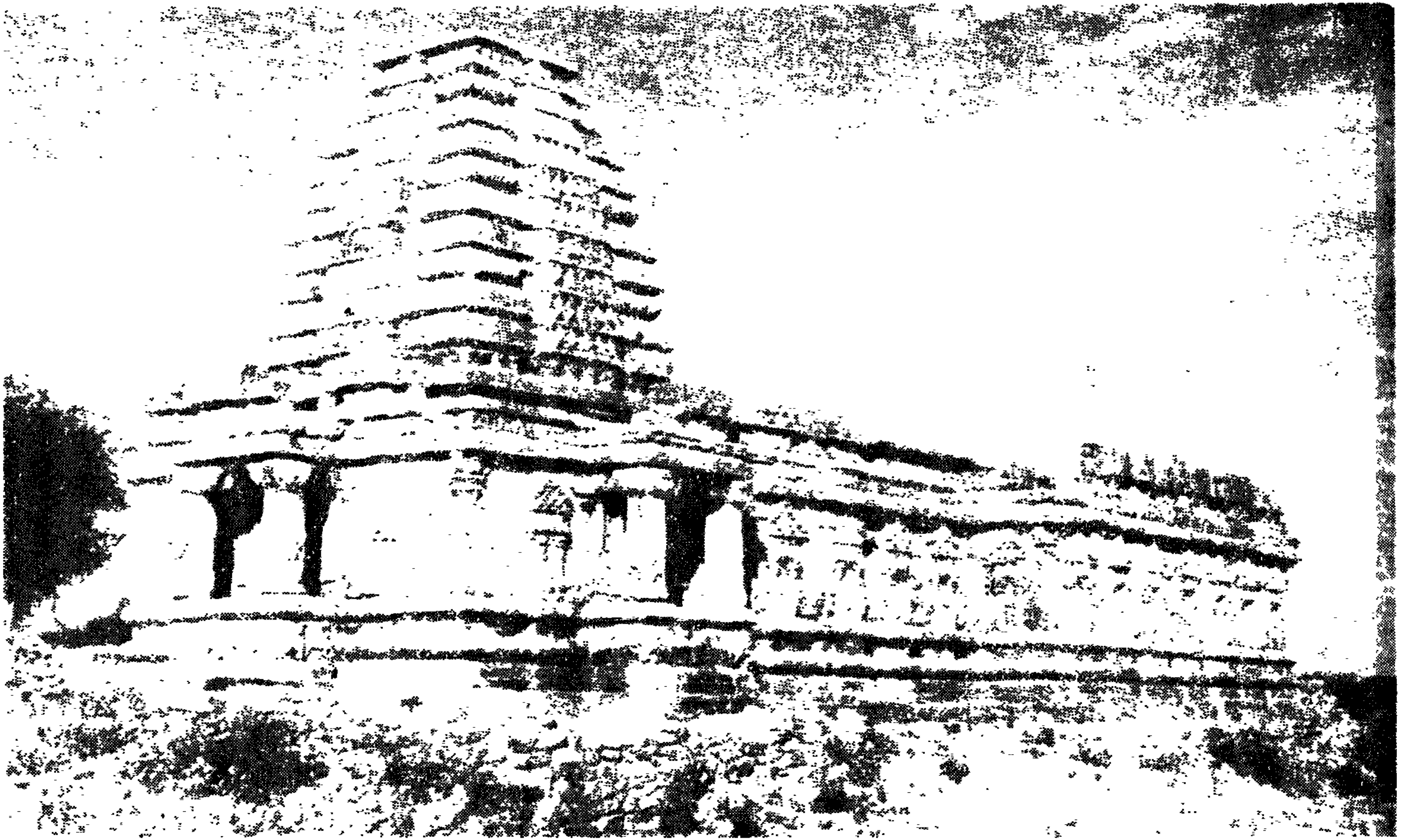
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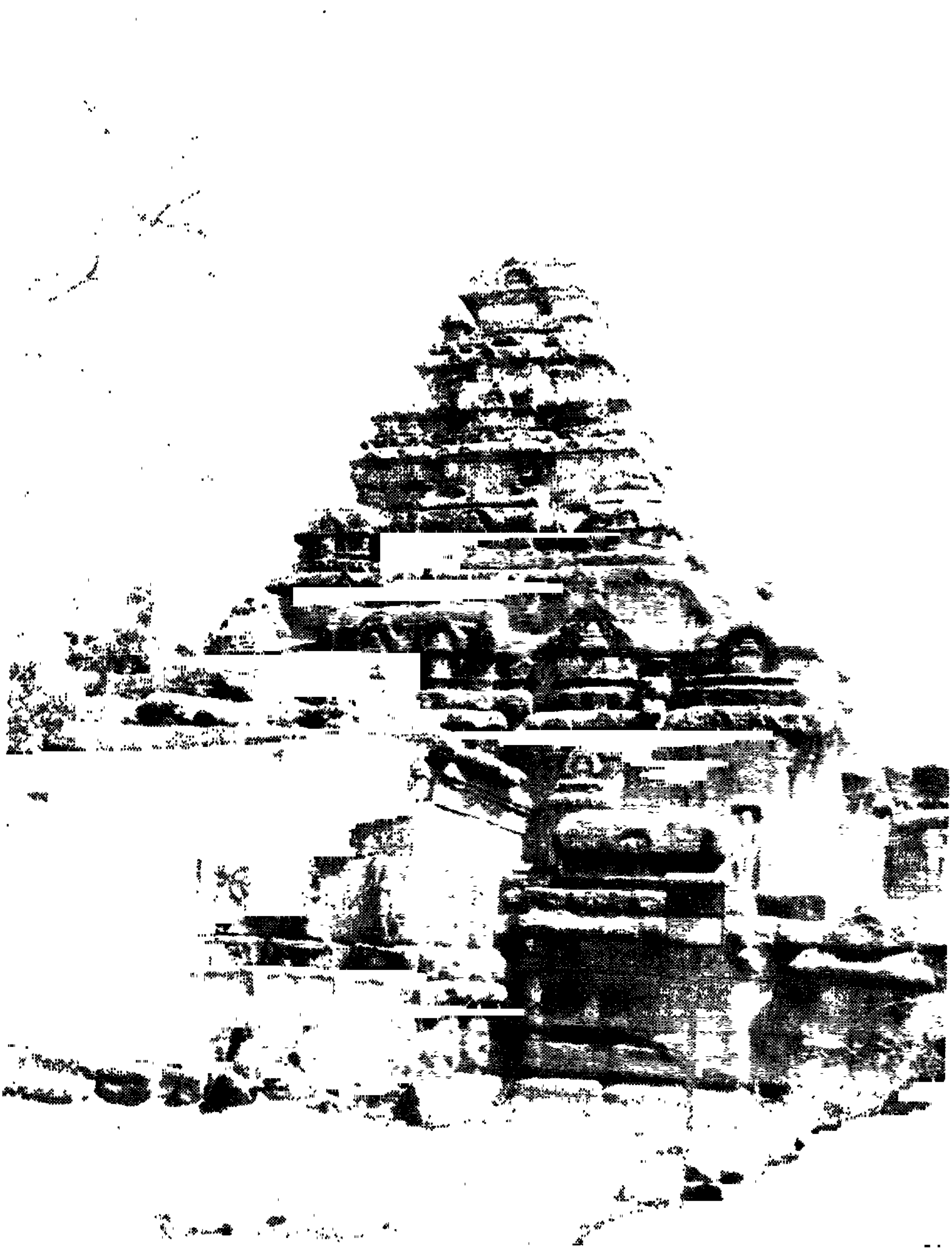
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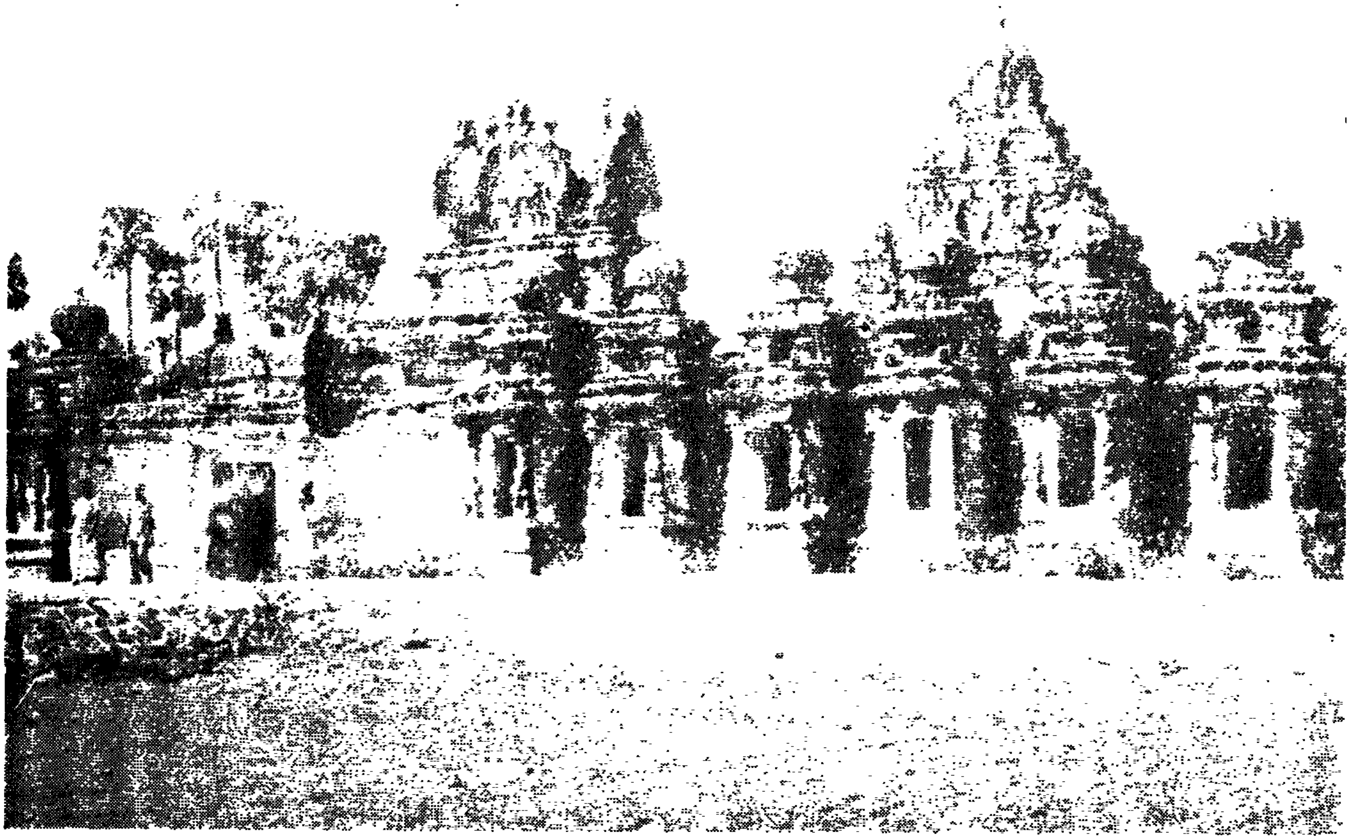
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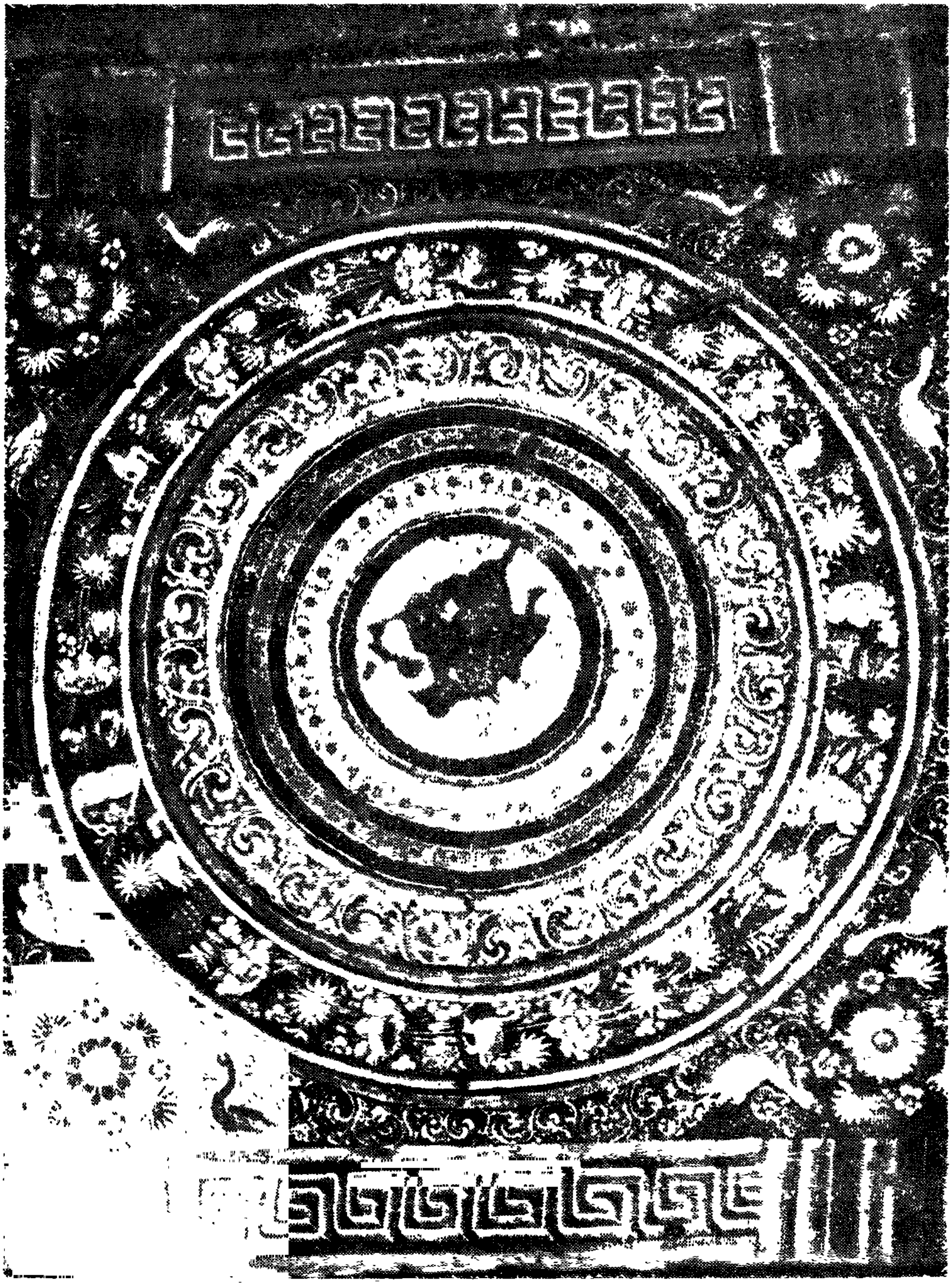
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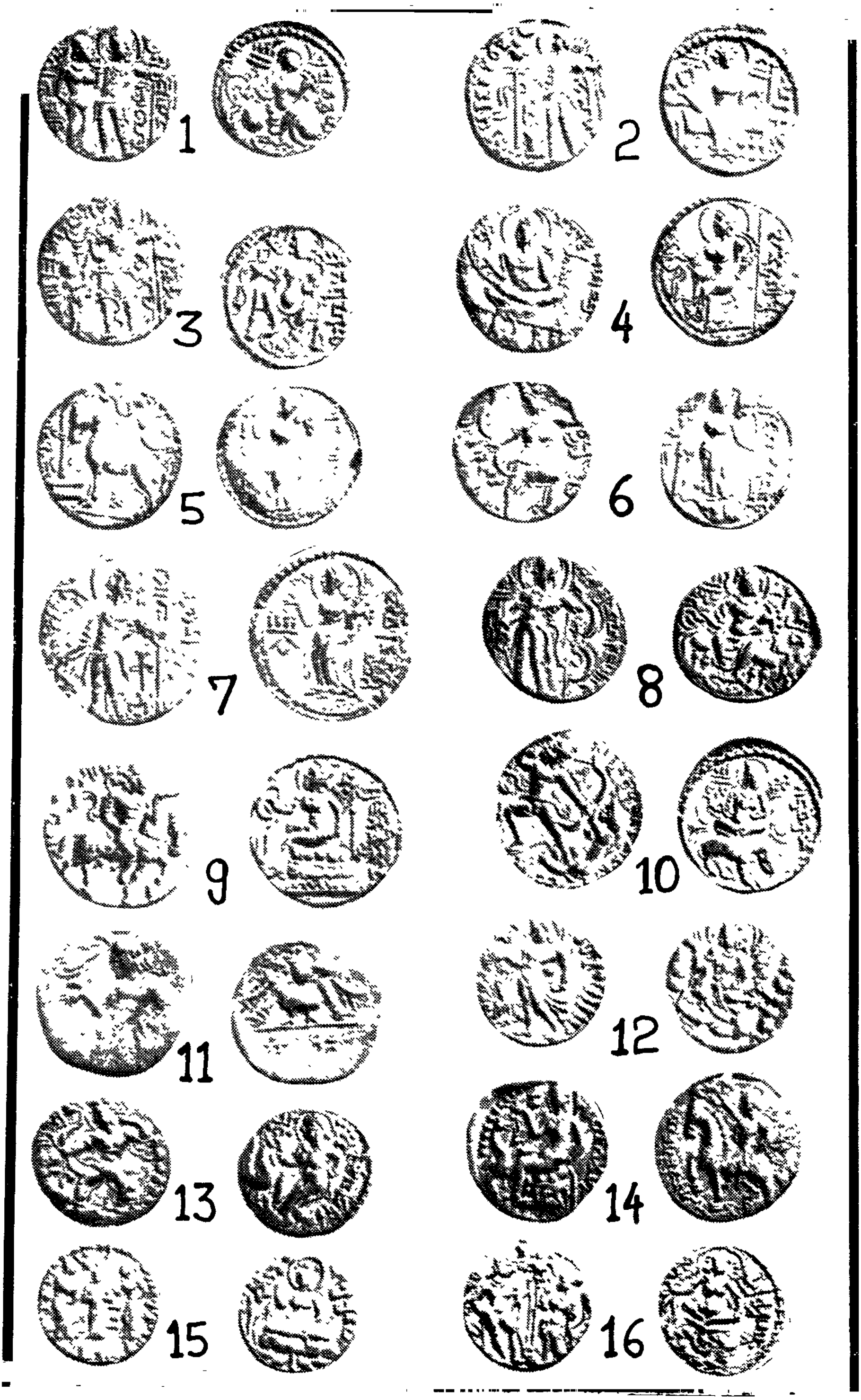
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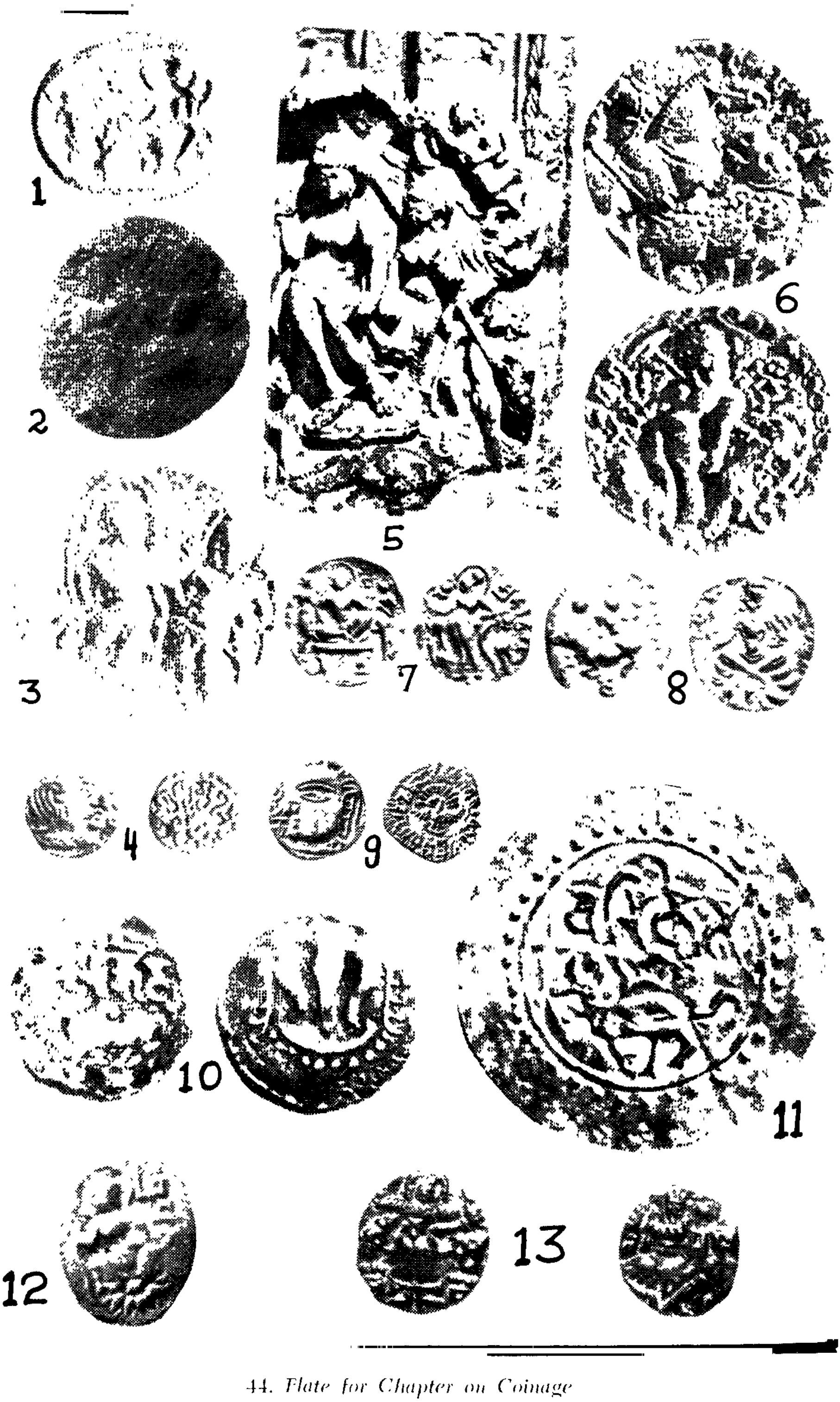
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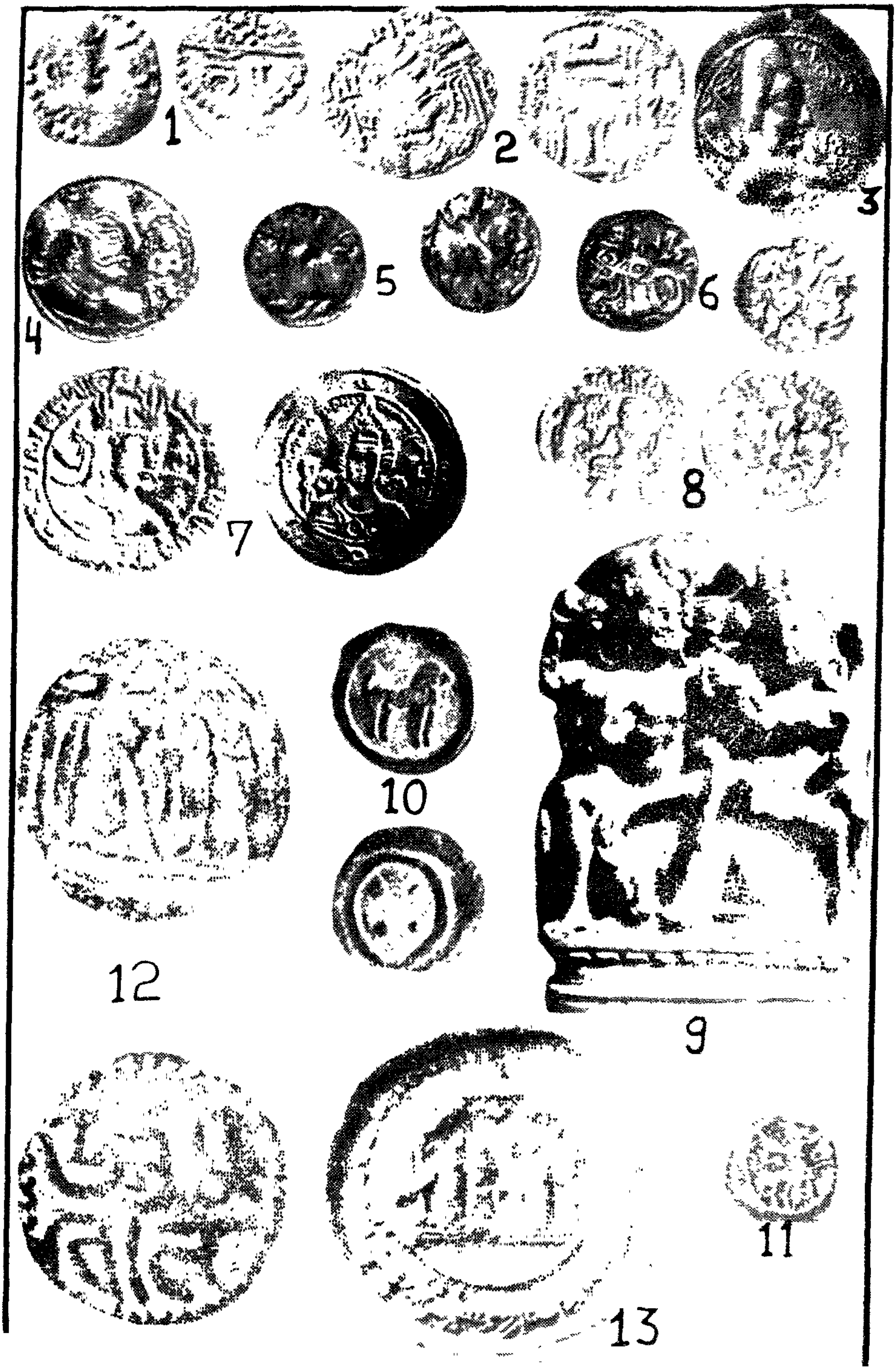
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